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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

By M. RAPIN de THOYRAS,

Continued, from the

Abdication of King *JAMES* II,

TO THE

Acceſſion of His late Majeſty K. *GEORGE* I.

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Gent.
Late Secretary to His MAJESTY's Envoy Extraordinary in LOWER GERMANY.

VOL. III.

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MDCCXXXVI.

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A MAP OF THE KING OF GREAT EUROPE AFRICA, AN

The French by the Treaty of Utrecht are allowed to catch Fish, and to dry them on land, in that part only, and no other of Newfound Land, as extends — from Cape Bonavista to ye Northern point of the Island; and from thence down on the Western side to Point Riche.

Polar Circle

HUDSONS BAY

Port Nelson

NORTH AMERICA

Albany R.

James Bay

Fort Louis

R. Rupert

NEW BRITAIN

ISLAND

Forbisher's Straits

60

Cape Farewell

Straits of Bell I.

Cape de Grat

Quebec

R. St. Lawrence

THE GREAT FISHING BANK of NEW-FOUND LAN

LOUISIANA

PENSIL VANIA

MARY LAND

NEW YORK

NEW ENGLAND

NOVA SCOTIA

NEW FOUND LAND

Bona vista

VIRGINIA

James R.

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA

Mississipi R.

New Jersey

Boston

C. Cod

Long I.

Bay Fundy

Annapolis Royal

C. Britton

Placentia

Sable I.

C. May

Dellaware B.

C. Charles

Chesapeak B.

C. Hatteras

C. Look out

Cape Fear

C. Carteret

Charles Town

St. Helena Sound

Savanah R.

Alatamaha R.

St. Augustine

G. of MEXICO

Florida

C. Florida

Bahama

The Southward Boundary of Carolina by ye last Charter

Bermudas or Summer-Islands

THE WEST

OR

ATLANTICK

Tropick of Cance

Lucayos

BAHAMA Is.

Providence

Long I.

Cat I.

Mayuana I.

CUBA I.

St. Jago

JAMAICA I.

Port Royal

St. Jago

HISPANIOLA

Porto Rico

Anguilla

St. Christophers

Barbuda

Nevis

Monserat

Antego

Dominica

St. Lucia

St. Vincent

Barbados

CARIBEE ISLANDS

NORTH SEA

C. Con

TERRA FIRMA

Trinidad I.

Oronoque R.

SOUTH AMERICA

Surinam

310

320

330

The Equinoctial Line.

The Island of St. Helena lyt: in Lat: 15 South in the Ethiopick Ocean belongs to G. Britain, where a Governor & other Officers in ye service of ye English East-India Company reside, in order chiefly, to supply their Homeward bound Ships wth Fresh water & Provisions.

AT BRITAIN'S DOMINIONS IN AND AMERICA.

Explanation.

The Countries colour'd Yellow are now possessed by the King of Great Britain.

Those colour'd Green did anciently belong to the Crown of England.

Small Islands, Cities, Towns Settlements Factories &c. belonging to Great Britain, are distinguished by a fine black stroke drawn under their respective Names; and Such as formerly belong'd to England by a fine peck'd Line under them in like manner.

The Dutchies of Bremen and Verden were Subject to the Crown of Sweden 'till Conquer'd by the Danes 1712, and made over by them in 1715 to his late Majesty King George 1st as Elector of Hannover; to whom they were confirm'd by Treaty with Sweden in 1720.

Factories and Settlements belonging to the English in Asia.

Gamberoon in Persia. Moco in Arabia.

The 14 following are in India viz.t

Baroch, Swalley-hoole, Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, Fort St. Davids — Conymere, Fort St. George, Masulapatan, Vizagapatan, and Ballasore. —— The 4 following are in Bengal, viz.t

Fort William, Hugly, Dacca, and Malda.

The 7 following are in the Island of Sumatra.

Mocho, Bantal, Ippo, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort and Sillebar.

Eman: Borsen Sculp.t

BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE

HISTORY

OF

BRITISH MUSEUM

ENGLAND,

By Mr. RAPIN DE THOYRAS,

Continued, to the Acceſſion of King GEORGE I to the Throne.

BOOK XXV.

WILLIAM III, TWENTY-EIGHTH King of ENGLAND ſince the Conqueſt.

The ſtate of England under James II.

JAMES II had happily put an end to the rebellion in England and Scotland, and the blood of Monmouth and Argyle, ſhed round the throne, would have fixed its ſecurity for the future, if the King could have prevailed with himſelf to make a right uſe of the patience of the Engliſh. It was ſomething very extraordinary in a Proteſtant nation, where there were hardly thirty or forty thouſand Catholics, and ſeveral millions of the reformed religion, to ſee the crown unanimouſly placed on the head of a Roman Catholic, whom the fundamental laws of the kingdom declared incapable of wearing it (1). Moreover he was quietly allowed to have maſs celebrated in his palace, in a place which belonged rather to the nation than to him, and to harbor prieſts and even monks there. A nation, by whoſe conſtitution the title of Head and Defender of the church of England is inſeparably connected with that of King, peaceably acknowleged, as Sovereign, a Prince, who was an enemy of that church, and in duty ſubject to the Pope, that is, to a biſhop, whoſe authority he was obliged to make his ſubjects formally renounce by the oath of Supremacy. In ſhort, in a kingdom, where the taking of the Teſt oath was a neceſſary qualification for the injoyment of all manner of preferments, a Prince was raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, who was by his religion obliged to the abhorrence of the Teſt; and no one took notice of ſo ſhocking a contradiction between the government and the laws, or thought of having recourſe to the latter for relief.

(1) This muſt not be underſtood, as if there was, at that time any, particular law for the excluſion of a Popiſh Prince from the crown, but intimates the inconſiſtency of a Popiſh Prince with the act of Supremacy, Coronation-oath, &c.

James made daily ſome addition to what the good nature of the Engliſh granted him. The duties on goods exported and imported were ſtill raiſed, in contempt of the act of parliament which had granted them only during the life of Charles II. The additional exciſe was continued by the aſſiſtance of an evaſive explication of the act which gave it birth. The elections of members for the Engliſh parliament had been irregular, and under an undue influence; and a ſort of political inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in Scotland. The nation, however, overlooking theſe attempts, repaid his verbal promiſes in favor of the church of England with real grants, and all Europe, attentive to what then paſſed in England, knew not whether more to admire the complaiſance of a people ſo jealous of their liberty, or the aſſurance of a Prince, who put them on ſuch trials.

The happy ſituation of that Prince.

The firſt advantages, and the intire deſtruction of the rebels, induced him to judge, that the time to eſtabliſh his religion on the throne was now at hand; and it is certain he found very favorable conjunctures. A victorious army ſtill on foot; ſubjects full of ſubmiſſion; a parliament choſen by the court; foreign Princes eagerly preſſing for his friendſhip, and the eſteem of thoſe Sovereigns, who imagined they ſaw in him the umpire of the differences of Europe, appeared to him more than preſages of a glorious and peaceable reign.

His abuſe of it.

His firſt ſtep was to continue thoſe Catholics in the army, whom he had incorporated in it for three months only. Throughout the three kingdoms he prefered ſuch noblemen to the firſt poſts, from whom he expected a docility, which was not promiſed by thoſe, whom he diſplaced for their ſakes. By his favors and bounties he gained ſeveral proſelites of the firſt rank to the Romiſh church. He at the ſame time affected to condemn all manner of perſecution. Not ſatisfied with publicly expreſſing his compaſſion for the French proteſtants, who fled to his kingdom for refuge, and reproaching Lewis XIV with their misfortunes; he aſſiſted them liberally and cauſed very large collections to be made for them. His whole diſcourſes to the Engliſh Non-conformiſts turned on moderation and toleration; and he flattered himſelf that, content with their being connived at by the national church, they would, in their turn, bear with the Roman Catholics.

Sequel of this matter.

After theſe preliminaries, he declared to the parliament his intention of keeping an army on foot, and continuing the Catholic officers in commiſſion. Both houſes exclaimed againſt the laſt article, and complained that it was aboliſhing the teſt, and depriving the Proteſtant religion of its ſtrongeſt bulwark; and that, in ſhort, if the royal authority was allowed to ſuperſede ſo clear and ſo ſtrong a law, no barrier would be able to defend the liberties of the nation, and prevent the Engliſh Monarchy from becoming arbitrary and deſpotic. James, incenſed at the oppoſition of the parliament, prorogued it for eighteen months, and then diſſolved it. He brought ſuch perſons into the courts of juſtice as were dependent on him and devoted to his will: he cauſed the judges of the King's-bench, and the other judges, to declare the diſpenſing power inherent in the crown; he erected an eccleſiaſtical court, which he inveſted with a power independent of the laws, and by the aſſiſtance of which he deſigned to conquer the indocility of the High-church, and puniſh their zeal againſt that of Rome; he diſſolved the parliament of Scotland, for refuſing to repeal the penal laws; he filled the army in Ireland with Catholics; he confered biſhoprics on thoſe eccleſiaſtics who were either diſpoſed to give into his views, or incapable of oppoſing them. After which he attempted, by acts of abſolute authority, to force into the univerſities "perſons of the King's reli-" gion;" for that was then the language, At the ſame time, by a proclamation directed to the council of Scotland, he eſtabliſhed an univerſal toleration in that kingdom, and abrogated the penal laws; he ſoon after prevailed with the council of England, tho' not quite ſo tractable, to ſuſpend the oaths in force againſt the Catholics, and exempt from the penal laws all ſuch as had entered into, or ſhould enter into public imployments, without taking them.

He offers an univerſal toleration.

The conſiderate part of the Preſbyterians, Independents, Anabaptiſts, and Quakers, had judged from the begining, that if the King was pleaſed to careſs them, it was not becauſe he loved them; and that the church of Rome, by offering them a toleration, labored only to obtain it for herſelf, being fully reſolved to puniſh both them and the members of the church of England, for their ſeparation, when it ſhould be in their power. However they had declined both writing and acting openly againſt the Romaniſts: and left that care to the members of the national communion, who were in poſſeſſion of the dignities and beneficęs, and who acted, not with a deſign of dividing thoſe advantages with their Diſſenting brethren, but of ſecuring them to themſelves. They had even apprehended that thoſe two churches, weary of diſputing the ſuperiority in vain, might agree to divide it, and cruſh them in the end; for which reaſon they had reſolved to keep fair with the court and the Epiſcopal party.

April. 1687. How it was received.

Theſe diſpoſitions ſeemed changed, when the proclamation was publiſhed, granting a full liberty of conſcience. The Preſbyterians, and others, tranſported with joy and gratitude, ran to the King with addreſſes ſtuffed with the meaneſt and moſt rank flattery. In ſome of them the Epiſcopal church was accuſed of tyranny: the King's clemency was extolled to the ſkies, for opening their meetings that had been ſo long ſhut, and declaring his ſubjects, of whatever religion, capable of public imploys: they made lively proteſtations of fidelity; and ſome of them even went ſo far as to promiſe him their hearty concurrence for procuring the election of ſuch members as ſhould inforce his orders. The pleaſure of ſeing themſelves put on a level with the Epiſcopal church, and the hope of making that church a proper return for the treatment they had received from it, furniſhed ſeveral of thoſe new flatterers, with theſe and the like expreſſions. On theſe terms, they readily conſented that the Catholics ſhould injoy a larger indulgence.

The court's ſhort triumph.

The court, on the other hand, triumphed in having brought perſons into a good humor with the religion they protected, who till then had been its enemies. The King himſelf, as blind as were his confidents, now kept no meaſures with the church of England: he ſeverely condemned the violence it had uſed againſt the Proteſtant Separatiſts. If he was to be believed, ſome members of the church had retarded the publication of his orders for the toleration, by promiſing him to favor the Romiſh communion, on condition he would give up thoſe who had ſeparated from the national church; and he named the authors of this odious bargain. He had given orders at the ſame time for reviſing the proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical courts againſt the Non-conformiſts (1), and making a report of the pecuniary compoſitions, by means of which they had thought themſelves but too happy in pur-

(1) In this his Majeſty ſuffered much in his honor, for as the perſons denied the whole thing, ſo the freedom of diſcourſe in any ſuch treaty ought not to have been made uſe of to defame them. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 715.

chaſing

chaſing their ſecurity. People were perſuaded, and not without reaſon, that this inquiry would end in the confuſion of the eccleſiaſtical courts, and incourage the Sectaries to take their revenge on the Epiſcopal party.

Meaſures taken by the church of England againſt it.

But before it came to theſe extremities, the Epiſcopalians had taken private meaſures, with the Prince of Orange, to ingage him to maintain the national church and the Engliſh liberties, by force of arms. They had even prevailed with him to ſend the baron Dykvelt into England to form the party with them, and they ſoon eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with the court at the Hague. The King's late proceedings worked up their reſentments to the higheſt pitch. In vain ſome biſhops ſtrove to perſuade the clergy to thank his Majeſty for having promiſed, in his declaration for liberty of conſcience, to maintain the church of England. They looked on that promiſe as falacious; and the moſt moderate were thoſe who teſtified their ſatisfaction, on this account, by ſilence only. The parliament, in its turn, acting on the ſame principles, refuſed to confirm the liberty of conſcience, and abrogate the teſt, which at laſt obliged the King to diſſolve that body. The cities and towns which had likewiſe particular ſubjects of complaint, ſhewed their diſcontent, and beheld with concern, that by abuſing the new charters, inſtead of reſtoring the old, as had been promiſed, their magiſtrates were diſplaced, to make room for others (1). The whole nation was incenſed to ſee that, to all theſe illicite proceedings againſt the country and religion, James had added that of ſending an embaſſy of obedience to Rome, and publicly receiving a miniſter from that court. Thouſands who had not been affected with things much more eſſential, were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſhocking a ſight as that of a Pope's nuncio at London; and concluded, that a King, who ſeemed to fear them ſo little, had put himſelf into a condition of being dreaded, and of inſulting the laws of the land with impunity.

Meaſures taken by the King.

By theſe tokens, James ſhould have foreſaw that the warmth of his counſellors and that of his own zeal had hurried him too far. However, whether he did not perceive it, or whether he made it a point of honor and duty not to give ground in a cauſe where both the Royal dignity and his conſcience were concerned, he went on as he had begun; flattering himſelf that in a little time a parliament, intirely at his devotion, would give a ſanction to his enterpriſes by laws. In this view he did all he judged neceſſary for making himſelf maſter of the elections. The lords lieutenants of the ſeveral counties were ordered to interrogate the chief inhabitants on theſe three articles: "Whether they would conſent to the revocation of the "teſt and penal laws, in caſe they ſhould have a "ſeat in the lower houſe: whether they would give "their votes for ſuch perſons as were ſo diſpoſed; "and whether they approved of ſupporting the "order for the toleration?" The court placed in the towns and cities ſuch mayors and ſherifs, as they could depend on in the approaching election. It was given out, with a certain air of aſſurance, that the King would go thro' with what he intended, and people were thereby made to believe, that he might reſolve to take by force what his ſubjects would not grant him voluntarily. He himſelf frequently ſaid, with ſome warmth, "That he was King; that he "ſhould know how to command obedience, and "that whoever would dare to oppoſe him, ſhould "feel the weight of his diſpleaſure." But the reſolution of the people rendered theſe attempts of no effect: and juſt ſo it was with all the pains he took, ſometimes to reconcile the Princeſs of Orange, his daughter, to the Catholic religion, and ſometimes to ingage her, with the Prince her huſband, to conſent at leaſt to the revocation of the teſt and penal laws, or to make the Engliſh believe their Highneſſes gave their aſſent to it.

He quarrels with the foreign powers.

He had the misfortune to quarrel with the foreign powers at the ſame time. The United Provinces had three regiments of Engliſh, and three of Scots in their ſervice. Some of them old ſoldiers, whom the Dutch had kept even in their two laſt wars with England; and the reſt had been raiſed ſince that time; no right of recalling them being reſerved by the capitulation. There were ſome Catholic officers among thoſe troops, whom it was pretended the King had gained, and who for that reaſon gave great uneaſineſs to the Prince, becauſe, in caſe of a rupture with his father-in-law, he could neither confide in them, nor honorably diſcharge them.

During theſe tranſactions, King James reclaim'd thoſe regiments, without vouchſafing to ſound the diſpoſitions of the deputies of the States, or the officers of thoſe troops. He was anſwered with an abſolute refuſal: only it was added, in order to juſtify or ſoften it, that in reality according to treaties ſubſiſting, if England wanted thoſe troops for her defenſe, they were to be ſent over, as had been done in the time of the laſt rebellion; but that the kingdom was now in peace. And beſide, theſe regiments were in great part compoſed of Hollanders, and properly ſpeaking, did not belong to the King, becauſe what Engliſh and Scots were in them, were the remains of thoſe who had long been in the ſervice of the State, whom they had purchaſed at a very dear rate.

King James, exaſperated at this refuſal, forbid all his ſubjects, of what rank or condition ſoever, to ingage in the ſervice of any foreign Prince, without his conſent, under pain of corporal puniſhment. He afterwards publiſhed a ſevere proclamation againſt ſuch Engliſh expreſly as then ſerved the United Provinces, in what quality ſoever, whether on ſea or land, unleſs they immediately quited that ſervice. By this he propoſed to gratify his reſentment, and intimidate the Dutch; but it did not anſwer his expectation. On the contrary, they were well pleaſed, that by recalling thoſe regiments, he had furniſhed them with ſo ſpecious an opportunity of geting rid of perſons whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, as that of teſtifying their readineſs to give him ſatisfaction; and thereupon offered thoſe Engliſh officers their diſcharge, who were diſpoſed to aſk it. Only ſuch as were miſtruſted laid hold of the opportunity: but the animoſity of the Dutch was not abated, and it was believed, that the recalling of thoſe troops preſaged an approaching war between England and Holland,.

But what did that Prince ſtill more prejudice with the States General, as well as with the Emperor Leopold, and Charles II, King of Spain, was his conſtant refuſal of entering into a league, which they had made at Augſburg with the German Princes, againſt France. Thoſe powers were thereupon convinced that he was united in intereſt, and ingaged to Lewis XIV, by a private treaty. They thought this the more probable, becauſe Spain having promiſed him, on condition he would accede to the league, to ingage the parliament to approve of whatever he had attempted with regard

(1) The Regulators, who were for the moſt part Diſſenters gained by the court, went on boldly, and turned men out upon every ſtory that was made of them, and put in others whom they confided in; but often ſo haſtily, that men were put in one week, and turned out another. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 719.

to religion, he had rejected an offer which would have been moſt advantageous to him, had he not expected more effectual ſupport from ſome other quarter. I ſhall not undertake to decide the truth of this. On the one hand, Lewis XIV denied any ſuch ingagement, and James II ſtill more ſtrenuouſly. On the other hand, all the actions of thoſe two Princes, for a conſiderable time, were ſo many evidences of that formidable alliance. To go back to the original of things, it was ſaid that

In 1670. Charles II had concluded a private league with France, the aim of which was to ſecure that Prince an abſolute authority over his parliament, on condition he ſhould eſtabliſh the Catholic religion in his kingdoms, and concur in the deſign of humbling the Dutch, and it was hardly probable that James II, then duke of York, ſhould decline an alliance ſo advantageous to his religion. The letters of the famous Coleman, and father la Chaiſe, which were, at that time, in every body's hands, contained ſome things, that amounted to little leſs than inconteſtable proofs of the ſtricteſt and moſt intimate friendſhip between the three Princes, and of the ardor with which they jointly indeavored the overthrow of the Proteſtant religion. Lewis XIV had then taken ſuch ſteps in favor of King James, as are not uſually the reſult of a common tie among Princes. It was he who propoſed the duke's marriage with the Princeſs of Modena, and managed that affair at his own expenſe: he received that Princeſs in France with extraordinary magnificence, and bore her charges into England. It is added, that he paid the beſt part of her portion, if not the whole. King James, in return, both before and after his acceſſion to the crown, ſeemed to act only by the influences of France, and it might be ſaid he was no more than the firſt miniſter of that court in England. The principality of Orange,

In 1660, 1673, and 1682. three times taken from its lawful Sovereign, by Lewis XIV, without either Charles the uncle, or James, both uncle and father-in-law of that Prince, intereſting themſelves in his favor, was conſidered as a certain indication of the influence the counſels of Verſailles had over thoſe of St. James's. Beſide which, there were formal and public acknowlegments of a ſtrict alliance lately concluded between the two crowns (1). On theſe grounds it was, that the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria conceived a prejudice againſt King James, and conſidered him as a Prince inſeparably attached to France.

A league formed againſt Lewis XIV and James II. Intereſt ſoon brought them in allies. The Elector-Palatine ſtood in need of a powerful protection, for ſupporting him againſt France, who would not fail of maintaining by arms the right of the ducheſs of Orleans to the ſucceſſion of the Elector her brother. The Prince of Orange had reaſon to apprehend his religion would exclude him from the throne of England; and even without that motive, his inveterate hatred of Lewis XIV had been ſufficient; an hatred of which no one then doubted, and with which that Monarch was too well acquainted, not to repay it. Nor where other Princes and

In 1686. States without their particular views. Thus was formed the famous league of Augſburg between the Emperor, Spain, the United Provinces, the Elector Palatine, and thoſe of Saxony and Brande-

In Febr. 1687. burg, who were joined the year following by the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy.

King James publiſhes an order for reading his declaration for liberty of conſcience in the churches. April 27. We ſhall now ſee by what a ſeries of events King James loſt the crown. His declaration for a liberty of conſcience had been publiſhed ſome what more than a year when he renewed and confirmed it by an order, which was attended with terrible conſequences. Dr. William Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, introduced an officious innovation, when he propoſed reading in the pulpits a ſort of In 1681. manifeſto, ſet forth by Charles II, after the parliament of Oxford. James took advantage of this dangerous precedent, to the prejudice of the church of England. The council ſent an order to the biſhops to diſperſe copies of the new declaration throughout their dioceſes, and lay an injunction on the inferior clergy to read it two ſeveral Sundays in their churches during the time of divine ſervice. This order threw the clergy of London into the utmoſt perplexity.

The perplexity of the church of England on this occaſion. On one ſide, it was ſaid that diſobedience to the commands of the Sovereign, expoſed the clergy to criminal proſecutions; and that it was not conſiſtent with prudence to run ſuch hazards for an affair of this nature. That the reading of the declaration did by no means infer the approbation of the order. That to read it, was barely to notify an act of the King's, and that the perſons ſo complying might free themſelves from all cenſure by declaring, that this publication of it was a proof of their obedience, not a mark of their conſent.

On the other hand, it was obſerved, that this declaration, tending to the overthrow of the church of England, the epiſcopal clergy was injoin'd to read it in their pulpits, only that they might thereby draw the contempt and hatred of the nation on themſelves. That if the clergy betrayed the intereſt of the ſtate, the nobility might, to be revenged, come to an agreement with the court at the expence of the church: that if they now loſt ground, it would be impoſſible for them ever to recover it: that proteſtations would not prevent this conſequence, and that for the ſame reaſons alleged for reading this declaration they could refuſe reading none for the future: that therefore they ought to agree to publiſh only thoſe things in the pulpit, which the clergy were ſuppoſed to approve of. That the point in queſtion was not whether tolleration was lawful or neceſſary: but whether they ſhould acknowlege a power in the kingdom ſuperior to the laws; a pretenſion, which abſolutely changed the very form of the government: in ſhort, that it was indeed dangerous to diſobey; but then their total ruin was reſolved upon, unleſs they prevented it by an intire and baſe ſacrifice of their conſciences. That they ought therefore to prepare to ſuffer; and that it would little avail to keep off the ſtorm for a-while, by ſubmiting to a ſtep, which would only alienate the friends of the Epiſcopal clergy, and adminiſter to their enimies an occaſion of triumph.

They all refuſe to obey. The reaſons alleged by theſe latter, at length convinced the others. The diſobedience of the London clergy would however have been of no great conſequence, if their example had not been at all, or but faintly, followed in the country. In this caſe a conſiderable part would have been looked upon as the whole; and perhaps the court, flattered by ſome biſhops, did really expect that the number of ſuch as ſhould obey would be ſo large, at leaſt that they might boaſt of the ſuffrage of the church of England, and proceed againſt the refractory with ſome appearance of juſtice. But the reſolution of the London-clergy gained the point, and animated thoſe in the ſeveral counties.

Debates of the biſhops on that affair. Sancroft appeared at the head of them, with a vigor not expected from his former conduct. At his intreaty, ſuch of his ſuffragans as were able to

(1) Monſieur d'Avaux, embaſſador of France to the States General, had expreſly declared it in a memorial, which he preſented them, and monſieur de Croiſſy, miniſter from the ſame court to the Porte, had made the ſame confeſſion to the Engliſh miniſter.

repair

An' 1687. repair to London, came thither to confer with him, and for thoſe whoſe age or infirmities would not allow of it, they were conſulted by letter. Conferences were held at Lambeth; whither ſeveral divines, who were noted for their learning and integrity, were invited, and previous to their deliberations, the aſſiſtance of the ALMIGHTY was intreated in prayer. Eighteen biſhops, and two thirds at leaſt of the inferior clergy, concluded not to read the declaration, and it was agreed that ſome of the prelates, together with the archbiſhop, ſhould deliver a petition to the King, as well in their own names, as in thoſe of their abſent brethren, to ſet forth the motives of their conduct. The archbiſhop ſigned it, and ſix biſhops carried it to Whitehall, viz. William Lloyd biſhop of St. Aſaph, Thomas Kenn biſhop of Bath and Wells, John Lake biſhop of Chicheſter, Francis Turner biſhop of Ely, John White biſhop of Peterborough, and ſir Jonathan Trelawney biſhop of Briſtol (1).

1688. The petition of the ſeven biſhops.

In this petition they ſet forth, "That their "averſeneſs proceeded neither from any want of "duty to the King, nor of due tenderneſs to Diſ"ſenters, in relation to whom, they were willing "to come to ſuch a temper as ſhould be thought "fit, when that matter ſhould be conſidered and "ſettled in parliament and convocation: But "that this declaration was founded upon ſuch a diſ"penſing power, as had been often declared ille"gal in parliament *. Beſide, as this matter was "of the greateſt moment to the whole nation, they "could not, in prudence, honor or conſcience, "make themſelves ſo far parties to it, as to publiſh "this declaration, even in GOD's houſe, and in the "time of divine ſervice.

* In 1662, 1672, and 1685.

Upon the reading of their petition, by the King's command, his Majeſty ſtartled, and being greatly provok'd, told them angrily: "He did not ex"pect this from the Church of England, eſpecially "from ſome of them; That, if he chang'd his "mind, they ſhould hear from him: If not, he ex"pected his command ſhould be obey'd." To which the biſhops replied, they reſign'd themſelves to the will of GOD, and immediately retired.

The King's anſwer.

After a ſtep of this importance, in which the honor of the King and biſhops was equally at ſtake, it could not but be with great uneaſineſs, that every one was attentive to the conſequences of it, and impatient to ſee which would, in the end, obtain their point, the King or the nation. Some days were ſpent in conſultations. The court immediately indeavor'd to ſtifle the petition, but in vain. They then conſulted perſons of different perſuaſions. Some were for impriſoning the biſhops who had ſign'd it, and for this father Peters, who was now almoſt firſt miniſter, with the title of privy-counſellor, was very urgent. There were, however, other Roman Catholic lords, who were for the King's putting up the affront, and not inſiſting, with the clergy, upon a point, which might determine them to a profeſs'd diſobedience.

He propoſes the matter to his council:

This advice was by ſo much the more prudent as it is dangerous to drive matters to an extremity, with a body of men, who have a ſure refuge in the love of the people for religion, and whom oppreſſion itſelf renders venerable. James was ſenſible of this truth, by a fatal experience. There were but very few, and thoſe the moſt inconſiderable of the clergy, who ſubmited. In London no more than ſeven, and about 200 throughout all England, in which, it is computed, there are 9500 pariſhes. And it is obſervable, that of the few who were obedient, ſome read the declaration one Sunday only, and for the reſt, moſt of them declared from the pulpit, that it was by command, and not thro' inclination. One even turn'd it into ridicule, and told his pariſhioners, "That tho' he was oblig'd to read this piece, they "were not bound to hear it;" and did not read it, till they had all left the church. An' 1688.

And follows the worſt advice.

The ſubmiſſion of the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, and ſome addreſſes which were preſented the King, were to him a ſufficient balance, for the marks of diſſatisfaction ſhewn by the epiſcopal party. That of Carliſle, in particular, deſerves, for its ſingularity, to be preſerv'd in hiſtory. "They thank'd "the King for having eſtabliſh'd a liberty of con"ſcience, and a royal army; an army which they "were convinc'd, whatever the Tekelites might ſay "or think of it, was undoubtedly for the honor "and ſecurity of the nation. They promis'd to "elect ſuch members, as would promote a revoca"tion of the teſt and penal laws, and who had ne"ver any ways declared in favor of ſuch cannibal "laws:" and concluded with theſe expreſſions: "Surely theſe men, that oppoſe your Majeſty in "ſo gracious a work, do not conſider what a ſove"reign Prince, by his royal power, can do. A "work which Heaven ſmiles upon, and will re"ward with no leſs a bleſſing than a Prince of "Wales, that we may never want a Prince of your "royal race, to ſway the ſcepter of theſe king"doms, while either Sun or Moon ſhall give light "to this world." Addreſſes on this occaſion.

The King's hopes were greatly increaſed by the promiſes he drew from his counſellors, one by one, after about a fortnight's tampering with them, that they would comply with his meaſures. He then cauſed the biſhops to be ſummon'd before the council, and, upon their appearance, the petition being produced, they were ask'd whether they own'd it? They anſwer'd: "That if the deſign was to ac"count it a crime in them, they hop'd the King "would not take advantage of the confeſſion they "were about to make in his preſence, and that "they allowed it to be the petition they had "preſented." Being ask'd how they came to print and publiſh it, they proteſted "that they "had no hand, either in one or the other." And, indeed, it has been aſſur'd, that they had conceal'd it with all the care imaginable: the archbiſhop wrote the rough draught with his own hand, kept it in his own poſſeſſion, without ſuffering any one to ſee it, and the only engroſs'd copy was that which was ſign'd and preſented by the biſhops. It muſt therefore have been handed to the preſs by ſome one to whom the King had intruſted it, and perhaps by a miniſter who was then pretty much in the confidence, both of his Majeſty and the Prince of Orange. The biſhops ſummoned to appear before the council.

The council declaring this petition to be a libel, publiſh'd with the ſiniſter deſign of diminiſhing the King's authority, told the biſhops, they muſt give recognizances to appear before the court of King's-bench, at a time limited, to anſwer this high miſdemeanor. This they all refus'd to do, alledging their peerage, as biſhops, which placed them above the juriſdiction of that court. This Reſolution threw the whole council into aſtoniſhment. They threatned to proſecute them as rebels, with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law; and that unleſs they immediately withdrew their petition, they ſhould be ſent to the Tower: and an order for their commitment was ſign'd by all the members preſent, excepting father Peters, whoſe name the King would not ſuffer to appear on this occaſion. They replied, "that the King of Kings "would be their Protector and their Judge, and

(1) Father Orleans and mr Archdeacon Eachard are miſtaken in ſaying, that the archbiſhop himſelf preſented the requeſt. He was ſick, and did not ſtir out of his palace.

An' 1688.

" that they feared nothing from men, ſince they " had been wholly govern'd by their conſciences, " and the laws of the land.

And are committed to the Tower. * May 28.

Upon this Anſwer, they were conveyed to the Tower * by water, leſt the populace might be excited to riſe, by the view of ſo moving a ſpectacle: But, notwithſtanding this precaution, people flocked in ſhoals, on both ſides of the river, extolling the conſtancy of theſe prelates, and craving their benediction on their knees, with all poſſible marks of a moſt ſenſible affliction. The ſame ſcene preſented itſelf at the Tower, where as well officers as ſoldiers threw themſelves on their knees, to receive their priſoners. In ſhort, grief was viſible in the face of every one, and every eye was a teſtimony of that ſpecies of menacing ſorrow, in which rage ſeems to be predominant over dejection. It was, perhaps, no unneceſſary precaution, that ſome companies of ſoldiers were up in arms, that day, who had orders to fire on all that ſhould offer to diſturb the peace, without which a tumult might probably have inſued.

Diſpoſitions of the King and nation, on this account.

The King, far from being intimidated by theſe tacite reproaches, or the ſhare which his army, then incamped at Hounſlow-heath, publicly profeſſed to take in the affliction of the city, as if theſe circumſtances were only ſo many ſpurs to his rancor, diſcharged all thoſe ſoldiers who had knelt to the biſhops, and was deaf to the intreaties of thoſe prudent Catholics who adviſed the releaſe of the prelates. He anſwered, with great haughtineſs, that his authority would become deſpicable, ſhould he put up with this infraction of it: And choſe rather to be a ſacrifice to the empty honor of acting conſiſtent with himſelf, in hopes of concealing his error, or rather juſtifying his actions, by perſevering in them.

The biſhops, in the mean time, were continued in the Tower, in ſeparate apartments, where they were daily viſited by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, ſome lords coming ſeventy, or more, miles to ſhew them this regard. After a week's impriſonment, they were brought before the court of King's Bench, by virtue of a Habeas Corpus, and were inlarged upon the moderate recognizances of 100 *l.* for each biſhop, and 200 for the archbiſhop. The court appear'd, on this occaſion, as ſplendid as it was numerous. Several lords accompanied the biſhops to and from the court, and the populace followed with loud acclamations. Bonefires ſucceeded, at night, in all parts of the town; and the following days, theſe confeſſors, as they were ſtiled, were imployed in receiving the viſits of their well-wiſhers.

Trial of the biſhops.

No leſs ſplendid was the day of their trial: they were attended to the bar, by ſeveral biſhops, and by above thirty temporal lords, (1) who were curious to know the event, and who came provided with ſums of mony, to pay the fines which it was apprehended would be laid upon them. The unwearied aſſiduity of the clergy, and eſpecially of dr. Tenniſon, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, contributed very much to the procuring of a ſplendid appearance for the priſoners, which had this double advantage, that it at once did honor to the church of England, and excited the zeal of the people. The council for the King, were ſir Thomas Powis, attorney-general, ſir William Williams, ſolicitor-general, ſir Bartholomew Shore, recorder of London, mr. ſerjeant Baldock, and mr. ſerjeant Trinder: and for the biſhops, ſir Robert Sawyer, ſir Francis Pemberton, ſir George Treby, mr. Heneage Finch, mr. Henry Pollexfen, and mr. John Somers. On the bench ſat ſir Robert Wright, lord chief juſtice, and the judges Holloway, Powel and Allybone, the latter of whom was a Roman Catholic (2). As for the jury, it conſiſted of ſir Roger Langley, baronet, ſir William Hill, mr. Roger Jennings, mr. William Avery, mr. Thomas Auſtin, mr. Nicholas Price, mr. Thomas Harriot, mr. Geoffrey Nightingale, mr. William Withers, mr. Michael Arnold, mr. Thomas Done, and mr. Richard Shoreditch; whoſe poſterity will probably not be diſpleaſed to find their names recorded in hiſtory. An' 1688.

Pleadings on both ſides.

The debate was begun upon theſe two queſtions of fact: firſt, " whether the petition was compoſed " by the biſhops; and, ſecondly, whether they pub- " liſh'd it?" The council for the King not being able to prove the firſt, by any other evidence, than the ſelf-confeſſion of the biſhops, before the council, it was ſtrenuouſly argued, that a certain confidence placed in the King, as a ſign of an intire dependance on his equity, ought not to be produced in evidence againſt them. All the proof they could bring on the ſecond queſtion was, that they had preſented the petition to the King, who was then alone, and afterwards acknowledg'd it to be of their compoſing before the council. The court, therefore, proceeded to the queſtion of law; " whether that petition " was a libel?"

" Williams and Powis took upon them to demon- " ſtrate that it tended to caſt a blemiſh on the " King's adminiſtration, and to defame his perſon; " to which the counſel for the biſhops anſwer'd, " that " their lordſhips having receiv'd a command, " which in conſcience they could not obey, they " thought it their duty, as biſhops and ſubjects, to " acquaint his Majeſty with the reaſons of their " non-compliance: that as peers, and members of " the great council of the nation, they had yet a " more ample right to do it: that in matters of " religion, it was, in a more eſpecial manner, their " duty; and that by the act of uniformity, paſs'd " in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they were in- " joyn'd, under pain of incurring the curſe of the " Almighty, not to be remiſs in caſes of this na- " ture. That the diſpenſing power aſſumed by " ſome Kings had been frequently oppos'd in parliament, where it had always been adjudg'd illegal. " That King Charles II had allow'd as much when " he revok'd his proclamation for a liberty of con- " ſcience; and that, all theſe things conſider'd, the " biſhops had authority for what they had done."

To this the council for the King replied; " that " the reſolutions of the two houſes, whether jointly " or ſingly, have not the force of a law, 'till they " have the ſanction of the royal aſſent. That " King Charles II might decline his right, in a " particular caſe, without a precedent being made of " it. That the Majeſty of Sovereigns was ſacred; " that the writing might be a libel, and yet contain " nothing but the truth; and finally, that the parliament, in a body were, indeed, intitled to re- " monſtrate; but that it was criminal in every one " elſe, to aſſume that liberty."

The biſhops acquitted.

Theſe debates laſted above ten hours; during all which time, an incredible throng of people waited in expectation of the event. The witneſſes againſt the biſhops, were not only inſulted, but in danger of their lives, had not they been convey'd away by a private door, and by that means eſcaped the fury of the people. The judges themſelves were divided: Powel and Holloway averr'd the petition to be no libel; but Allybone inſiſted it was; Wright agreed

(1) Theſe lords were the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Worceſter; the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Bedford, Pembroke, Dorſet, Bolingbroke, Manchester, Rivers, Stamford. Caernarven, Cheſterfield, Scarſdale, Carliſle, Burlington, Clarendon, Danby, Suſſex, Radnor, Nottingham and Abington: the viſcounts Falconbridge and Newport; and the lords Grey of Ruthyn, Paget, Chandois, Vaughan, Carbery, Lumley, Carteret and Oſſulſton.

(2) B. Burnet, inſtead of the latter, mentions Herbert, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas.

ſo

An' 1688.

so far with the latter; but at the same time, would not allow of the validity of the proofs of the publication. The jury it seems were no less at a loss, for they could not agree in a verdict that evening; so were shut up, as usual, the whole night, without any refreshment. It is said, that some insisted upon a fine being impos'd on the bishops; but others assure us, that when they were agreed, they believed their verdict would carry a greater weight with it, and they be less expos'd to the King's resentment, if it appear'd, that they had been long undetermin'd. Be this as it will, the next morning, they brought in the prisoners, NOT GUILTY.

Great joy of the nation on this account.

In a moment, the hall rung with loud and repeated acclamations, and persons of the highest distinction were not asham'd to join with the populace in their continued shouts. The marquis of Hallifax set them an example, by throwing up his hat and crying huzza; and some carried their excess of joy so far, to fire their muskets in the very hall. The lord chief justice, having caus'd one who had been guilty of this indecency to be taken up, could not forbear saying; "I rejoice as much as you "can, that my lords the bishops are acquited, "but the manner of your expressing your joy is "indecent in this place." Nor did these transports terminate here, the whole city ecchoed with them. Hardly a house but what was preparing a bonefire. The officers who were sent by the court to put a stop to them, could not hinder the people from making illuminations, and firing great guns in every part of the town. Some put six lighted candles in their windows with a seventh in the middle, longer than the rest, to denote the six bishops and the archbishop. In some places they obliged the constables to drink a health to the bishops bare-headed. Out of the jurisdiction of the lord-mayor matters were carried yet farther. From Temple-bar, along the Strand, to Charing-cross, within sight of Whitehall, and about Somerset-house, the residence of the Queen Dowager, the streets abounded with bonefires, and nothing was heard but shouts of "Long live the bishops." The news soon got into the country, and occasion'd the same rejoicings every where: In the very army, where the King happen'd to be, there was no stopping their course.

The King attempts, in vain, to gain the army.

James hoped, however, by means of his army, and ecclesiastical commission, to recover the ground he had lost by the court of King's-bench. To this end, he endeavour'd to induce the former to come into his measures, for repealing the test, and the penal laws. He caus'd the matter to be first open'd to the lord Litchfield's regiment, with orders, that those who would not instantly comply should lay down their arms. This, he imagin'd, would intimidate them, and that having gain'd one regiment the rest would soon follow; but how was he surpriz'd to find, that excepting two captains and four or five soldiers, who were Catholics, they all prepar'd to incur the penalty injoin'd. He order'd them to take up their arms again; adding, "That "for the future, he would not do them the honor "to ask their advice:" and this discourag'd him from any farther attempt with the other regiments.

And to incorporate Papists into it.

This project miscarrying, he was the more intent upon resuming that of forming an army for his purpose, by recruiting it with Irish Papists. His first attempt this way was with the regiment commanded by the duke of Berwick, his natural son, by ordering five Irishmen to be incorporated into each company. Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, captain Paston, captain Pack, and three others opposed it: but to soften their refusal, they alledged, that "they could depend upon the fidelity "of their men, which had been put to the trial, in "Monmouth's rebellion; that they could find "recruits sufficient in England, and that to mix "Irish with them, would give such distaste to the "rest, that the officers could be no longer answer-"able for them." In vain the duke of Berwick came in person to inforce the King's commands; and to as little purpose it prov'd, to threaten the refractory with death, and that a council of war shamefully broke them. All the court gain'd thereby was the vexation of seeing not the army only, but the whole nation espouse the cause of the disgraced captains; their pictures, as of so many confessors were engraven, and, together with those of the bishops, hung up in private houses.

An' 1688.

The ecclesiastical commission broken.

His Majesty succeeded no better with his ecclesiastical commission. In vain this court summon'd the chancellors and archdeacons of each diocese, to give a list of such as had refused to read the declaration. Some absolutely refused to submit to this new jurisdiction, while others thought to wave it by civil excuses: and as an additional misfortune, dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, a member of that commission, quitted it at once, and wrote a letter to his colleagues, setting forth his reasons for it: He said, "he could no longer join with them in it; that "he had indeed done it, in obedience to an order "of council, and protested he then thought it his "duty: that, nevertheless, he did not question "but his brethren, who had been disobedient to it, "had acted upon the same principles of conscience, "and that he had rather suffer with them, than "concur any longer in giving them trouble." This unexpected blow put a stop to their farther proceedings, and thus ended the ecclesiastical commission, and the prosecution of the bishops.

Birth of the Pretender.

While these things were transacting, the Queen was said to bring forth a Prince, now known in Europe, by the melancholy name of the Pretender. The reader has already seen in the foregoing sheets, that many, as well English as foreigners believed, or pretended to believe, that this Princess had not been with child at all; and that others would have it, she had miscarried, and substituted another child in the room of her own, which dying, as did likewise a second, the place was supplied by a third. Be that as it will, this event, which was intended to have fix'd James more firmly on the throne, was one, among others, which contributed the most to his fall. Many Protestants in England had pretty patiently born with a Catholic Prince on the throne, in expectation of a Protestant successor; but their hopes were frustrated by the birth of a Prince, who being brought up in the Roman persuasion, would undoubtedly, soon or late, attempt to make that the national religion. This consideration greatly advanced the intereſt of the Prince of Orange, and increased the number of his friends. As well those of the church of England, as the Dissenters, concur'd in inviting him hither, that he might oblige the King to govern according to law. Several of the nobility waited on him at the Hague, and, in the name of the whole nation, privately intreated the assistance of the States, who gave them ready assurances of it. The Prince sent a gentleman * to England, who, as he desired, returned with an invitation in form, sign'd by a great number of spiritual and temporal lords, and, at the same time, acquainted him with the state of the nation.

* Monsieur de Zuylestien.

The English call in the Prince of Orange.

He informed him, "that the nation was highly "provok'd, and called aloud for a deliverer; that "the eyes of the people were fix'd on him, for "this glorious exploit, and that the law of nations "gave him a just call to it, the heir being, by that "law, intitled to prevent the dissipation of an "estate, intail'd on him by succession, when by "the default of the possessor, it is running to ruin; "that if the present disposition of the minds of the "people was disregarded, the like favorable op-

portunity

An' 1688.

" portunity would hardly ever return, that even " the army, notwithſtanding the horrid licentiouſ- " neſs, into which it had been ſuffer'd to plunge " itſelf, that it might become odious to the peo- " ple, and bear an averſion to them, in its turn, " was not backward in their wiſhes, that the chains " with which the nation was fettered, might be " broken. That the troops, tho' equally ſtrangers " to the knowledge as well as practiſe of their re- " ligion, ſhewed, nevertheleſs, a contempt and ha- " tred for the Roman church, and that this had " induced the King to diſperſe them in the ſeveral " counties: that the fleet gave him the ſame ſub- " ject of uneaſineſs, and beſide ſhewed no inclina- " tion to come to blows, with that of the United " Provinces; and that having been founded by " certain perſons, on that head, they made no " ſcruple to anſwer, that the Dutch were their " friends and brethren, and that the French were " the natural enemies of the Engliſh."

He accepts their invitation.

This relation fixed the Prince of Orange's reſolution; and the ſituation of affairs, at this time, very much facilitated the execution of it. The principles, by which the nation in general was actuated in his favor, have been already ſhewn. Some, by inviting him, intended nothing more, than with the help of his troops, to bring matters into their natural order: others, by far the ſmaller number, prompted either by their hatred for James, or by their ambition, made a ſhew of having the ſame views only, tho' their real deſign was to dethrone their Sovereign, and the event has made it be thought, that the perſon, for whom they intended the throne, was not unacquainted with their deſign, and approved of it.

Foreigners, in their turn, had more than one reaſon, not to be the greateſt friends to King James. There was nothing more wanting, than to render the ſupport of France of no ſervice to him, by giving her imployment in her own defenſe. In this the Prince ſucceeded, as much by the evil conduct of his enemy, as his own ability.

The ſtate of Europe about the time of the revolution.

The powers and intrigues of Lewis XIV had excited a great part of Europe againſt him, and peace itſelf had furniſhed him with means of extending his conqueſts, with greater advantage and ſecurity than ever. He had bought Caſal of the duke of Mantua, made himſelf maſter of Straſsburg, by the credulity or corruption of its magiſtrates, and by judiciary proceedings re-united to his crown almoſt all that the Emperor had retain'd in Alſace. He had, partly by the ſame means, and in part by open violence, depriv'd Spain of ſeveral towns and lordſhips in the Low-countries, and the haughty and oppreſſive behavior of the French miniſtry had every where thoroughly exaſperated thoſe who were before but too much injured by his incroachments.

The Empe ror and Spain uneaſy at the con- duct of France

The two branches of the houſe of Auſtria had made ſome weak attempts, as well in their own defence, as to be revenged. The treaty of guaranty * between Spain, Holland, and Sweden had proved ineffectual. The conferences held at Frankfort and Ratisbon, in order to ſpirit up Germany againſt France, had been fruitleſs for two whole years, † and what by the favor of fortune, what by the efficacy of a refined policy, Lewis the XIVth triumphed over the juſt arguments and complaints of his enemies.

* Concluded in 1681.

† In 1682, and 1683.

Spain, inraged at the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained, and the contempt with which ſhe had been treated, reſolved at length, ‡ to ſeek an adequate ſatisfaction, by means of her own forces alone. The Prince of Orange, then ſtatholder of the United Provinces, would gladly have aſſiſted the Spaniards. But the city of Amſterdam oppoſing it, all he could obtain was the feeble and ineffectual ſuccor of 8000 men, ſtipulated by the treaty of 1672; ſo Charles II King of Spain, was reduced to the neceſſity of An' 1688. puting up with the diſadvantageous terms offer'd by France, after having loſt Courtray, Dixmuyde, Luxemburg, and ſome other places.

‡ In 1684.

The Emperor Leopold had ample cauſes of diſcontent. Neither the twenty years truce ſo lately concluded at Ratisbon, ‡ nor the league made at Augſburg, * in which he had ingaged ſeveral Princes, had been ſufficient to ſcreen him againſt the intrigues of France: ſhe bouyed up the malecontents of Hungary, and, by her agents at the Port, ſtired up the Grand-Signor to continue the war there.

‡ In Auguſt, 1684.

* In 1686.

Being conſtantly intent upon unfolding the Emperor's views, and perplexing his deſigns, France kept up ſuch correſpondences and alliances in the Empire, as inabled her to prevent the Emperor from imploying his forces, or his allies, in the defenſe of Germany, on the Rhine.

Conduct of Lewis XIV. towards the Proteſtants.

Nothing was wanting to crown theſe meaſures, but either to leave the Proteſtants unmoleſted, or intirely to root them out: but Lewis XIV was not able to effect either. He deprived the Proteſtants in his kingdom of their liberty of conſcience, by revoking the edict of Nantz, ‖ granted them by Henry IV, and by ſubjecting them to the moſt rigorous treatment if they perſevered in their religion. He conſtrained the duke of Savoy, to treat his Proteſtant ſubjects, in the vales of Piedmont, in like manner. The capitulation of Straſsburg could ſcreen the Proteſtants of that city, but from a part of the rigour of his edicts. The reformed of Orange were little the better for being the ſubjects of another power. That city and principality being rent from the houſe of Naſſau, and re-united to Dauphiny, the violences commited there by his dragoons eſtabliſh'd the authority and the religion of Lewis XIV. The ſtrict alliance that was between him and James II King of England, ingaged the latter to leave no ſtone unturned to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain.

‖ In 1685.

But the too precipitate proceedings of theſe two Princes, far from extinguiſhing the Proteſtant religion, tended only to loſe France the friendſhip of the Proteſtant Princes and States, who had and would always have taken her part againſt the houſe of Auſtria. They ſtrengthned the enemies of Lewis XIV with 800,000 French ſubjects, who carried immenſe riches, and the moſt valuable manufactures out of his kingdom, and furniſhed their armies with ſoldiers, who, beſide their valour and experience, were ſtimulated by the deſpair and reſentment of an exile, to which they had been oblig'd to condemn themſelves. In ſhort, they drove James II, from the throne, and ſet William III, upon it.

Some Roman Catholic Princes even contributed to, or at leaſt ſhewed their approbation of, this change; England and France being ſo ſtrictly united as they had now long been, and governed by two Monarchs, who were animated by the ſame principles and paſſions, ſeemed to threaten Europe, with a ſhameful and burdenſome ſlavery. Others hoped that the eſtabliſhment of a new government in England would furniſh them with an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke laid upon them, or of ſhewing their reſentment for the injuries that had been done them. Pope Innocent XI was one of thoſe who were the moſt ſenſibly affected with theſe ſentiments.

Pope Innocent XI oppoſes France.

James II had omited nothing that might ingage him in his intereſt; he ſent an embaſſy to him, and once more let England ſee the entry and audience of a Papal nuncio. He talked of nothing but a ſpeedy reduction of the whole nation, to the obedience of the Holy See, and, indeed, he labor'd at it with more ardor than prudence: but every

AN' 1688. every thing, at Rome, ran againſt him. His very manner of devotion, and want of ability were alone more than ſufficient to draw upon him the contempt of that politic court: and his miniſters ſeem'd made to be the ſport of it. They were ſenſible there, that the converſion of Great Britain, which he was ſo full of, would end in nothing, and be of no real benefit to the Pope: to all which they added James's partiality for Lewis XIV.

The two courts of Rome and France had been long at variance, concerning the regalia. The latter talked of nothing leſs, than withdrawing their duty from the See of Rome. The Gallican church had reviv'd the famous tenets of the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, againſt the pretenſions of the Popes, in four propoſitions. They threatned Rome with a formidable army, and the Pope, without any emotion, gravely told the terrified cardinals, "that he had courage enough to undergo martyr-"dom."

The buſineſs of the immunities had inflam'd his reſentment. He pretended they were limited to the palaces of embaſſadors, and to the perſons of their retinue: but France inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly on their privilege. The marquis de Lavardin, their embaſſador, had made his entry into Rome in a military manner, and as if it had been an enemy's town: his quarters, being carefully fortified, had the appearance of a ſtrong-hold, and it was no unreaſonable queſtion, whether his deſign was to ſtand a ſiege there, againſt the Pope, or to beſiege him in the Vatican? The Holy Father, at length, flew out beyond all bounds. Lavardin, whoſe credentials he would never allow of, was excommunicated, the church of St. Lewis, at Rome, was put under a ſuſpenſion; Chanlay, a ſecret agent of France, was diſmiſs'd with contempt, and new meaſures were taken with the Emperor and Spain.

Thus ſtood matters, when King James undertook the imprudent and odious commiſſion of exhorting Innocent XI to quit ſome of his pretenſions. He fondly believed, that all poſſible regard was due to his and Lewis XIV's zeal for the Roman church, and, according to him, the world could not, without offenſe, behold the ſovereign Pontiff continue to diſoblige two ſuch pious and mighty Princes. To crown his error, he on every occaſion ſhew'd his repugnancy to whatever could be propos'd to him, in oppoſition to France.

The Pope, on this occaſion, followed the example, which Sixtus V, left his Succeſſors in a caſe not much differing from this. He was not ſatisfied with having advis'd the States General, that Lewis XIV was preparing to fall upon their provinces, before he had declared war againſt them, and that King James would take his part: he went yet farther. About the time the revolution was concerting, France, who having poſſeſſion of Alſace, was miſtreſs of the Upper Rhine, had fortified Landau, to render Philipſburg thereby uſeleſs to the Imperialiſts. Luxemburg held the country of Triers in a dependance on France, and Mont-Royal was erected on the Moſel, to curb the Electors Palatine and of Mentz. The Electorate of Cologne was all they now wanted to ſecure, and, to this end, after having procured the election of Prince William of Furſtemburg to the co-adjutorſhip, they were actually bent upon obtaining the archbiſhopric for him.

Double election of the archbiſhop of Cologne.

The Pope was very eager to imbrace this opportunity in his turn, to mortify France, who diſtributed mony, and ſent troops to facilitate the election of this Prince; and he was indeed choſen by a plurality of votes, notwithſtanding all the intrigues of the Pope, the Emperor and Holland, who eſpouſed the intereſt of Prince Clement of Bavaria: but an obſtinate refuſal of the inveſtiture and bulls render'd this election of no effect, and Clement only was acknowledged elector and archbiſhop in the Empire and at Rome. AN' 1688.

Theſe conjunctures, I ſay, extremely favored the revolution in England. The marquis de Seignelay, ſon of monſieur Colbert, had diſcovered the deſign, and offered a fleet of forty ſail to oppoſe it. King James, whoſe falſe dependences had long impoſed on Lewis XIV, being recovered from that fatal ſecurity, preſs'd him urgently to make a diverſion, and had it been done on the ſide of Cologn or Maeſtricht, as he propoſed, it is certain the Dutch would have found too much buſineſs cut out for their troops, to have left their frontiers bare, for the ſake of the expedition to England: but Lewis XIV had other concerns more at heart. To render the election of Prince Furſtemburg valid; to ſupport the pretenſions of his ſiſter-in-law, the ducheſs of Orleans, againſt the Elector Palatine, and to prevent, at the ſame time, the irruption he was threatned with, by the league of the Empire, employed his thoughts: and thus begun that long war, which broke out by the invaſion of the Palatinate, and ſoon after ſpread over all Europe. Circumſtances of the revolution.

Holland, being thus freed from the apprehenſions the motions of the French had cauſed, lent their fleet and their forces, to the Prince of Orange. His deſcent in England met with no oppoſition. All declared immediately in his favor, and King James, being abandoned by his ſubjects and his allies, gave himſelf up to deſpair, and, by his flight, left the throne vacant for his ſon-in-law.

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Diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation towards the Prince of Orange.

From that moment, there appeared a change in every thing: the Tories, who were united, by the ſame common intereſt, with the Whigs, to call in the Prince of Orange, loſt all remembrance of what they had done, and regreted the yoke they had but juſt ſhook off. Some of them, who had imbib'd the principles of the divine and indefeaſible right of Kings, and paſſive obedience, ſtill look'd upon the perſon, whom they themſelves had dethron'd, as their King: others were under apprehenſions for the High Church party, during the reign of a Prince who was born a Preſbyterian. Many were in fear of nothing but of being proſecuted for the faults they had commited during the two preceding reigns, or of ſeing the Whigs, and the Dutch, who came over with the Prince, prefered before them.

They had forgot the danger the church of England was expos'd to, when King James, having led father Peters into the council, made a ſpeech in his favor, and declared, "That he expected his "power ſhould be acknowledged abſolute, and to "be obeyed without reſerve." They no more called to mind the new law cited by the lord chancellor Jefferies, in the high commiſſion court; "it is the King's pleaſure, that you be ſuſpended, "fined and deprived." They no more conſidered an expreſſion King James had let fall, ſoon after his flight, "That he hoped never to return to "England, but by means of fire and ſword." They did not reflect, that by the aſſociation they were all become guilty of high treaſon againſt King James, and that his reſtoration could not but prove fatal to them. Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was one of thoſe who had the moſt reaſon to be liable to theſe fears; he who had diſplaced the governor put by this Prince in the Tower, and ſet the lord Lucas in his room. He was as forgetful of his danger as the reſt. The view of this prelate, of the other biſhops, and of the reſt of the Tories, in calling over the Prince, was merely to make uſe of his authority and forces, to obtain a redreſs of their grievances, and they imagined they had paid too dear for theſe bleſſings, when they ſaw a Prince aſcending

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cending the throne, who would grant his protection equally to all Engliſh Proteſtants, under whatever denomination.

Snares laid for him by his pretended friends.

Hence proceeded the many ſnares which were laid in the Prince's way, and the difficulties he had to incounter with, on every ſide. The firſt propoſal was a treaty between King James and the Prince, while the latter was yet at Littlecot, and they prevailed on the former to command writs to be iſſued for calling a parliament. This artful counſel would have excluded the Prince for ever from the crown of Great Britain. A free parliament, which he himſelf had deſired in his manifeſto, would have diſpelled the uneaſineſſes, allayed the heats, and mitigated the diſcontents of the nation. It would have bound King James by ſuch laws, as, at the ſame time they limited his power, would have fixed him more ſecurely on the throne: while the Prince muſt have been contented with a large ſum of mony, and fair promiſes: but King James, who was as weak in his counſels, as he was intrepid in battle, ſoon deſerted his friends, and after having ſign'd a commiſſion for this treaty, his fears threw him into the power of the Prince, who prudently wink'd at his flight.

The deſperate counſels, which King James followed, might reaſonably have diſpirited his friends: nevertheleſs, it has been affirm'd, that ſome of them, by pretending to adhere to the contrary party, continued to ſerve him with the ſame zeal as before; and that theſe counſeled the Prince to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed King, by the army. This advice had a fair appearance, on one ſide. The Prince, being indebted to his ſword only for the crown, might have reign'd ſuperior to the laws, which had done nothing for him, and not have been liable, before his election, to the vexatious delays, and imperious caprices of a convention of the nation: but then the Engliſh looking upon themſelves as a conquer'd and inſlav'd people, would have own'd no obligation to him for his favors; becauſe they would have received them at the hands of a conqueror, and have ſuſpected his own intereſt to be the motives of them. The Prince avoided theſe ſnares, and reſolved to hold the crown of the nation only.

The lords offer him the adminiſtration.

The firſt thing the lords did was to tender him the adminiſtration, till the ſtates could be aſſembled, under the name of a convention, a name invented by the Royaliſts, and given that parliament which reſtored King Charles II. They then deſired his Highneſs "to cauſe letters, ſubſcribed by himſelf, "to be written to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, "being Proteſtants, as likewiſe to the ſeveral coun-"ties, univerſities, cities, boroughs, and cinque-"ports of England, directing them to chuſe ſuch "a number of perſons to repreſent them, as they "had right to ſend to parliament, within the ſpace "of ten days." Theſe two addreſſes were ſign'd by 90 Peers (1). Beſide theſe ſuffrages, the Prince thought it neceſſary to have the ſanction of ſome others, which might be looked upon as thoſe of the people: he therefore ſummon'd all thoſe who had been members of the houſe of commons, in the reign of King Charles II, to repair to St. James's the 26th of December, at ten in the morning, when the Prince having acquainted them with the cauſe of his deſiring them to meet, they went to the houſe of commons, where they reſolved upon an addreſs conformable to that of the lords, which being preſented to the Prince, the next day, it was reſolved, that the convention ſhould meet the 22d of January inſuing.

On the day fix'd, every thing was prepared, and the conferences were opened by the reading of a letter from the Prince, directed to both houſes. Interreg An' 1689.

He aſſembles a convention.

"After modeſtly hinting at what he had done for "the nation, he, in a few words, took notice of "the dangerous ſtate of Ireland: he recommended "unanimity and diſpatch in their conſultations. "He repreſented the danger that might attend de-"lays; that the States, by whom he had been in-"abled to reſcue this nation, and whom they were "obliged, by treaty, to aſſiſt, might ſuddenly feel "the ill effects of it, by being too long deprived "of the ſervice of their troops, or for want of the "ſuccors, which they ſtood in need of againſt "France, which had juſt declared war againſt "them." In this letter, the Prince gave an image of himſelf; haughty, and at the ſame time modeſt: he did not value himſelf upon the ſervices he had done the Engliſh, and ſcorning to win their affections by adulation, he would receive no return, but what proceeded from their eſteem and good will. In a word, to give him intire ſatisfaction, it was requiſite, that a ſenſe of gratitude, and their own intereſt alone, ſhould inſtruct them what obligation they had to him.

The commons declare the throne vacant.

The firſt ſteps the convention took could not but be acceptable to him. Both houſes returned an anſwer to his letter, in an addreſs full of acknowledgments and praiſes; and they appointed a day of public thankſgiving for the happy deliverance of the nation. The lower houſe, after a debate of five or ſix hours, reſolved, notwithſtanding an oppoſition of 150 members; "That King James II having "indeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the "kingdom, by breaking the original contract be-"tween King and people, and, by the advice of "Jeſuits, and other wicked perſons, having vio-"lated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn him-"ſelf out of the kingdom, had abdicated the go-"vernment, and that the throne was thereby be-"come vacant." The next day, the ſame houſe voted, "That Popery was inconſiſtent with the "Engliſh conſtitution, and that all Roman Catho-"lics were for ever excluded from the ſucceſſion "to the crown of England," to which the houſe of lords gave their concurrence.

Several biſhops and lords diſſent from this vote.

And now the diſpoſition of the nation began to appear more and more. Archbiſhop Sancroft, on hearing of theſe votes, would no more appear in the houſe of lords. He did not conſider, that the public had a right to expect, upon ſuch an occaſion, at leaſt ſomething from a prelate of his rank; and the exalted ſtation to which he was raiſed, in church and ſtate, requir'd that he ſhould give a public teſtimony of his approving or condemning the Prince's cauſe. The archbiſhop of York followed his example, as did, likewiſe, the biſhops of Winchester, Ely, Norwich, St. Aſaph, Bath and Wells, Oxford, Gloceſter, Lincoln and Durham: the earls of Huntington and Mulgrave, likewiſe abſented from the houſe, and ſickneſs hindered the lord Churchill from being there. Some of the prelates, and among others the biſhops of Winchester and Durham, afterwards reſumed their places, and declared for a King.

Reaſons alleg'd by ſome for their diſſention.

The votes of the houſe of commons met, at firſt, with a very warm oppoſition. It was ſtrenuouſly objected, "That Europe could not behold, with-"out aſtoniſhment, the Engliſh nation declaring Pa-"piſts incapable of ſwaying that ſcepter, which "had been born by a ſucceſſion of forty Princes "of that perſuaſion, from Egbert to Elizabeth. "That the Kingdom had but lately diſavowed that

(1) Other hiſtorians ſay 60. See hiſtory of King William, vol. 1. p. 306.

"maxim

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" maxim in numerous addreſſes; That the univer-
" ſities of Oxford and Cambridge had cenſured it
" as an error; that as the whole nation had ac-
" knowleged King James for their ſovereign,
" tho' he openly profeſſed Popery, it was a ridi-
" culous incongruity to pretend any Prince could
" be diſqualified for the crown of England on that
" account."

Several peers exclaimed with more vehemency againſt the other vote: " How, ſaid they, could " the name of deſertion, and much leſs of abdication, " be given to the neceſſary retreat of a Prince, who " had no way but this left to ſcreen his royal cha- " racter from the inſults of the populace; who ſaw " himſelf the captive of a foreign power, in his " own kingdom; who from his receſs, did not " ceaſe to proteſt againſt the acts of the convention; " who had a continued recourſe to the loyalty of his " former ſubjects, for his re-eſtabliſhment, and " who by the ſteps he himſelf took, to recover his " crown, evidently ſhewed, that he had not given " it up, but ſtill looked upon it as his right? And " beſide, what errors had he commited on the " throne, that the re-iterated offers he made the " nation, of redreſſing their grievances, in a " free parliament, were not a ſufficient attonement " for? But then it is alledged, that he has fled the " kingdom: an enormous crime indeed, continued " they! Did not the Saxon King Ethelred retreat " into Normandy? and of the Plantagenets, did " not Edward IV retire into Flanders? By a parity " of reaſoning, the flight of theſe Princes muſt " likewiſe have been a crime: but it never was " imputed to them as ſuch. The Royal dignity " would be a melancholy ſtate, if Kings only were " debared from avoiding danger, by flight, when " no other remedy is to be found."

The anſwer to them.

The moſt minute words of this vote were therefore to be canvaſſed, with a ſcrupulous nicety; " the exiſtence of an original contract was proved " by many arguments. The word abdication, " which in the common acceptation of it ſignifies a " reſignation abſolutely ſpontaneous and free, was " ſhewn to be likewiſe in uſe, in ſpeaking of a pub- " lic perſon, who commits ſuch actions, as " by right authorize the diveſting him of his dig- " nity: but the vacancy of the throne was an ex- " preſſion which gave more trouble to juſtify."

Another objection of the houſe of peers.

Some peers urged the maxim; " that the King " never dies, and therefore, that the throne can " never be ſaid to be vacant: " and thence infered, " that ſuppoſing King James had abdicated, his " throne was actually devolved to his immediate " heir ": of which the oath of allegiance was an inconteſtable proof; ſince, " the perſon " taking it does not, thereby, bind himſelf more to " the King, then reigning, than to his heirs and " ſucceſſors."

Reply to it.

To this it was anſwered, that " King James " having broken that tie, by which his ſubjects " were bound to his perſon, had thereby broken " that to his poſterity. He who ſucceeds to the right " of a perſon deceaſed is properly called heir; for " no man can be heir to the living. If therefore, " King James had forfeited his right, in his life- " time, he could not tranſmit it to any one, at " his death. In caſe of high-treaſon, the perſon " condemned forfeits his eſtate, while living, and " being poſſeſſed of none, at his death, his heirs " have no pretence to any, their right being anni- " hilated before it could devolve to them; the " application of which to the caſe in queſtion was " eaſy: to which might be added, that after " having ſhaken off the yoke of a tyrant, it would " be imprudent to admit the ſucceſſion of an heir " who could carry a reſentment of the injury done " to his anteceſſor, with him, to the throne. If " neceſſity would juſtify a nation in oppoſing a vio- " lent invaſion, and preventing their intire ruin, the " purſuit of thoſe meaſures, as far as their ſecurity " required, muſt be allowable: they agreed, " that natural equity, and the public tranquillity " demanded a direct lineal ſucceſſion, as far as was " conſiſtent, and it was what they wiſhed, but they " denied being abſolutely fixed down to it."

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A propoſal made to inquire into the ſuppoſititious birth of a Prince of Wales:

After an anſwer like this, it was of little or no moment whether the birth of the Prince of Wales was ſuppoſititious or not; ſince, be that as it will, he was declared to have no right to the crown. Some, however, thought the pretended birth of that child ought to be inquired into, for the honor of King James's two daughters, the Princeſſes Mary and Ann. Dr. Burnet was imployed in it: but after he had gathered together a number of preſumptive circumſtances, which, in his opinion, proved the impoſture more clearly than any formal evidences, which might have been ſuſpected of corruption, could have done, the court, the lords, and many others, out of different views, agreed to drop the inquiry.

But dropped.

The opinion of the cabinet-council was, that the evidences of his legitimacy, publiſhed by King James, rather confirmed than removed the ſuſpicions, and it was feared, that imperfect teſtimonies of the impoſture might but make it more doubtful. The lords ſeemed to expreſs but very little concern about the matter. It was enough that he was to be educated in the court of Lewis XIV, an enemy to the nation and the Proteſtant religion; and in the caſe of his deceaſe, another might be trumped up, and the Engliſh no way able to diſcover the deceit; Should they go to France for evidence, and receive at her hands ſuch a King as ſhe ſhould pleaſe to give them? Beſide, ſeveral who were preſent at the Queen's labour, and they only could ſet this matter in a true light, were no more in being. Wildman, and others, found likewiſe in this incertitude, wherewithal to indulge their republican notions. The pretenſions of the excluded Princes, would keep the perſon in awe, who was about to reign in their ſtead, and the little regard which appeared to be had for the ſucceſſion, in a direct line, ſeemed to open a diſtant path towards rendering the crown elective. There were not wanting perſons in the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſtations, who looked on this matter with another eye, and thought the proofs offered by dr. Burnet againſt the birth not ſufficient. The Queen Dowager, the lord chancellor, the earl of Middleton, and ſeveral other lords aud ladies, of both religions, were preſent at the Queen's labor, and had given evidence in a legal manner, that the Prince of Wales was her ſon. He had been ſolemnly acknowleged as ſuch by the people of Great Britain, by the United Provinces, and even by the Prince of Orange, who did not ſeem to doubt of it 'till many months after. No objections, therefore, never ſo little probable, could be founded on any thing, but the abſenſe of the Princeſs of Denmark, and of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had a legal call to be evidences of the Queen's labor: but the Princeſs was then at the Bath, from whence the Queen's unexpected ſudden labor had not allowed time for her return: And as for the Primate he was in the Tower with the biſhops. Was it juſt that ſuch unhappy circumſtances ſhould forfeit the Prince's legitimacy? On this foot, how hard would not the caſe be of thoſe children, whoſe mothers falling ſuddenly into labor, in loneſome or deſert places, muſt bring them into the world without witneſſes: theſe and other arguments contributed to the ſudden dropping of the propoſal for an inquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

The throne declared vacant.

The houſe of peers then returned to the vote of the commons, which, after two conferences between the two

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Debates on the queſtion for electing a King.

two houſes, at length paſſed, without any amendment, and the throne was declared vacant.

The next queſtion was whether a King was to be elected? This was oppoſed, among others, by the dukes of Ormond, Southampton, Grafton, Beaufort and Northumberland, the earls of Kent, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Craven, Scarſdale, Weſtmorland, Cheſter, Litchfield, Cheſterfield, Yarmouth, and Lindſay, the viſcount Weymouth, and the lords Coventry, Brooke, Leigh, Ferrers, Mainard, Jermyn, Arundel, Dartmouth and Griffin: (1) At the head of this party was the earl of Nottingham, who moved; "That King "James II having, by the abuſe of the regal autho- "rity, diſqualified himſelf for governing, they might "proceed, with regard to him, as in caſes of lu- "nacy, that is, that the right of ſovereignty ſhould "remain in him, but the exerciſe of it be com- "mited to the Prince, with the title of regent."

Reaſons alledg'd by thoſe who were for a regent.

His reaſons were, "That this expedient would "be a ſecurity to the nation, whereas all others "would indanger the honor of the church of "England, and the ſacred rights of the crown. "That if we once aſſumed the power of dethroning "Kings, the regal authority would become preca- "rious: that the people being, for the future, "judges of their ſovereigns, would be the umpire "of the Monarchy, which would thereby degene- "rate into a Commonwealth. That both law and "hiſtory prove the perſon and authority of the "Kings of England to be equally ſacred. That, "indeed, they are under tuition during their mi- "nority, and guardians may be aſſigned them, "when arrived to a maturity of years, if they ap- "pear to be as incapable of governing of them- "ſelves, as if they were in the ſtate of infancy: "but it was unprecedented, that this perſonal im- "pediment ſhould exclude their heirs in a direct "line. That if we deviated never ſo little from "the right of deſcent, for the ſucceſſion, the "crown would ſoon become elective, which would "ſet the kingdom in a flame. That ſome in- "conveniencies would, without doubt, attend a "regency: but no method would be wholly exempt "from them. Beſide, this expedient would be "agreable to the greateſt, as well as the moſt "judicious part of the nation; whereas all others "would only pleaſe the republican party, which "conſiſted of Non-conformiſts and Atheiſts, who "aim at no more than the faint ſhadow of royalty, "dependent on the will of the people, whereby "they might ſoon or late, overthrow the Epiſco- "pal church, and the Monarchial government."

Their different motives.

Many others ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, tho' moved by different principles. King James's private friends believed a regency would be moſt conducive to his reſtoration: that the fears of the people being removed, they would, by degrees, be lulled into a ſecurity, and change their ſentiments with regard to him. The main point was, to keep up the title of King, for him, during his abſence; for whenever he returned in that quality, royalty itſelf they concluded would ſoon follow him. Others had no view, but to ſhew their upright intentions, and if they argued with ſome warmth, for the preſervation of King James's perſonal rights, it was from a principle of conſcience, as long as the matter remained undecided. "Otherwiſe, they declared "they ſhould, without difficulty, render obedience "to another King, when crowned, being ſatisfied, "as well from hiſtory as the laws of the land, that "an actual poſſeſſion of the crown juſtified the "obedience of the ſubject, even in oppoſition to "the excluded ſovereign, tho' inveſted with a "better right". Theſe, in particular, were the ſentiments of the earl of Nottingham, who ſaid, "That tho' his conſcience obliged him to vote for "a regency, he ſhould be very glad, if it was "carried againſt him, and that, tho' he was ſcrupu- "lous in making Kings, he ſhould know how at leaſt "to obey them perhaps with greater loyalty, than "thoſe who put the crown upon their heads."

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It will be proper to obſerve, that moſt of the lords, who, with different views, had taken this ſide of the queſtion, were, at firſt, for reſtoring the fugitive King, on certain terms, which they thought ſufficient to prevent all abuſe of the regal authority, and to ſecure the national religion and liberties, from all future attempts. Such were thoſe rigid church-men, who had ſtrained the doctrine of paſſive obedience to the utmoſt, and could not at once depart from it, without expoſing themſelves to cenſure, by a too open and incongruous change. But to theſe it was objected, that according to their principles, they ought to replace King James on the throne, without preſcribing him any terms, and then offer him their moſt humble remonſtrances; and this it was induced them to argue for a regency.

The anſwer of thoſe who were for a King.

The oppoſite party, who were for a King, grounded their arguments as follows: they ſuppoſed an original contract, between the ſovereign and the nation, by virtue of which the King was equally obliged to protect his ſubjects, as they were to be obedient to him. One of their proofs was taken from the form of the coronation: for before the crown is placed on the Prince's head, the people are aſked, "if they will have the perſon then ſet "before them for their King:" and he is obliged to promiſe, "that he will protect his people, and "govern according to law". Nor is the crown given, or homage paid him, 'till after the people have teſtified their conſent, and he has made this promiſe.

A ſecond argument was, that this relick of the ancient coronation-ceremony is conformable to the practiſe of thoſe times, which either preceded the conqueſt of the Saxons, or were immediately ſubſequent to it. William I, tho' a conqueror, promiſed to obſerve the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and this promiſe, which was the original contract, between the nation, and the Norman race, was often re-iterated by his ſucceſſors. Edward II and Richard II were depoſed for no other reaſon but for violating it: and it is evident their depoſition was eſteemed legal, becauſe it was never repealed, or, properly ſpeaking, the right of the parliament, to proceed in that manner, was never called in queſtion.

"And how (added they) could it be queſtioned? "have we not inconteſtable proofs of it in the wars "with the barons, and in the Magna Charta, "granted by King John called Lackland. Beſide, "to what end are reſtrictions laid on the regal au- "thority, and the limits which Kings have often ſet "to it themſelves, if the people have no right to "inforce them? They may, indeed, in ſome caſes, "make a wrong uſe of this right. But then if "this privilege be denied them, on any occaſion "whatſoever, what ſecurity have they for their "liberties? How ſhall they repreſs tyranny? Is it "not reaſonable to let tyrants once again ſee, "what they have to truſt to, ſince former inſtances "will not terrify them."

After this they gave a hideous deſcription of the preceding reign: the moſt venerable and ſacred

(1) Our hiſtorians take notice, beſide theſe, of five temporal lords, without mentioning their names; and of the ſpiritual lords, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of Norwich, Wincheſter, Ely, St. Aſaph, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chicheſter, Rocheſter, St. David's, Glouceſter, and Lincoln.

laws

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laws trodden under foot, and the King's will ſubſtituted in the room of them. The Roman church which is proſcribed by thoſe laws, incouraged and protected: proteſtants, who alone are thereby intitled to imployments, obliged to give way to Roman Catholics: cities and towns deprived of their charters; Ireland made a ſacrifice to its native Papiſts; and to crown all theſe wrongs, the church of England ſubjected to an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. "And not ſatisfied (added they) with all theſe acts "of tyranny, James has abandoned his dominions, "and chuſes rather to throw himſelf into the arms "of foreigners for aſſiſtance, to inſlave his ſub-"jects, than to take their advice in a free parlia-"ment. Thus he has abdicated the crown, and "left the throne vacant. The nation is therefore in "right, for its own preſervation, to nominate a "ſucceſſor."

Objections made againſt a regency.

The arguments againſt a regency were no leſs prevalent. "This expedient (ſaid they) is as con-"tradictory to the rights of the crown as the other, "if not more. It is liable to the ſame inconveni-"ency, with regard to the ill uſe the people may "make of it. To eſtabliſh a regent, is to give two "Kings to the ſame kingdom; one of which "would have the title, the other the authority; "while the ſubject would be at a loſs which to "obey. In the reign of Henry VII the parliament "adjudged the right of government to be in the "Prince who was in actual poſſeſſion, and by virtue "of that act, the people may, without crime or "danger, pay obedience to ſuch a Prince. But "what ſecurity can there be under the laws of a "regent, while the crown is on the head of another? "Muſt not that other be obeyed; or can he be diſ-"obeyed with impunity? It may be objected, that "this convention may make a law to remove that "difficulty: but this will be another ſubject of un-"certainty, becauſe it is without a precedent. If "it be pretended, that the oath of allegiance to "James is ſtill in force, by which the ſubject is ob-"liged to maintain his authority as well as his title, "with what conſcience can he be deprived of the "authority, and the title only be left him? To "trifle thus with the ſacredneſs of an oath would "be to mock both GOD and man. If this obliga-"tion does yet ſubſiſt, it ought to be, not in "one, but in both its parts. Which ever way it "be taken; ſo long as James is inveſted with the "title of King, and every thing is tranſacted in his "name, the body of the nation will always eſteem "him their lawful Sovereign. In this caſe, "plots laid againſt the perſon of the regent, in "favor of the King, can never be deemed high-"treaſon: nor can the conſpirators be puniſhed "with death, unleſs murder accompanies the per-"jury; and it is certain no jury will bring in a "verdict againſt them. In a minority, where the "King has yet no will of his own, that of the re-"gent muſt be accounted his: but will that "be the caſe here, where the will of the "King, and that of the regent will be in a conti-"nual oppoſition; one indeavoring to recover his "authority, and the other to keep it in his own "hands."

Private views of this party.

At the head of this party were the marquis of Hallifax, and the earls of Devonſhire, Macclesfield and Danby. The deſign of ſome in ſupporting this party, was only to take advantage of the preſent conjuncture, to weaken the regal authority, and thereby to render the crown precarious and elective, in order to raiſe the authority of the people on the ruins of the throne. With this view, ſome were ſo bold, to advance, "that the government was "diſſolved"; as raſh and dangerous a concluſion as poſſibly could be: for from thence would follow, that all rights, which had iſſued from the crown, were extinct and annihilated with the government. The moderate party was therefore ſatisfied with advancing, that James II had broken that knot, by which his ſubjects were attach'd to his perſon; that in deſparate caſes, neceſſity takes the place of law; that England was now involved in ſuch circumſtances, and that the Sovereign having firſt acted like a public enemy, and afterwards abandoned the nation, ſhe was certain, in right, to provide for her own ſafety; that to object to theſe maxims, the wrong uſe which might hereafter be made of them, was to raiſe phantoms, in order to contend with them; that every man ſlept quietly in his own houſe, tho' no one was ignorant, that in caſe of fire it was lawful to pull it down. That what is not lawful at all times, every one allows, may become ſo upon extraordinary occaſions, where there is no other remedy; and, in ſhort, that to drive a tyrant from the throne, could not be deemed either aboliſhing the Monarchy, or opening the way to a Common-wealth. INTERREG AN' 1689.

Debates of the two houſes concerning the choice of a King.

The force of theſe arguments, and the rapid torrent, which then hurried the nation away, removed the ſcruples of the peers, and they agreed to elect a King. The Republicans themſelves concured with the unanimity which now began to appear. They pleaſed themſelves with the hopes of geting King James depoſed by a trial in form, and of raiſing the Prince to the throne, by way of election: but this project ſoon miſcarried. That auguſt aſſembly, however, again diſcovered the ſame contrariety of opinions, which 'till then had been ſo viſible in their debates, and which ſo different intereſts could not fail of producing. What were the Prince's ſentiments, cannot be plainer ſhewn, than by a relation of what paſs'd, three years before, between the Princeſs Mary, and doctor Burnet (afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury) who was then at the Hague.

The Princeſs of Orange promiſes to tranſfer her right to the crown, to the Prince.

The doctor (ſays my author) aſked her one day, What ſhe deſigned the Prince ſhould be, if ſhe was Queen of England. Her highneſs, unacquainted with matters of this nature, imagined, that the matrimonial vow left her no right to any thing but in common with her huſband. This obliged the divine to ſhew her, by examples, that according to the law of England it was otherwiſe: but he repreſented to her, at the ſame time, that a Prince would not be ſatisfied with the bare name of royalty, eſpecially when it depended upon the life of another perſon, and that this ſhadow of honor might indanger a real and ſubſtantial authority, ſuch as the Prince poſſeſſed in Holland. He adviſed her to reſolve upon being only the wife of the King, that is, to tranſmit the royal authority to him, whenever it ſhould devolve to her, and to have it ſecured to him, by the laws, for life. This juſt condeſcenſion (he added) would ſtir up a new affection towards her in the Prince, who for ſome time, had ſhewn a ſort of coldneſs, and that he would then have the affairs of Great Britain, more at heart. She replied, without heſitation, "that ſhe had no occaſion to conſider of "a thing, where the teſtimony of her love and reſpect "for the Prince were in queſtion". She opened the matter to the Prince himſelf, and told him, "ſhe "had been 'till then ignorant, that the laws of Eng-"land were ſo repugnant to the laws of GOD as "ſhe now was informed. That ſhe never imagined "the huſband ought, in any caſe, to be obedient "to the wife: that he ſhould always be her maſter, "and that ſhe deſired no more on his part, than to "have regard to that precept which injoined huſ-"bands to love their wives, as ſhe, on her part, "would obſerve that which commands wives to be "in all things obedient to their huſbands." The Prince was reſerved and of few words; however, he could not forbear confeſſing, that during the whole nine years of his marriage, he had had this matter

at heart, but never presumed to open his mouth of it to the Princess.

Some propose to give him the crown, with the intail to the Princesses.

The marquis of Hallifax was for doing yet more in favor of the Prince's person, and whether it was with a view of supplanting the earl of Danby, or to expiate his former luke-warmness, he proposed, "to confer the crown on the Prince, with the intail to the two Princesses, Mary and Ann."

This pleased the Republican party, because it was a step towards making the crown elective. The immediate dependents on the Prince came into it with some warmth. They thought the nation owed too much to the Prince, to offer him any thing less than the crown in return, and to divide the regal authority was, in their opinion, to rob him of one half of his glory.

Others are for placing the Princess Mary alone on the throne.

Others were for placing the Princess Mary alone on the throne, and leaving her the power, when invested with the regal authority, to confer such part of it on the Prince as she should think proper. This was the opinion of those who were in the interest of the Princesses. The earl of Danby wrote thereupon to the Princess Mary, that it would be her own fault if she did not sit upon the throne singly. Her answer was, "that she never desired or intended "to be any thing but the wife of the Prince, and "that they could not disoblige her more, than by "doing any thing to the prejudice of her husband." The Princess Ann gave as little incouragement to her friends: and it is worthy of remark, that the Prince, who was informed by the Princess his spouse, what temptation the earl of Danby had thrown in her way, was so far from reproaching him for it, that he continued the confidence he had reposed in him, and confered new honors upon him.

Reserved behavior of the Prince during these debates.

During these debates in the convention, the Prince was very reserved in his conduct, and indeed, he could not well be otherwise. The States-general had declared, that they assisted him with no other view, but to maintain the fundamental laws of Great Britain, which were already oppressed, and farther threatned, as well by the introduction of a despotic power, as the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. That it was for the interest and glory of their statdholder to support these laws, and to reconcile the King to his people. That his highness went to England, as he had assured their high-mightinesses, not to invade the kingdom, or in the least to interrupt the lawful succession, but to relieve the nation, and to maintain her religion and liberties, by calling a free parliament, who might deliberate upon proper measures to prevent the evils they were apprehensive of. These were, in a great measure, the very terms of the Prince's manifesto; so that nothing but a well-managed reservedness could, in any manner, reconcile his honor with his intentions; and this he was very observant in.

He kept retired in the palace of St. James's, went little abroad, was difficult of access, heard every thing, and hardly spoke at all. He shewed none of those affable and popular manners, so apt to bespeak affection. He said, with an air of gravity, "That he was come, as he had been desired, to "deliver the nation; which being effected, it was "their business to regulate their own concerns. He "left that matter wholly to them, and only waited "the result of their debates, to return to Holland, "satisfied with what he had done." Many were of opinion, that there was a real disgust concealed in these words, under the veil of an affected indifference; and that they contained a tacite threat of leaving all things in confusion, unless they made him absolute arbiter of them. In this profound taciturnity, he continued near a month.

The Prince declares his mind to some lords.

At length, he laid aside his reservedness, and declared to the lords Hallifax, Shrewsbury, Danby and others, who were assembled by his order, "that if he had hitherto kept silence, it was to no "other end, but that the convention might injoy "an unlimited freedom in their debates. That "being resolved not to influence any one, either by "promises or threats, he thought it unnecessary to "declare his sentiment. But that the diversity "of opinions which appeared among them, obliged him, at length to break silence: that as "for the expedient of a regency, he should not "oppose it, if they judged that the most proper; only "this he thought necessary to inform them, that he "had his reasons why he would not be regent; and "therefore, if they continued in that resolution, "they must be thoughtful of some other person. "He saw what would be the consequences of it, "and would not accept of that post. Others, he "was informed, were for puting the Princess "singly on the throne, and that he should reign "by her courtesy: but that, tho' no man could "esteem a woman more than he did the Princess, "yet he could not think of holding any thing by "apron-strings, or that it was reasonable for him "to have any share in the government, unless it "was put in his person, and for the term of his "life; if they thought otherwise he would not op-"pose them; but would return to Holland, and "concern himself no farther with their affairs. He "could assure them, that whatever others might "think of a crown, it had not such an appearance in "his eyes, but that he could live, and be very well "pleased without it. But that tho' he could not "resolve upon accepting a dignity, so as to hold it "precariously on the life of another; yet he thought "it reasonable, that the issue of the Princess Ann "should be prefered in the succession, to any he "might have, by any other wife but the Princess."

This declaration was not made with the intent it should remain a secret; it was soon divulged every where. Doctor Burnet, in particular, published what had passed between him and the Princess at the Hague. These circumstances contributed not a little to unite the opposite parties, upon which it was soon determined, "that William and Mary, "Prince and Princess of Orange, should jointly "injoy the rights of sovereignty, the admi-"nistration being reserved to the Prince alone.

The crown confered jointly on the Prince and Princess of Orange.

The liberties of the subject reduced into an act.

An act, or declaration of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in convention assembled, was accordingly prepared, in which by enumerating the abuses of the regal authority, in the preceding reign, the liberties of the subject were stipulated, and a sort of second Magna Charta established. In drawing up this declaration, a difficulty arose, which might have frustrated the design of it; for some persons, to make their court to the Prince, took occasion to say, that the discussion of this matter ought to be defered, till he was in possession of the throne, lest by precipitating it, they might render it ineffectual. The point in question was, the right King James had assumed of dispensing with the laws in civil matters. It had always been customary, before his time, for the Kings of England to insert, in their letters-patent, "any law to the contrary not-"withstanding," which supposed the very authority King James had arogated. To conclude, this point was passed by, but was regulated afterwards by a particular law, which deprived the crown of this ancient prerogative.

The oath of allegiance altered.

The last thing which was done by the convention, was to regulate the form of the oath of allegiance. In the former oath, the title given the sovereign was "rightful and lawful King" a title no ways proper for a Prince, who, like William, had no right but what was given by the people, it was therefore thought proper to reduce this oath to its ancient simplicity, of swearing "to be faithful and bear "true allegiance to the King and Queen."

From

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Which gives occaſion to pernicious diſtinctions.

From this oath aroſe the famous diſtinction of a King de facto, and a King de jure. We have already obſerv'd that the laws of England allow of ſuch a diſtinction: but it is only with reſpect to the thing itſelf, and not with regard to the effect. They injoin obedience to the Prince, who is in actual poſſeſſion of the throne, by what means ſoever he acceded to it, and ſo far they are reaſonable; for otherwiſe every ſubject muſt ſcrupulouſly examine into the rights of his ſovereign, before he could tender him obedience, and this perplexing liberty, which would continually expoſe the ſubjects to be deceived in the choice of their ſovereign, muſt of courſe introduce confuſion and diſorder in the ſtate.

For this reaſon, the new oath was made to conſiſt only of very general expreſſions, and it was believed that thoſe who took it, would think themſelves thereby tied down to a ſtrict allegiance: but this proved a miſtake. The enemies of the revolution pretended that this oath laid them under no obligation to William and Mary. In their opinion, it amounted to no more, than that they were both uſurpers, whom they were obliged to obey as being in poſſeſſion of the crown, or King and Queen de facto: but that they were not thereby reſtrained from aſſiſting the late King to regain his crown ſince he ſtill remain'd King de jure. This ſhameful diſtinction proceded chiefly from the clergy, and many of them made uſe of it to reconcile the affection they ſtill bore for the late King to their preſent intereſt.

A ſalvo for the high church.

Doctor Lloyd, then biſhop of St. Aſaph, and afterwards of Worceſter, found an expedient, which being agreable to their notions, was very proper to remove the ſcruples of many of them. Moſt agreed that the Prince had waged a lawful war with his father-in-law. All juſt wars (ſaid the biſhop) are waranted from Heaven; the ſucceſs of ſuch a war is the deciſive award of the Almighty. Thus King James's defeat was the act of condemnation, by which GOD himſelf deprived him of his dignity, and tranſmited it to the Prince, by right of conqueſt. This ſyſtem of political theology was readily imbraced by all thoſe who having deeply intangled themſelves with the ſtrange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, ſtood in need of ſome expedient to retract their opinion, without ſeeming to do it: and they only were pleas'd with it.

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The Princeſs arrives from Holland.

The 12th of February, the Princeſs of Orange arrived. Upon the reports ſpread, that ſhe was diſpleaſed as well with the treatment her father had met with, as with what had been done with regard to herſelf, the Prince had written a letter to her, "to deſire her to appear gay at her firſt arrival, "leſt by ſeeming otherwiſe ſhe ſhould diſcourage "thoſe who were friends to them both, or give "cauſe to ſuſpect ſhe was diſſatisfied." She made ſome poor attempts to ſhew her obedience, which gave occaſion to men of ſenſe, who were not let into the ſecret, tacitely to blame her, for puting on an air of gaiety ſo little becoming a Princeſs, who was taking poſſeſſion of the palace of a fugitive father, and whoſe throne ſhe was, likewiſe, about to mount.

The convention makes a ſolemn offer of the crown to the Prince and Princeſs.

The very next day had been fixed by the convention to make an offer of the crown to her and the Prince. The marquis of Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, was appointed to perform the ceremony, and the ſame day, they were proclaimed by the title of William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c. The Prince, upon accepting the crown, reſerved to himſelf the right of croſſing the ſea to the aſſiſtance of Holland, whenever it ſhould be requiſite, and the ſame day, he wrote a letter to the States General, full of the moſt tender marks of his affection and gratitude.

King William and Queen Mary proclaimed.

K. William's letter to the States General.

Among other things, he aſſured them; "that "his new dignity, inſtead of diminiſhing the af-"fection he ever had, or the care he ever took for "the preſervation and proſperity of their republic "would only ſerve to inable him to diſcharge his "office of ſtatdholder, with more weight and ſucceſs, "towards the good and advantage of their ſtate, "and that during his reign, he would make it his "conſtant buſineſs and indeavor to eſtabliſh and "maintain a perfect intelligence, alliance and inviolable friendſhip between his kingdoms, and the "United Provinces, for the ſafety, welfare and "repoſe of both ſtates, and ſupport of the Proteſtant religion."

The earl of Sunderland ſet at liberty.

With the ſame meſſenger who was diſpatched with this letter, was alſo ſent an order for the inlargement of the earl of Sunderland, who had been arreſted at Rotterdam, his lordſhip having ſufficiently juſtified his conduct by a letter, which, for the ſatisfaction of the public, was printed and diſperſed (1).

(1) It was thought his detenſion was by colluſion, and that he was apprehended on purpoſe to be formally diſcharged, to make way for his more honorable return to England: for tho' he might not be originally in the ſecret of the Prince of Orange's intended expedition to England (which, however was well known to his lady) yet he certainly was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs of it, by hindering King James from accepting the offer of a French army of 30,000 veteran troops to oppoſe him. Oldmixon, p. 3.

The Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

Some Reflections on the benefits accruing to Europe by the revolution.

THE hiſtory of the happy revolution having been ſo particularly given in the latter part of the preceding 24th book, as the recapitulation of ſome part of it is in the foregoing ſheets of this, it may now be expected, I ſhould give ſome account of the benefits which accrued from it, not to England only, but to the greater part of Europe, which was never nearer being inſlaved, than it was at this time, by the aſpiring views of Lewis XIV toward an univerſal Monarchy. Some particulars of theſe great benefits having, however, been already interwoven with the hiſtory of this wonderful event, and a far greater number, which are yet recent in every one's memory, having been too viſible in the conſequences to eſcape the notice of any conſiderate perſon (among which the ſecurity of our liberties and conſtitution in the happy eſtabliſhment of our preſent moſt illuſtrious royal family is none of the leaſt) I need to ſay very little on that head.

Next to the important and extenſive advantage which accrued, by means of the revolution, to the Proteſtant religion, in general, the total extirpation of which, as I have already obſerved, was one of the grand deſigns of the Monarch of France, in conjunction with King James; Great Britain and Holland, as they were in the moſt immediate danger, had the moſt reaſon to expreſs their gratitude for their happy deliverance, and to retain, as I hope they do, and ever will do, a due ſenſe of what they owe to the memory of the glorious inſtrument

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ment of all the bleſſings they partake of, in the peaceable injoyment of their religion and liberties, the hero whoſe reign I am now going to write. But it was not the Britiſh dominions, and thoſe of Holland only, who were reſcued, by the revolution, from impending ruin, and received infinite advantages from thence: The Emperor and the whole Germanic body, Spain, the ſeveral ſtates of Italy, and diverſe other ſtates of Europe, were marked out to be victims to the inſlaving projects of Lewis XIV and James, and tho', I ſay, Great Britain and Holland were in the moſt immediate danger, yet had they been once brought under the yoke, it was more than probable, the other powers I have mentioned, would not long have been able to reſiſt the united force of thoſe two crowns, which would then have been equally active in the ſame deſtructive meaſures. Not only theſe Princes and ſtates, tho' moſt of them profeſs the Roman Catholic religion, but the very ſeat of Popery, Rome itſelf, were ſenſible, that unleſs ſome effectual ſtop was put to the tow'ring projects of France they ſhould all, ſooner or later, become ſlaves to the unlimited ambition of her grand Monarch. It was therefore no wonder, that they all joined in expreſſing the great ſatisfaction it was to them to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſiting on the Britiſh throne. This fortunate event ſoon quieted all their fears, and the grand alliance, which, as we ſhall ſee below, was one of the immediate conſequences of it, ſet up ſuch a barrier againſt the exorbitant power and incroachments of the French King, as he was never after able to pull down: and tho' he once bid fair for it again, by the additional forces of Spain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, which he found means to bring under his yoke, yet the ſame happy principles which formed this firſt grand alliance, cemented another, yet more formidable, which reduced him to the very brink of total ruin: but to return from this digreſſion.

King William and Queen Mary being thus advanced to the throne, and proclaimed, with the greateſt ſigns of a univerſal and ſincere joy, at the uſual places, the firſt thing the King, in whom the ſole adminiſtration of the government was veſted, did, was to chuſe a ſet of counſellors, in whom he could confide, and with whom he might ſhare the important reſolutions of ſtate, in his privy-council. This he did, the 14th of February, the day after he was proclaimed, and the perſons named were theſe following:

K. William appoints a privy-council.

His royal highneſs prince George of Denmark.
William lord archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Tho. earl of Danby, lord preſident of the council.
Charles marquis of Halifax, lord privy-ſeal.
Henry duke of Norfolk, earl-marſhal.
Charles, marq. of Winchester.
Robert, earl of Lindſay, lord great chamberlain of England.
William, earl of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of the houſhold.
Charles, earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, lord chamberlain of the houſhold.
Aubery, earl of Oxford.
Charles, earl of Shrewſbury, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
William, earl of Bedford.
John, earl of Bath.
Charles, earl of Macclesfield.
(1) Daniel, earl of Nottingham.
Thomas, viſcount Falconberg.
Charles, viſcount Mordaunt.
Francis, viſcount Newport, treaſurer of the houſhold.
Richard, viſcount Lumley.
Henry, lord biſhop of London, dean of the chapel.
Philip lord Wharton.
Philip, Lord Montague, maſter of the great ward-robe.
Henry, lord Delamere.
John, lord Churchill.
Mr. Bentinck, groom of the ſtole, and lord privy-purſe.
Henry Sidney, eſq;
Sir Robert Howard.
Sir Henry Capel.
Henry Powle, eſq; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.
Edward Ruſſel, eſq;
Hugh Boſcawen, eſq;
To whom were added,
Thomas Wharton, eſq; comptroler of the houſhold.
Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, vice-chamberlain to the King.

Great officers of ſtate named.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty being deſirous to reward thoſe who had contributed moſt to his acceſſion to the throne, diſpoſed of ſeveral other offices of ſtate, beſide thoſe mentioned in the above liſt of privy-counſellors, as well to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on that occaſion, as to others whoſe merit, in other reſpects, recommended them to his Royal favor. Monſieur d'Auverquerque was made maſter of the horſe; marſhal Schomberg, maſter of the ordnance; monſ. Zuyleſtein, maſter of the robes; lord Lovelace, captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners: the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the viſcounts Lumley and Mordaunt, the lord Churchill, and mr. Sidney, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; the earl of Wiltſhire, lord chamberlain to the Queen; John How, eſq; vice-chamberlain; mr. Villars, maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Derby, firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and groom of the ſtole to her Majeſty; ſir John Maynard, Anthony Kirk, and William Rawlinſon, eſq; commiſſioners of the great ſeal. (2) Admiral Herbert, the earl of Carbery, ſir Michael Wharton, ſir Thomas Lee, ſir John Chickley, ſir John Lowther, and mr. Sacheverel, lords of the admiralty; the lords Mordaunt, Delamere, and Godolphin, mr. Hampden, and ſir Henry Capel, lords of the treaſury, and the earl of Nottingham, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. (3)

Inferior civil officers continued.

All theſe imployments, with ſeveral others of leſs conſideration, were diſpoſed of, at different times, but within the ſpace of two months. The ſame day the council was appointed, a proclamation was likewiſe iſſued, for continuing all inferior civil officers, who were Proteſtants, in their reſpective offices and places.

Dr. Burnet made biſhop of Saliſbury.

Of the inferior clergy, dr. Burnet, who had a conſiderable hand in the revolution, was the firſt who reaped the fruits of it; being elected biſhop of Saliſbury, purſuant to his Majeſty's Conge d'elire, of

(1) Some of the ſtaunch friends of the revolution expreſſed ſome diſguſt at the earl of Nottingham's being called to the privy-council; becauſe he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the vacancy of the throne, and ſtill perſiſted ſo far in the ſame ſentiments, that it was queſtioned whether he would accept of any office, under the new government.

(2) Biſhop Kennet, and ſome others, ſay, the great ſeal was offered to the earl of Nottingham; but that he refuſed accepting it, alleging, as an excuſe, his unfitneſs for an imploy, which required a conſtant application. The truth of this is very much queſtioned by others, as well becauſe it was well known that his lordſhip was capable of great application, but more eſpecially becauſe he afterwards accepted of the place of ſecretary of ſtate, which requires as much, or near as much attendance. The ſame authors ſay, the marquis of Hallifax likewiſe refuſed it.

(3) It has been ſaid (ſee Salmon's Modern Hiſtory) that he was prevailed on to accept of this office with ſome difficulty: perhaps he was ſo preſſed to it, that he could not well refuſe it. His great capacity and uprightneſs might be one motive: or, perhaps his having voted with an oppoſite party, at the head of which he was, it might be neceſſary for the King to ſecure him to his intereſt, by ſome diſtinguiſhing mark of his confidence.

the

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the ninth of March, directed to the dean and chapter of that cathedral, and conſecrated at Fulham, the 31ſt of the ſame month, by the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Landaffe, St. Aſaph and Carliſle, by virtue of a commiſſion from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who refuſed to perform the ceremony himſelf (1).

The King propoſes to turn the convention into a parliament.

Having given this account of preferments, in church and ſtate, in one connection, I now return to the King, who, the firſt time he met his council, which was the 14th of February, put the queſtion to them, "whether the convention might be legally "turned into a parliament"? Which his Majeſty thought the more neceſſary, not only becauſe the delays which muſt be occaſioned by calling of a new parliament, might be of evil conſequence, in this juncture, but that he might thereby preſerve a great number of members then ſiting, whom he knew were to be intirely depended on, as hearty well-wiſhers to the new ſettlement. The council did indeed divide upon the queſtion, but the majority was for the affirmative, and ſome inſtances were produced of the like tranſmutation. (2)

To put this project in execution, the King went to the houſe of lords, the eighteenth, with great ſolemnity, and being ſeated on the throne, the commons attending at the bar, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

His Majeſty's firſt ſpeech to both houſes,

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have lately told you how ſenſible I am of "your kindneſs, and how much I value the con- "fidence you have repoſed in me; and I come "hither to aſſure you that I ſhall never do any "thing which may leſſen your good opinion of me.

"I think it neceſſary to acquaint you, that the "condition of our allies abroad, and particularly "that of Holland, is ſuch, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy "care be taken of them, they run a greater hazard "than you would have them expoſed to.

"You yourſelves muſt be ſenſible, that the poſ- "ture of affairs here requires your ſerious conſide- "ration, and that a good ſettlement at home is "neceſſary not only for your own peace, but "for the ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt, both "here and abroad.

"And particularly the ſtate of Ireland is ſuch, "that the dangers are grown too great to be ob- "viated by any ſlow methods.

"I muſt leave it to you, to conſider of the moſt "effectual ways of preventing the inconveniencies, "which may ariſe by delays, and to judge what "forms may be moſt proper to bring theſe WILLIAM "things to paſs, for the good of the nation, which & MARY. "I am confident are all your minds, and which, I on AN, 1689. "my part, ſhall be always ready to promote."

Meets with a general applauſe.

This ſhort and modeſt ſpeech, which ſhewed his Majeſty placed an intire confidence in the nation, and was ſatisfied with barely laying matters of fact before them, without attempting to influence them, by propoſing any means himſelf, met with unuſual marks of applauſe, ſuch as it juſtly deſerved. At the cloſe of it, there was that general hum, by which the numerous aſſembly of the commons of England are wont to ſhew their approbation, and it was ecchoed by the people every where, as ſoon as the report of it was ſpread abroad. (3)

A bill to turn the convention into a parliament.

The houſe of lords, purſuant to what was recommended to them from the throne, in the laſt clauſe of this ſpeech, and the motion made by ſome of their members, who were of the privy-council, brought in "a bill, to remove and prevent all queſ- "tions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and "ſiting of this preſent parliament"; which they read twice, that ſame afternoon, and having paſſed it, the next day, ſent it to the commons for their concurrence.

Debates upon it in the houſe of commons.

Upon the receit of it, the commons went into a committee of the whole houſe, and mr. Hamden, their chairman, put the following queſtion: "whether "a King, elected and declared, by the lords ſpi- "ritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at "Weſtminſter, the 22d of January, 1688-9, com- "ing to and conſulting with the ſaid lords and "commons, did not make as complete a par- "liament, and legiſlative power and authority, to "all intents and purpoſes, as if the ſaid King "ſhould cauſe new ſummons to be given, and a new "election to be made by writs?"

This queſtion having occaſioned a long and warm as well as memorable debate, an account of it will probably be acceptable to the reader. The party that was againſt it, and which ſtood up for the ſtrict ancient conſtitution, being headed by ſir Edward Seymour, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſir Thomas Clarges, and Heneage Finch, eſq; maintained;

Arguments againſt the queſtion.

"That according to ſir Edward Coke, a parlia- "ment conſiſts of the King's Majeſty ſiting there, "as in his politic capacity, and of the three "eſtates of the realm, that is to ſay, (1) the lords "ſpiritual, (2) the lords temporal, and (3) the "commons. That as to the lords ſpiritual and "temporal, every one of them being of full age, "when a parliament is to be held, ought of right

(1) Biſhop Burnet, and the author of the continuation of Rapin, in French, remark, that in all theſe preferments, regard was principally had to the Whigs; and the latter obſerves, that the King's favor was likewiſe wholly diſpenſed the ſame way. It was divided (ſays he) between Monſieur Bentinck, a gentleman of a noble family, in Guelderland, whom he created earl of Portland, and mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards earl of Rumney, vice-roy of Ireland, maſter of the ordnance, governor of the Cinque-ports, and colonel of a regiment of foot-guards. A foreign favorite (continues the ſame author) was very diſagreable to the Engliſh nation: thoſe who were the beſt affected to the King were concerned for him, and accounted theſe viſible marks of diſtinction to certain perſons, an error in his conduct; tho' they concealed their diſſatisfaction, for the preſent; thinking it by no means becoming them, to arraign the conduct of a Prince, who, in the main, had ſhewn ſo much wiſdom in the choice of his miniſters, and more eſpecially in that of the judges. Lib. 25. p. 36.

(2) His Majeſty had the more reaſon for this precaution, becauſe the ſpirit of party, occaſion'd by the dangers the nation was lately in, which were in a manner ſuppreſſed, ſeemed to revive again, the very moment that things were ſettled on this foundation. Some out of a miſtaken principle of conſcience: ſome out of greedineſs for imployments, of which there were not enough to ſatisfy the leaſt part of the demands; ſome out of hatred to the Diſſenters, to whom the King had ſhewn his benevolence; and ſome biaſſed by the prejudices of education, or rather the natural inconſtancy of men, formed together a faction, which appeared in the convention, even before it was turned into a parliament: for it was ſaid in the houſe of commons, that what had been done was not valid, and that the convention not having been called by the King's writ, their acts were not of force. De Cize. p. 16.

(3) There were not, however, wanting thoſe, who being diſaffected to the happy eſtabliſhment, ſo lately brought about, ſtudied to turn this ſpeech to the King's diſadvantage, and to inſinuate from thence ſuch things as they thought moſt proper to excite the diſcontent of the people. They reported, that to conquer Ireland and ſupport the allies, would require a fleet of 90 men of war, and an army of 45 or 50,000 men, regular troops, which would coſt the nation three millions yearly. Malicious computations were made of the expences of the civil government, embaſſies, intelligences, ſecret ſervices, penſions, and the like, which they made to amount to above three millions more, that is (ſaid they) to more than the third part of the annual revenue of the kingdom. They indeavoured to perſuade the nation, that a war would certainly bring on a decay of trade, which would reduce the revenues of the exciſe and cuſtoms to a third of their value, that the latter alone would loſe 400,000 l. That the revenues in general would be diminiſhed to leſs than half. That there would be no imployment for the poor, and the like ungrounded inſinuations, by which they hoped to intimidate the people into a deſire of peace, and a concurrence with thoſe who blindly ſought to reſtore King James. French Cont. of Rapin. l. 25. p. 37.

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" to have a writ of ſummons to come to that par-
" liament; and that as to the commons, the ſame
" author ſays, they are reſpectively elected by the
" ſhires, or counties, cities and boroughs, by force
" of the King's writs. That the lords and com-
" mons aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 22d of Janu-
" ary, were not ſummoned thither, by the King's
" writ, and therefore, that tho' the King afterwards
" came to them, yet ſuch a King, lords and com-
" mons could not be a parliament.

" And tho' ſomething like this had been done at the
" reſtoration, yet that was done by the conſent of the
" lawful King, and upon abſolute neceſſity, the King
" being abſent, and no great ſeal in being: and not-
" withſtanding this, the acts of that convention
" were ratified by a ſucceeding parliament, and
" from thence they received their authority; and
" therefore moved, that the convention ſhould be
" diſſolved, and a parliament ſummoned, in the
" uſual manner, by the King's writ."

Arguments for the queſtion.

The party for the affirmative, which happened to be the prevailing party, argued:

" That it was generally admited, that in an
" hereditary kingdom, if the King ſhould die with-
" out an heir, either lineal or collateral, the crown,
" in that caſe, would devolve, or, as it were, eſcheat
" to the whole people and nation, and that here-
" upon the eſtates and repreſentatives of ſuch a
" nation might diſpoſe of the crown to whom
" they pleaſed, or quite alter and change the govern-
" ment, into what form they thought fit; exam-
" ples of which were produced, out of Germany,
" Italy, France, and Portugal. That in like
" manner it was, where a King did abandon, for-
" ſake or deſert his government, by going or
" flying out of his kingdom, without appointing
" any guardian to protect and take care of his peo-
" ple, in his abſenſe, whereby the throne became
" vacant, the eſtates of ſuch a people might ap-
" point another King or governor. That King
" James II having abandoned his people, unguarded
" and undefended, at the mercy of a foreign army,
" even in the heart of the country, without ſo
" much as leaving a guardian, or great ſeal behind
" him, his great officers, and miniſters of ſtate, flying
" ſome one way, and ſome another, what could
" the nation do but what they had done? to wit,
" ſeveral of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, many
" of the knights, citizens and burgeſſes of a for-
" mer parliament, the aldermen and diverſe common
" council-men of the city of London, addreſſed
" themſelves to the Prince of Orange, deſiring him
" to take upon him the adminiſtration of public
" affairs, until the meeting of the intended conven-
" tion of the three eſtates, or great council of the
" realm; and to ſend letters, ſubſcribed by him-
" ſelf, both to the lords ſpiritual and temporal
" that were Proteſtants, to meet on the ſaid 22d of
" January, at Weſtminſter, and to the ſeveral
" ſhires, counties, univerſities, cities, &c. for
" electing of ſuch a number of perſons to repreſent
" them, as of right were to be ſent to parliament.
" That accordingly ſuch letters were ſent and
" elections made, and the convention thus convened,
" after mature deliberation, reſolved; that the
" Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be King
" and Queen of England. That after they were
" proclaimed King and Queen, and he came and
" conſulted with the three eſtates ſo aſſembled, what
" could be wanting in that aſſembly to make them
" a full and complete parliament? or what could
" be had more than was in this convention of King,
" lords and commons, if the ſaid King ſhould
" iſſue out writs, for calling a new parliament?
" That if (as was agreed by all) the ſubſtantial
" parts of a parliament be and conſiſt of an aſſembly
" or convention, or meeting together of the King
" and three eſtates, the difference of the lords
" and commons being called by writ, or by
" letter, was nothing material, ſince both writ
" and letter were both to the ſame effect; and that
" in ſome ancient records, it is mentioned; that
" parliaments ſhould be ſummon'd by letters, par-
" ticularly in King John's great charter, in the
" 17th of his reign, he promiſes to ſummon the
" biſhops, abbots, earls, &c. by his letters. That
" the Prince of Orange's not being King, at the
" time of his ſending forth his letters, mattered not,
" for he was the perſon, to whom the adminiſtra-
" tion of the government was then commited.
" That it was evident, that in many parliaments,
" it was not ſo material, how the King, lords
" and commons came together, as that they were
" together. That the manner of calling together
" the three eſtates of the realm, by the Prince of
" Orange's letter, was a much fairer proceeding,
" conſidering the ſtate of affairs, as to the calling
" of them together, than was in ſeveral caſes, where-
" in they were never doubted to be a parliament,
" when joined with a King. That Edward II being
" impriſoned by his Queen, ſon and nobles, they
" iſſued forth writs, in the impriſoned King's name,
" to ſummon the lords, and to chuſe knights, citi-
" zens and burgeſſes, to meet at Weſtminſter (Jan.
" 16, 1325) That this, one would think, was
" pretty hard, and an abſolute force upon the
" King, by making uſe of his name, againſt his
" will, ſo that it could not be ſaid to be his act:
" yet the lords and commons being met, they
" depoſed Edward II, and declared his ſon Edward
" III King, and this new King, and the lords and
" commons ſo (as one might ſay) irregularly conve-
" ned together, made ſeveral acts of parliament, and
" have been ever ſince adjudged a good parliament
" to all intents and purpoſes, without any ſubſe-
" quent act of confirmation. That, in like man-
" ner, Richard II being taken priſoner, by Henry,
" duke of Lancaſter, the duke iſſued forth writs,
" in the King's name (the King then in priſon) to
" ſummon the lords, and to elect repreſentatives
" for the people, to meet at Weſtminſter, the
" 13th of September 1399. That thoſe being
" met by this irregular ſummons, they depoſed
" Richard II and declared the duke of Lancaſter
" King, and that new King, and the lords and
" commons ſo irregularly convened, being joined
" together, were alſo, and are to this day, ad-
" judged a good parliament, to all intents and pur-
" poſes. Laſtly, that the lords and commons aſ-
" ſembled at Weſtminſter, the 15th of April 1660,
" were convened by writs, in the name of the
" keepers of the liberties of England, who were
" uſurpers; yet when King Charles II came to
" them, and they received him as King, he and
" they together were adjudged a parliament,
" they inacted, that they ſhould be ſo taken; they
" made many laws which were put in execution,
" and they continued as a parliament until the 29th
" of December following: and tho' moſt or all
" thoſe acts were afterwards confirmed, by a ſub-
" ſequent parliament convened by the King's writs,
" in May 1661, yet that confirmation, according to
" many good judgments, was rather to ſatisfy ſome
" ſcrupuloſity, than out of neceſſity, moſt of the
" ſaid acts having, in a great meaſure, had their
" effects, before the ſubſequent parliament began.
" Therefore, that if upon the Prince of Orange's
" being declared and proclaimed King, he came
" to the convention of lords and commons, aſſem-
" bled at Weſtminſter; if the ſame number of lords
" was ſummoned, that of right ought to be ſum-
" moned to parliament, and the ſame number of
" knights, citizens, and burgeſſes duly choſen, as
" ought to be choſen, to repreſent the commons

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" in parliament, then conſequently, there were all " the ſubſtantial and eſſential parts of a parliament " met together, and being ſo, where was the neceſ- " ſity, advantage, or prudence, to diſſolve theſe, " and thereby give new trouble, of new ſummons, " and new elections, loſe a great deal of time, " ſuffer irrecoverable loſs and damage to Ireland, " and the allies abroad, and after all, at the " next meeting, be but where they now were, as " to the eſſential parts of a parliament, there being " nothing more to be had, at any time, but what " they had already. That a new election might oc- " caſion new diſturbances in the kingdom; and that " thoſe who had ſet the King upon the throne, " would probably be more zealous to eſtabliſh him " in it, than thoſe who would be choſen in their " ſtead, and ſome added, that there was as much " reaſon to ſubmit to a parliament de facto, as to a " King de facto."

The bill paſſes.

Upon theſe, and the like reaſons, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, and ſome alterations and amendments being made, relating to the oaths, which, by that bill, were appointed to be taken by both houſes, the commons acquainted the peers, two days afterwards, that they had agreed to their bill, with theſe alterations and amendments, which being confirmed by the lords, the whole bill received the Royal aſſent, on the 23d of February. (1)

Debates concerning the revenue.

That there was yet a ſtrong diſcontented party in the houſe of commons appeared more plainly ſoon after: for, on the 26th of February, the queſtion being put: " whether the revenue was expired " by the vacancy of the throne, or whether it was " devolved on their Majeſties?" The firſt part of the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the contrary party, who alleged it was devolved upon his Majeſty, having been granted to the late King for life. A committee was thereupon appointed, to regulate the revenue for their preſent Majeſties, ſome of the members whereof inclined to have it ſettled on them for three years only.

A bill for the better regulating the peers trials,

In the mean time, a bill was preſented to the lords, " for the better regulating of the trials of " the peers of England", which gave occaſion to great debates, inſomuch that when it was read a third time, fifteen lords entered their diſſents, for the following reaſons:

1. " Becauſe nothing ever was or could be put " into an act of parliament, that could reflect " ſo much on the honor of the peerage as this " would.

2. " Becauſe it ſet the honor of the peers and " commons upon an equal foot.

3. " Becauſe ſuch perſons as might have cauſes to " be heard at the bar of the houſe of lords, would " not be confident of the juſtice of the peers, and " conſequently be jealous of the rights that might " be expected from impeachments.

4. " Becauſe it ſtruck at the root of all the privi- " leges of the peers, moſt of which they claimed, " by reaſon of the great regard the law has to the " integrity and honor of the peers, above that of " the commons: the ſtatutes De Scandalis Magna- " tum being inacted for that reaſon only.

5. " Becauſe it would be in ſome ſort, a mark " of reproach upon every peer who ſhould be chal- " lenged, unleſs there be very great and apparent " cauſe for it.

6. " Becauſe it would tend to maintain feuds and animoſities among the peers.

7. " Becauſe, at this time, it was unreaſonable, " conſidering the late diſputes and diviſions, that " had been in this houſe.

8. " Becauſe the honor of every man, much " more of a peer, is more valuable than his life."

Dropp'd.

Notwithſtanding theſe proteſts, the bill was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where, after a tedious delay, it was dropped at laſt, by the influence of thoſe peers who were againſt it.

A bill in favor of the Diſſenters.

His Majeſty, having found, by ſeveral inſtances, that the houſe of lords acted with more unanimity than the lower houſe, cauſed ſuch acts, as tended to the confirmation of the preſent ſettlement, to be ſet on foot in that houſe: and as the Diſſenters had been very active in bringing about the revolution, a bill for exempting them from the penalties of certain laws, was read there, the firſt time, on the 28th of February.

Upon this occaſion the earl of Nottingham moved, that a bill of comprehenſion, and another of toleration ſhould be preſented the houſe, whereby all moderate Preſbyterians might be reconciled to the church of England, and admited to eccleſiaſtical benefices. This motion was univerſally applauded, even by the biſhops who were preſent, ſo that the earl of Nottingham received the thanks of the houſe for it, and purſuant thereto a bill was brought in on the 11th of March following, " for uniting their " Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects (2)."

An order for diſcovering of Papiſts.

On the ſame 28th of February, " upon informa- " tion that ſeveral Papiſts were harbored in the " cities of London and Weſtminſter, the lords " ordered ſir William Waller (a gentleman, who " had pretty much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the " time of the Popiſh plot) to ſecure, or cauſe to be " ſecured all ſuch Papiſts, or reputed Papiſts, and " return their names to the committee appointed " to bring in a bill for removing all ſuch from the " city of London;" which bill was accordingly preſented to the houſe, on the firſt of March.

Inquiries into the earl of Eſſex's death.

Some days before this, the houſe of lords had taken upon them to inquire into the circumſtances of the late earl of Eſſex's death, who was ſaid to have murthered himſelf in the Tower, the 13th of July 1683. Captain Holland was, by their lordſhips order, commited to Newgate, on ſuſpicion of having murthered the earl, and ſeveral perſons, particularly ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave and mr. Baker, were examined as witneſſes concerning it: but, notwithſtanding all theſe inquiries, no ſufficient diſcovery could be made of that fatal accident.

A meſſage from the King to the lords.

The firſt of March, the King ſent two remarkable meſſages to the two houſes: the firſt was to the houſe of lords, by the lord viſcount Mordaunt, late earl of Peterborough, who acquainted their lordſhips, " That in this conjuncture of affairs, and " for the public ſafety, his Majeſty had ſecured " ſome perſons, as dangerous to the government,

(1) The paſſing of this act rather increaſed than removed the diſcontents of ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, who had before proteſted, that they neither would ſubmit to the deciſions of ſuch a parliament, nor ſit in it: and indeed, ſome of them kept their words, as to this laſt point, retiring into the country upon frivilous pretences, which occaſioned the dilatory proceedings of this ſeſſion, and gave King James an opportunity, to get conſiderable footing in Ireland, and the hopes of reaſcending his throne. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 9. Kennet's reign of King William.

Of the lords, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Gloceſter, Worceſter, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, Chicheſter, and Peterborough, refuſed to take the oaths appointed by that act, as did likewiſe ſeveral temporal peers, and in particular, the earls of Clarendon, Exeter, Strafford, the duke of Newcaſtle, the lord Stawel, and two or three more. However ninety of the temporal lords, and eight of the biſhops took the oaths in that houſe. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, Vol. 24. p. 6. Oldmixon (p. 4.) mentions ten biſhops, who took the oaths, by name, viz. the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of St. Aſaph, Briſtol, London, Lincoln, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Landaff, Carliſle, and St. David's.

(2) Some of the Diſſenters, however, put a ſiniſter conſtruction upon the earl's motion, and pretended that it was with no other deſign, than to try how they ſtood affected towards the church of England. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. I. p. 11.

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" and thought it might be convenient to ſecure more, " and being extreme tender of doing any thing, that " the law did not fully warrant, had given order " that the lords might be acquainted with what he " had thought himſelf obliged to do, for the public " peace and ſecurity of the government". A committee was thereupon immediately appointed to prepare an addreſs to be preſented to the King, upon this occaſion, from both houſes, " expreſſing their " moſt humble thanks, for his Majeſty's great " care of their liberties, and for his gracious communication of this matter; and humbly to adviſe and deſire his Majeſty, to take ſuch extraordinary care of the government, in this conjuncture, " by ſecuring all diſaffected perſons, as might prevent any diſturbance of the public peace, and " that ſuch perſons as were, or ſhould be ſo commited, might be detained till the firſt day of " the next term, if his Majeſty ſhould ſee cauſe " for it."

Reſolutions of the lords thereupon;

The commons were not ſo ready to concur in this addreſs, becauſe it ſeemed to allow the King a power of diſpenſing with the Habeas-corpus act, and therefore thought it more legal to bring in " a bill to impower his Majeſty, to apprehend " and detain ſuch perſons, as he ſhould find juſt " cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the government." This bill went thro' both houſes, in a few days, and paſſed into an act, by the royal aſſent. (1)

And of the commons.

Mr. Wharton delivered the other meſſage to the commons, which was, " that the King being ſenſible what a grievous burden the duty ariſing " from fire-hearths was to his people (2) eſpecially " to the poorer ſort, his Majeſty was pleaſed to " agree either to the regulation of it, or to the taking " of it wholly away, not doubting but the commons " would take care of his revenue another way". This political preſent had its effect; for, on the fifth of March, the commons voted an addreſs of thanks to the King, in which they acknowledged themſelves obliged " to declare that his " Majeſty had filled their hearts with an intire " ſatisfaction and gratitude, by his moſt gracious " and unprecedented offer, for the eaſe of his people, humbly aſſuring his Majeſty, that they " would make ſuch grateful and affectionate returns, and be ſo careful of the ſupport of the crown, " that the world might ſee, to the diſcouraging of " his enemies, and ſatisfaction of all good men, " that his Majeſty reigned in the hearts of all his " people". This ſeeming liberality of the Sovereign was alſo thankfully acknowledged by the city of London, in an addreſs preſented to the King on the 12th of March.

A meſſage from the King to the commons.

Their addreſs of thanks.

The King had acquainted the houſe of commons, on the 27th of the foregoing month, that he had certain news of the late King James's having ſailed from Breſt, with a conſiderable body of French troops, for Ireland, upon which they unanimouſly voted: " That they would ſtand by " and aſſiſt the King, with their lives and fortunes, " in ſupporting his alliances abroad, in reducing of " Ireland, and in defence of the Proteſtant religion, " and the laws of the kingdom." They communicated this vote to the peers, who confirmed it by entering the ſame into their journal, and on the 5th of March, they concured with the commons in the following addreſs:

A vote of the houſe of commons.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and faith- " ful ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and tempo- " ral, and commons, in parliament aſſembled, " being highly ſenſible of our late great and ſignal " deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power, " whereof it has pleaſed Almighty God to make " you the glorious inſtrument, and deſiring, to the " utmoſt of our abilities, to expreſs our gratitude " to your Majeſty, for ſo great and generous an " undertaking, no leſs neceſſary to ſupport the " Proteſtant intereſt in Europe, than for recovering and maintaining the civil rights and liberties of theſe nations, ſo notoriouſly invaded, and " undermined, by Popiſh counſels and counſellors, " and being likewiſe fully convinced of the reſtleſs " ſpirits, and continual indeavors, of your Majeſty's " and the nation's enemies, for the extirpation of " the Proteſtant religion, and the ſubverſion of " our laws and liberties, do unanimouſly declare " that we will ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty, " with our lives and fortunes, in ſupporting the " alliances abroad, in reducing of Ireland, and " in defenſe of the Proteſtant religion and laws of " the kingdom."

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Addreſs of both houſes.

The ſum of 400,000l. which was all the commons had hitherto voted, falling very ſhort of the King's neceſſities, his Majeſty laid hold of this favorable diſpoſition in his parliament, to urge a more ample ſupply, and having, to this end, appointed the 8th of March to receive this addreſs of both houſes, he, in the mean time, prepared the following artful anſwer, which he then gave them accordingly: (3)

The King's memorable anſwer.

" If any thing (ſaid his Majeſty) could add to " the eſteem and affection I have for parliaments, " and particularly for this, they would be much " increaſed by the kindneſs you ſhew to me, and " the zeal you expreſs for the public good, in " the addreſs you have made, which in the manner " as well as the matter, has every thing in it, that " ought to recommend it to me.

" I will aſſure you, that I will never abuſe the " confidence you have put in me, being fully perſuaded, that there is no ſure foundation of a " good agreement between a King and his people " but a mutual truſt; when that is once broken " a government is half diſſolved.

" It ſhall be, therefore, my chief care, never " to give any parliament cauſe to diſtruſt me, and " the beſt methods I can uſe, for that purpoſe, is " never to expect any thing from them, but what " ſhall be their own intereſt to grant.

" I came hither for the good of the kingdom, " and ſince it is your deſire, that I am in this " ſtation, I ſhall purſue the ſame ends that brought " me.

" God has been pleaſed to make me inſtrumental " to redeem you from the ills you feared, and it is " ſtill my deſire, as well as my duty to ſerve you, " in your religion, laws and liberties, which were " the only inducements, that brought me into " England, and to theſe I aſcribe the bleſſings " that attended this undertaking.

(1) This meſſage was occaſioned by the ſecuring the earl of Arran, ſir Robert Hamilton, and two other Scotſmen, who, by ſome intercepted letters from France, were ſuſpected to be in a conſpiracy with ſeveral others of the Scotiſh nation, for the reſtoration of King James, and were thereupon commited to the Tower. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 13. There were likewiſe, at the ſame time, in cuſtody, the late lord chancellor Jefferies, the lord Montgomery, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Caſtlemaine, the earl of Peterborough and the lord Clifford, who were all, excepting Jefferies, ſoon after admited to bail.

(2) This duty, whereby all perſons were required to pay two ſhillings for every fire hearth in their houſes, had occaſioned great murmuring, eſpecially among the mean ſort of people, and particularly, on occaſion of the diſorders frequently cauſed by the manner of levying it: and it being thought proper, that the King ſhould begin his reign with ſome popular act, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he was adviſed to this: tho', as it afterwards proved, it was but removing one burden to make way for others. It was oppoſed by ſome of the tory-party, and they were, on that account, accuſed of indeavoring to deprive the King of the opportunity of making himſelf agreable to his people.

(3) It was ſuppoſed that this anſwer proceeded from the pen of mr. Powle, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; or, at leaſt, was drawn up in concert with him.

" When

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" When I ſpoke laſt to you, I told you of the " neceſſity of aſſiſting our allies, and more eſpe- " cially the ſtates of Holland, whoſe readineſs to " relieve you, at ſo great a hazard and expenſe, from " the extremities you lay under, needs no other ar- " gument, to move you to the conſideration of it.

" As I was then a witneſs of their zeal and af- " fection to promote the expedition, and to ſecond " my indeavors, even with the neglect of their " own ſafety, ſo I am now ſenſible of the inevi- " table ruin they have drawn upon themſelves, in " giving you their aſſiſtance, if you ſhould not " return it to them.

" They have really exhauſted themſelves to ſuch " a degree, both as to men and mony, that it is " not eaſily to be imagined; and I am confident " your generoſity will have as little bounds towards " them, as theirs had towards you, and that you " will not only inable me, to make good the treaty " with them, and repay what they have actually " laid out, upon this occaſion (of which an ac- " count ſhall be given you) but that you will farther " ſupport them, to the utmoſt of your ability, " againſt the power of their enemies, who muſt " be yours too, by their intereſts and their religion, " and do certainly deſign the ruin of Holland to " be a ſtep to your deſtruction.

" I need not take pains to tell you the deplo- " rable condition of Ireland, which by the zeal and " violence of the Popiſh party there, and by the " aſſiſtance and incouragement they have from " France, is brought to that paſs, that it is not advi- " ſable to attempt the reducing of it, but by a conſi- " derable force, which I think ought not to be leſs " than 20,000 horſe and foot, which, by the " bleſſing of God, will make the work ſhorter, and " in conſequence, the charge eaſier, tho' the firſt " expence muſt, of neceſſity, be very great.

" You are to conſider, that towards the moſt " ſpeedy and effectual ſucceſs, in relation to Ire- " land, as well as with a regard to France; there " muſt be ſuch a fleet, as may, in conjunction " with the ſtates, make us ſo intirely maſters of " that ſea, that nothing may be ſent from France " to Ireland, or any where elſe, that may give " diſturbance to us or our allies.

" I muſt alſo recommend to you the conſidera- " tion of the revenue, that it may be ſo ſettled, " as that it may be collected without diſpute.

My lords and gentlemen,

" Theſe things will amount to a great ſum, and " muſt of conſequence be a preſent weight upon " the people: but conſidering that neither your " religion, nor your ſafety, can probably be ſecured " without theſe means, I conclude nothing can be " too great a price for their preſervation. And I " will ingage my ſolemn word to you, that what- " ever you ſhall give, to theſe public ends, ſhall " be ſtrictly applied to them: and as you ſo " freely offer, to hazard all that is dear to you, " ſo I ſhall as freely expoſe myſelf, for the ſup- " port of the Proteſtant religion, and the ſafety " and honor of the nation.

This anſwer, together with the addreſs of both houſes to which it was made, being publiſh'd, were both highly applauded, and the city of London, which had generouſly advanced 200,000 l. to the Prince of Orange, before the throne was declared vacant, and continued in the ſame diſpoſition, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, in a particular manner, by an addreſs of thanks to the houſe of lords, which they preſented the 12th, and was very well taken by the court (1).

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Satisfaction of the public, on this account.

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming harmony, the King had continually one uneaſineſs or other to incounter with; it was not the diviſions in parliament alone which gave him diſturbance, the defection of part of the army was an addition to the weight of them. The royal Scotiſh regiment of horſe, which was in quarters at Abingdon, almoſt totally deſerted, and refuſing to ſerve under King William, marched towards Scotland, being followed by above 500 ſoldiers of Dunbarton's regiment, headed by five captains, and carrying with them four field-pieces. (2)

Defection in the army.

His Majeſty no ſooner received news of this defection, than he ordered mr. Herbert to communicate it to the parliament; whereupon both houſes agreed, on the fifteenth of March, on an addreſs; " humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, to take effectual " care for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, " and to iſſue forth his proclamation declaring thoſe " officers and ſoldiers, and their adherents, to be " rebels and traitors, and requiring all his ſub- " jects to apprehend and proſecute them as " ſuch."

Purſuant to this addreſs, the King iſſued out his royal proclamation, and ſent a ſufficient force of horſe and dragoons, under Monſ. Ginkel, the Dutch general, to ſuppreſs the rebels, who quickly brought them to ſubmit: and tho' they had juſtly deſerved a more ſevere treatment, their puniſhment was only to be ſent to Flanders, to ſerve againſt the French; and, to prevent the like for the future, an act paſſed, and had the Royal aſſent, the third of April, for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

Act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

I juſt mentioned above, that two bills had been brought into the houſe of lords, one on the 28th of February, and the other on the 11th of March, in favor of the Diſſenters. The diſaffection of ſo many ſpiritual and temporal lords, as I have already ſaid, expreſſed by their reluctance to the oaths, and abſenting from the duty of parliament, on that account, gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the King, and inclined him more and more to favor the Preſbyterians. When his Majeſty, therefore, came to parliament, the 16th of March, to give the royal aſſent to the act, whereby he was impowered, to apprehend and detain ſuch perſons, as he ſhould find juſt cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the government, and another for reverſing the attainder of the late lord Ruſſel, grandfather to his grace the duke of Bedford, by which act, the death of that illuſtrious perſon is declared a murder; he told both houſes, " that " he would put them in mind of one thing, which

Proceedings in parliament, in favor of the Diſſenters.

(1) The next day, to ſhew the ſenſe they had of the conduct of the houſe of commons, they preſented the following addreſs to that houſe:

" We, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council aſſembled, preſume to addreſs " our-ſelves to this honorable houſe, with our moſt humble thanks for your excellent conduct of affairs in the time of our " great emergency and extremity, when our religion, our lives, and eſtates were ſo iminently threatned, and eſpecially " for your addreſs to his Majeſty, the 5th inſtant, declaring your reſolution to aſſiſt and ſtand by his Majeſty in ſupporting " his allies abroad, in reducing Ireland, and in defenſe of the Proteſtant religion." The Anſwer returned to this addreſs by the ſpeaker, to the ſheriffs, upon a reſolution of the houſe directing him thereunto, ſhew'd the mutual and happy harmony which at that time reigned between the repreſentatives of the great body of the nation, and its head or metropolis, the city of London, and the true ſenſe the former had of the courage, conſtancy, and liberality of, and ſervices done by, the latter to the whole kingdom, on this occaſion, when the ſtate of affairs ſo much required it.

(2) It has been ſaid, that this diſguſt proceeded from an apprehenſion, that the Dutch were more confided in, and favored, than the national troops. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, Vol. 24. p. 11.

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" would conduce much to their ſettlement, as that " would to the diſappointment of their enemies. " That he was, with all the expedition he could, " filling up the vacancies that were in offices and " places of truſt, by the late revolution. That he " knew they were ſenſible, there was a neceſſity of " ſome law to ſettle the oaths, to be taken by all " perſons to be admited to ſuch places; that he " did recommend it to their care to make a ſpeedy " proviſion for it: and as he doubted not but they " would ſufficiently provide againſt Papiſts, ſo he " hoped they would leave room for the admiſſion of " all Proteſtants, that were willing and able to " ſerve; which conjunction in his ſervice would " tend to the better uniting them among themſelves, " and ſtrengthening them againſt their common " adverſaries."

His Majeſty had ſignified this deſire of his to the privy-council, before he made this ſpeech, and it was probably approved of there; for the courtiers, indeed, urged this admiſſion of all Proteſtants indifferently into imployments, with great earneſtneſs: but it was as vigorouſly oppoſed by the Church-party, who looked upon it as a means to introduce a common-wealth, or at leaſt, to let Diſſenters into places of truſt. According to the King's deſire, ſignified in council, a bill was preſented, the 14th of March, in the houſe of peers, " to abrogate " the former oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, " and appoint other oaths in their ſtead;" which being read a ſecond time, a ſelect committee of the houſe was appointed to draw two clauſes, the one to explain the abrogating thoſe oaths, and the other to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament, to qualify a man for holding an office. The latter of theſe clauſes being drawn up accordingly, and reported to the houſe, was rejected by a great majority, tho' ſeveral lords inſiſted: (1) that a " hearty union among Proteſtants was a greater ſe- " curity to the church and ſtate, than any teſt which " could be invented. That this obligation to re- " ceive the ſacrament was a teſt on the Proteſtants " rather than on the Papiſts: that as long as it was " continued, there could not be that hearty and " thorough union among Proteſtants, as had always " been wiſhed, and was, at this time, indiſpenſably " neceſſary. And laſtly, that a greater caution " ought not to be required, from ſuch as were ad- " mited into offices, than from the members of the " two houſes of parliament, who are not obliged " to receive the ſacrament to inable them to ſit in " either houſe."

This point being loſt, the court-party made another attempt, in favor of the Preſbyterians, which was by inſerting a clauſe in the ſaid bill, " to pre- " vent the receiving the ſacrament, upon any other " account than in obedience to the holy inſtitution " thereof, and by freing perſons to be admited " into any office or imployment, from the neceſſity " of receiving the ſacrament, in ſuch a manner as " is appointed by an act made the 25th of King " Charles II, that is, according to the church of " England; provided they produced a certificate, " of their having received the ſacrament, under " the hands of a miniſter, and two other credible " perſons;" but this clauſe was alſo rejected, notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition of ſeveral peers, (2) who alledged:

" That it gives great part of the Proteſtant free- " men of England reaſon to complain of inequa- " lity and hard uſage, when they are excluded " from public imployments by a law: and alſo, " that it deprived the King and kingdom of diverſe " men fit and capable to ſerve the public in " ſeveral caſes; and that for a meer ſcruple of " conſcience, which could, by no means render " them ſuſpected, much leſs diſaffected to the " government. That his Majeſty, as the com- " mon indulgent father of his people, having ex- " preſſed an earneſt deſire of liberty to tender con- " ſciences, and to his Proteſtant ſubjects, and the " biſhops having, diverſe of them, on ſeveral oc- " caſions, expreſſed an inclination to, and owned " the reaſonableneſs of ſuch a Chriſtian temper, " they apprehended it would raiſe ſuſpicions in " mens minds, of ſomething different from the caſe " of religion, or the public, or a deſign to heal " our breaches, when they ſhould find, that by " confining ſecular imployments to eccleſiaſtical " conformity, thoſe were ſtruck out from civil af- " fairs, whoſe doctrine and worſhip might be " tolerated, by authority of parliament, there " being a bill before them, by order of the houſe, " to that purpoſe: eſpecially when without this " excluſive rigor, the church is ſecured in all its " privileges and preferments, no body being here- " by let into them, who is not ſtrictly conforma- " ble. That to ſet marks of diſtinction and humi- " liation on any ſorts of men, who have not ren- " dered themſelves juſtly ſuſpected to the govern- " ment, as it is, at all times, to be avoided, by " the making juſt and equitable laws, ſo might it " be of ſo ill effect to the reformed intereſt, at " home and abroad, in this preſent conjuncture, " which ſtood in need of the united hands and hearts " of all Proteſtants, againſt the open attempts, " and ſecret indeavors of a reſtleſs party, and a " potent neighbor, who was more zealous than " Rome itſelf, to plant Popery in theſe kingdoms, " and labored with his utmoſt force, to ſettle his " tyranny upon the ruins of the reformation, all " thro' Europe. That it turned the edge of the " law (they knew not by what fate) upon Pro- " teſtants, and friends to the government, which " was intended againſt Papiſts, to exclude them " from places of truſt, as men avowedly dange- " rous to our religion and government; and the " taking the ſacrament, which was injoined only " as a means to diſcover Papiſts, was now made a " diſtinguiſhing duty, among Proteſtants, to weaken " the whole, by caſting out a part of them. That " myſteries of religion and divine worſhip are of " divine original, and of a nature ſo wholly diſ- " tant from the ſecular affairs of politic ſociety, " that they cannot be applied to thoſe ends, and " therefore, the church, by the law and the goſ- " pel, as well as common prudence, ought to take " care not to offend either tender conſciences within " itſelf, or give offenſe to thoſe without, by mix- " ing their ſacred myſteries, with ſecular intereſts. " That they could not ſee how it does conſiſt " with the law of God, common equity, or the " right of any free-born ſubject, that any one be " puniſhed without a crime. That if it be a crime " not to take the ſacrament, according to the uſage " of the church of England, every one ought to be " puniſhed for it, which no body affirms: and if " it be no crime, thoſe who were capable, and " judged fit for the King's ſervice, ought not to be " puniſhed by a law of excluſion, for not doing

(1) The lord Delamere, Stamford, North and Grey, Chefterfield, Wharton, Lovelace and Vaughan.

(2) Particularly the lords Oxford, Mordaunt, Lovelace, Montague, Wharton and Paget. The earl of Nottingham, as a late hiſtorian obſerves, tho' he did not proteſt with theſe, nor ſpeak in public, on that ſide of the queſtion (yet as he ſays he has been credibly informed) both then and afterwards, declared againſt the teſt-act, as it regards Proteſtants; and the biſhop of London was very far from promoting it, tho' he was ſilent at the paſſing of it into a law, with reſpect to Proteſtant Diſſenters. Oldmixon, p. 7.

" that

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" that which is no crime to forbear: and laſtly, " that if it be urged ſtill, as an effectual teſt, to " diſcover and keep out Papiſts, the taking of the " ſacrament in theſe Proteſtant congregations, " where they are members and known, would be, at " leaſt, as effectual to that purpoſe." After a long debate the bill was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent down to the commons for their concurrence.

Bill againſt Papiſts.

Both houſes were likewiſe amuſed, for a conſiderable time, by another buſineſs of much leſs importance: which was the bill for removing Papiſts from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ten miles diſtance from the ſame, which having paſſed the houſe of lords, the 28th of March, the commons added a proviſo to it, by which the Queen Dowager's articles of marriage were greatly infringed. To this proviſo the peers diſagreed, and alleged: " That her Majeſty had, for ſo many " years, made ſuch moderate uſe of the ſaid articles, " that there had not been any juſt cauſe of com- " plaint in the injoyment of them; and it might " ſeem to be a kind of ſeverity upon her Majeſty " to have thoſe articles ſtill reſtrained by virtue of " that act, which was made for the preſervation of " the perſon of the King her huſband, which reaſon " now ceaſed. That it was evident, that in the " time of the late King James, when her Majeſty " might have been incouraged to entertain more " perſons of her own religion, moſt of her ſer- " vants, and thoſe of the moſt conſiderable places, " were continued, and alſo others received into her " family tho' Proteſtants: and that it might be of " ill conſequence, if her Majeſty, by not living " eaſily here, ſhould be obliged to retire into " foreign parts.

On the other hand, the commons, on the 8th of April, inſiſted on the proviſo, by them added:

" Becauſe it was no new clauſe, and therefore " impoſed no new condition upon her Majeſty, it " being the ſame that was inacted, in the 30th of " King Charles II for the more effectual preſerving " the King's perſon and government.

2. " Becauſe to make an alteration in the law, " as it then ſtood, might look like ſome kind of " countenance to thoſe of that perſuaſion, at a time " when the lords themſelves had judged the reſort " of Papiſts to London, to be of ſo dangerous " conſequence to the government, as to make this " act to remove them ten miles from it. And,

3. " Becauſe the Papiſts were not, at this time " leſs active in their deſigns and practices to diſ- " turb the peace and quiet of the kingdom, than " they were in the thirtieth year of King Charles II, " and therefore the like reaſons, which induced " the parliament to make that ſtatute, remained " at this time, to perſuade the houſe of commons " to keep the force of it intire."

Theſe reaſons being offered by the commons, at a free conference with the lords, their lordſhips, after having duly weighed them, agreed to propoſe that the Queen Dowager ſhould have thirty ſervants, of the King's Engliſh ſubjects, provided none of them were prieſts, monks or friars, to which expedient, the commons, after ſeveral conferences, and warm debates, gave their concurence, the 28th of April. The King gave his aſſent to this act purely out of complaiſance to his parliament, having often declared, that he came over to deliver the Proteſtants, but not to perſecute the Romaniſts.

An act of pardon, indemnity, and oblivion.

I muſt now go back again to the 28th of March, when the earl of Shrewſbury acquainted the houſe of lords; " that his Majeſty, out of an earneſt deſire " to deliver his people from the guilt, reproaches, " and penalties which many of them might be liable " to, and to put an end to all controverſies, ariſing " between the ſubjects, by reaſon of any diſcord " in latter times, and to take away all diſtinct on " and occaſions of diſcord among them, to the end " they, having an intire confidence in his Majeſty, " and perfect union among themſelves, might be in- " couraged in their duty to his government, and " more fully and ſecurely injoy the benefit of it; and " his Majeſty judging, that the beſt way to render " this his gracious intentions moſt extenſive and ef- " fectual, was to paſs a free and general pardon, in- " demnity and oblivion, his Majeſty did moſt earn- " eſtly recommend the conſideration thereof to both " houſes of parliament: that with all the expedi- " tion a matter of that kind would admit, they " might prepare a bill for that purpoſe, for the " royal aſſent, with ſuch exceptions only, as to " them ſhould ſeem neceſſary, for the vindication " of public juſtice, the ſafety of their Majeſties, " and the ſettlement and welfare of the nation, for " the future."

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The earl of Shrewſbury, deſired leave, at the ſame time, to bring in a bill for naturalizing the Prince of Denmark, whom his Majeſty intended to create a duke of this kingdom, in order to his taking a ſeat in that houſe, and to have the like precedency, as had been allowed to other Princes. The lords, hereupon, ordered the marquis of Winchеſter, and the earl of Bedford, to attend the King, with the thanks of that houſe, for his Majeſty's meſſage to them, concerning the bill of indemnity and free pardon, and for his intention of creating his Royal Highneſs, Prince George, a duke of this realm. The third of April, his Majeſty gave the Royal aſſent to the act for naturalizing the Prince of Denmark, and to an act for reviving actions and proceſs in the courts at Weſtminſter.

The fourth of April, the houſe of peers entered into a conſideration of the report of the amendments in the " bill for uniting their Majeſties Proteſtant " ſubjects;" and, upon debate, the queſtion was put, whether to agree with the committee, in leaving out the clauſe about the " indifferency of the poſ- " ture, at receiving the ſacrament?" the votes were equal, and therefore, according to the ancient rule, in the like caſe (ſemper preſumitur pro negante) it was carried in the negative. The next day the lords reſumed the debate of the report of the ſaid amendments, particularly of the clauſe concerning a commiſſion to be given out by the King, to the biſhops, and others of the clergy: and it being propoſed, " whether the laity ſhould be added"? the votes were again equal, and that was likewiſe carried in the negative: upon this ſome of the lords (1) entered their diſſents.

1. " Becauſe the act itſelf, being deſigned for " the peace of the ſtate, the puting the clergy into " commiſſion, with a total excluſion of the laity, " laid the humiliation on the laity, as if the clergy " of the church of England were alone friends to " the peace of the ſtate, and the laity leſs able, " or leſs concerned to provide for it.

2. " Becauſe the matters to be conſidered, being " barely of humane conſtitution, viz. the liturgy " and ceremonies of the church, belong to both, " for in what is of divine inſtitution, neither clergy " nor laity can make any alteration at all.

3. " Becauſe the pretending that differences and " delays might ariſe, by mixing laymen with the " eccleſiaſtics, fruſtrating the deſign of the com- " miſſion, was vain and out of doors, unleſs thoſe " which made uſe of this pretenſe ſuppoſed that the " clergy, part of the church, had diſtinct intereſts " from the laity, part of the ſame church, and " would be a reaſon as good, why one or other of

(1) The lords Winchеſter, Mordaunt, Lovelace, and Stamford.

" them

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" them ſhould quit the houſe of lords, for fear of " obſtructing the buſineſs of it.

4. " Becauſe the commiſſion being intended for " the ſatisfaction of Diſſenters, it would be con- " venient that laymen of differents ranks, nay per- " haps, of different opinions too, ſhould be united " in it, the better to find expedients for that end, " rather than clergymen alone, of the eſtabliſhed " church, who are generally obſerved to have " all very much the ſame way of reaſoning and " thinking.

5. " Becauſe it is the much readier way to facili- " tate the paſſing the alterations into a law; that " lay-lords and commoners ſhould be joined in the " commiſſion, who might be able to ſatisfy both " houſes of the reaſons upon which they were made, " and thereby remove all fears and jealouſies ill " men might raiſe againſt the clergy, of their in- " deavoring to keep up, without ground, a " diſtinct intereſt from that of the laity, whom " they ſo carefully excluded from being joined with " them, in conſtitutions of common concernment, " that they would not have thoſe ſhare any part in " the deliberation, who muſt have the greateſt in " determining.

6. " Becauſe, ſuch a reſtrained commiſſion lay " liable to this great objection, that it might be " made uſe of to elude repeated promiſes, and " the preſent general expectation of compliance " with tender conſciences, when the providing of it " was taken out of the ordinary courſe of parlia- " ment, to be put into the hands of thoſe alone, who " were lateſt in admiting any need of it, and who " might be thought to be the more unfit to be the " ſole compoſers of differences, when they were " looked upon by ſome as parties.

7. " Becauſe, after all, this carried a dangerous " ſuſpicion along with it, as if the laity were not " a part of the church, nor had any power to med- " dle in matters of religion. A ſuſpicion directly " oppoſite to the conſtitution both of church and " ſtate, which would make all alterations utterly " impoſſible, unleſs the clergy alone were allowed " to have power to make laws in matters of reli- " gion, ſince what was eſtabliſhed by law, could " not be taken away or changed, but by conſent of " lay-men in parliament, the clergy themſelves " having no authority to meddle in this very caſe, " in which the laity was excluded by this very vote, " but what they derived from lay-hands. Laſtly, " becauſe it was contrary to three ſtatutes, made " in the reign of King Henry VIII, and one in " Edward VI, which impowers thirty-two com- " miſſioners to alter the common eccleſiaſtical laws, " &c. whereof ſixteen to be of the laity, and ſixteen " of the clergy. "

The 6th of April, the reſt of the amendments were conſidered and agreed to, and the bill afterwards ſent to the commons for their concurrence.

As I am obliged to break off my relation of parliamentary affairs, in this place, to give ſome account of the coronation of their Majeſties, and of what preceded and was immediately ſubſequent to it, I ſhall take this opportunity to mention ſome things, which, for the ſake of connexion in theſe matters, I have hitherto omited.

An order of council was made, the 16th of February, for altering the Common-prayer, in relation to the Royal family.

There was ſoon after a talk of proceeding againſt ſome lords, and others, for having turned Papiſts, in compliance with the court, the latter part of the preceding reign, and ſome ſteps were even taken towards it, but nothing came of it.

The high church diſcontented

During the time of theſe tranſactions in parliament, with regard to the Diſſenters, the rigid High-church clergy, and their adherents, ſhewed great jealouſies and animoſities, and made no ſcruple to divulge, that the King and Queen, notwithſtanding they profeſſed to be of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, were Preſbyterians in their hearts. Two incidents, tho' exceeding trifling and indifferent in themſelves, were in particular made uſe of to raiſe a clamor, among the vulgar and zealous bigots, of the church being in danger: One of which was, that the King had been once obſerved to put his hat on, in ſermon-time, a thing ſo common in Holland, that it is reaſonable to conclude, it happened thro' inadvertency and not deſign: and beſide, what is there ſo very criminal in this? cuſtom has, indeed, made it an indecency with us to be covered in a place of public worſhip, but it is cuſtom only has made it ſo. The Jews think it as indecent to offer up their prayers to the Almighty, either in their ſynagogues, or their own houſes, with their heads uncovered. The other was, that the Queen had forbidden the uſe of violins in the chappel-muſic: a thing again abſolutely indifferent, and either good or bad, according to the ideas raiſed by it, in the different diſpoſitions of the minds of the hearers, and the management of the performers, a thing, the abuſe of which may have made it diſtaſteful to many more beſide her Majeſty, who were nevertheleſs true members of the church of England. It is a very great queſtion, if the uſe of inſtrumental muſick was to be injoined in all the churches, throughout England, whether by far the greater number of pariſhoners would not oppoſe it. The abuſe even of organs has given cauſe of great exceptions againſt them, and I myſelf know a clergyman of this church, who, in every reſpect, is an honor to his profeſſion, and who will not conſent to have an organ in his congregation, unleſs the organiſt be tied down to make a more ſolemn uſe of it, than moſt of thoſe light-fingered gentlemen are apt to do, who have as little true taſte for muſic, as thoſe dancers, who think the excellency of their art lies wholly in the agility of their heels.

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Titles and honors conferred.

The day appointed for the coronation drawing near, according to cuſtom, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer ſeveral titles and honors preparatory to it, viz.

His Royal Highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, was created baron of Ockingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland.

The marquis of Winchester, was made duke of Bolton.

The earl of Danby, marquis of Carmaerthen.

Monſ. Bentinck, baron of Cirenceſter, viſcount Woodſtock, and earl of Portland.

Viſcount Fauconberg, earl of Fauconberg.

Viſcount Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth.

The lord Mountague, viſcount Mounthermer, and earl of Mountague.

The lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough.

Henry Sidney, eſq; baron of Milton, and viſcount Sidney of Sheppey, in the county of Kent.

Viſcount Lumley, of Waterford, in Ireland, viſcount Lumley, of Lumley-caſtle, in the county-Palatin of Durham, and earl of Scarborough.

The viſcount Cholmondley, of Kellis, in Ireland, baron of Cholmondley of Witchmalbanck, alias Namptwich, in Cheſhire: and,

Thomas Pilkington, eſq; lord-mayor of London was knighted by his Majeſty.

The marſhal de Schomberg (who with the earl of Devonſhire, and duke of Ormond, had already been elected Knight companion of the moſt noble order of the Garter) was naturalized, by act of parliament

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liament, and ſoon after created duke of Schomberg, marquis of Harwich, earl of Brentford, and baron Teys.

Sir George Hewet was likewiſe made lord Goran of Ireland, and the lord Coote, of Ireland, treaſurer to the Queen.

Act for eſtabliſhing the coronation oath.

On the ninth of April, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to the act for naturalizing the marſhal de Schomberg, another for ſettling the precedency of the Prince of Denmark, and a third for re-eſtabliſhing the coronation-oath, which in complaiſance to King James II, had been altered from the ancient form, whereby the liberties of the people were ſecured, and inſtead thereof great regard had to the rights of the clergy, and the prerogatives of the crown. The oath appointed to be taken by King William and Queen Mary was in the following plain, but comprehenſive terms;

Form of it.

" Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to go-
" vern the people of this kingdom of England, and
" the dominions thereunto belonging, according to
" the ſtatutes, in parliament agreed on, and the
" laws and cuſtoms of the ſame."

K. William and Q. Mary crown'd.

It was provided, that this oath ſhould be adminiſtred either by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of London: And the choice of one of theſe two prelates being left to the King, his Majeſty, leſt the firſt, who ſtill continued diſcontented, ſhould not accept of it, choſe rather to appoint the latter, who performed the ceremony accordingly; the ſermon being preached by the biſhop of Saliſbury. This ceremony being, otherwiſe, the ſame as uſual, as was likewiſe the proceſſion from Weſtminſter-hall to the abby, where it was performed, I ſhall not inlarge upon them, and only mention that part of the latter, which immediately preceded and attended upon their Majeſties perſons.

Towards the cloſe of this proceſſion came the marquis of Hallifax, lord privy-ſeal; the marquis of Carmaerthen, lord preſident of the council; dr. Lamplugh, archbiſhop of York; his Royal Highneſs, George, Prince of Denmark, then the Regalia, and then their Majeſties, in the following manner.

The earl of Mancheſter bearing St. Edward's ſtaff.

The lord Grey of Ruthen, the ſpurs.

The earl of Clare, the Queen's ſcepter.

The earl of Northampton the King's.

The earls of Shrewſbury, Darby, and Pembroke, the three ſwords.

Robert, earl of Lindſey, lord great chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal, and the duke of Ormond, lord high conſtable for that day.

The earl of Bedford, with the Queen's ſcepter, with the dove.

The earl of Rutland, with the King's.

The duke of Bolton, with the Queen's orb.

The duke of Grafton, with the King's.

The duke of Sommerſet, with the Queen's crown.

The earl of Devonſhire, lord high ſteward of England, for that day, with the King's.

The biſhop of London with the Bible, between the biſhop of St. Aſaph, with the Patin, and the biſhop of Rocheſter with the Chalice.

The King, ſupported by the biſhop of Wincheſter.

And the Queen by the biſhop of Briſtol.

His Majeſty's train was born by Monſ. Zuleſtein, maſter of the robes, aſſiſted by the lord Eland, ſon to the marquis of Hallifax; lord Landſdown, ſon to the earl of Bath; the lord Willoughby, ſon to the earl of Lindſey; and the lord Dumblain, ſon to the marquis of Carmaerthen.

Her Majeſty's train was born by the lady Elizabeth Pawlet, daughter to the duke of Bolton, the lady Diana Vere, daughter to the earl of Oxford; the lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter to the earl of Devonſhire, and the lady Harriot Hyde, daughter to the earl of Rocheſter.

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The houſe of commons congratulate their Majeſties.

The next day, the houſe of commons, in a full body, walked from Weſtminſter to the Banqueting-houſe, to congratulate their Majeſties upon their coronation, on which occaſion, mr. Powle, their ſpeaker, made the following ſpeech:

May it pleaſe your Majeſties,

Speech on that occaſion.

" Your moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the com-
" mons of England, aſſembled in this preſent par-
" liament, having, to their unſpeakable joy, ſeen
" your Majeſties placed upon the Imperial throne of
" this kingdom, they have deſired acceſs, at this
" time, to your royal preſenſe, humbly to con-
" gratulate your Majeſties, upon this occaſion, and
" to wiſh your Majeſties a long and proſperous
" reign, with all the bleſſings that ever did attend a
" crown.

" We are all ſenſible, that your Majeſties great-
" neſs is the ſecurity of your ſubjects. It is from your
" power, that we derive to ourſelves an aſſurance
" of being defended from our enemies; and from
" your juſtice that we expect a full injoyment of
" our laws and liberties: but that which compleats
" our happineſs, is the experience we have of your
" Majeſties continual care to maintain the Pro-
" teſtant religion: ſo that we can no longer appre-
" hend any danger of being deprived of that in-
" eſtimable bleſſing, either by ſecret practices, or
" by open violence.

To the King.

" May the ſame divine providence, that has
" hitherto preſerved your Majeſty in the greateſt
" dangers, and ſo often given you victory over
" your enemies, ſtill crown your undertakings with
" ſucceſs.

To the Queen.

" And may thoſe unparalel'd virtues, which
" adorn your Majeſty's royal perſon, be the admira-
" tion of the preſent age, and an example to the
" future.

" And may the luſtre of both your names, ſo
" far outſhine the glory of your predeceſſors, that
" the memory of their greateſt actions may be
" forgoten, and your people no longer date the
" eſtabliſhment of their laws and liberties, from St.
" Edward's days, but the moſt auſpicious King
" William and Queen Mary."

To which ſpeech his Majeſty made the following anſwer, in his Own and in the Queen's name.

Gentlemen,

The King's anſwer.

" We return you our hearty thanks for the kind-
" neſs that you have, upon all occaſions, ſhewed
" to both of us. We ſhall take care, to the beſt
" of our power, of all things that conduce to the
" good of the kingdom, and I do not doubt, but by
" God's aſſiſtance and yours, we ſhall be able, in a
" ſhort time, to make you a flouriſhing people."

Upon this occaſion, gold medals, of about three pounds value, were given to each member of the houſe of commons.

Medals given to the members.

It was not long after the coronation, before both houſes of parliament, began to ſhew a jealouſy, that the King was inclined to favor the Preſbyterians, rather than the members of the church of England; and to obſerve, that the former were, upon all occaſions, diſcountenanced, and the moſt profitable poſts confered upon the Whigs. The houſe of commons, thereupon formed an addreſs, to which the lords giving their concurrence, it was preſented by both houſes, on the 19th of April. In this addreſs, " they, with utmoſt duty and affection, ren-
" dered to his Majeſty their moſt humble and
" hearty thanks for his moſt gracious declaration
" and repeated aſſurances, that he would maintain

An addreſs in behalf of the church of England.

" the

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" the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, which " his Majeſty had been pleaſed to recover from the " dangerous conſpiracy that was laid for its de- " ſtruction, with the hazard of his royal perſon :" To which they added:

" That the doctrine and practiſe of the church " of England had evinced their loyalty beyond the " contradiction of the moſt malicious enemies, and " that the misfortunes of former Princes could be at- " tributed to nothing more than their indeavors to " ſubvert and diſable the members thereof from " contributing to their ſupport and defenſe. They " therefore prayed his Majeſty to continue his care " for the preſervation of the ſame, whereby he " would effectually eſtabliſh his throne, by ſecuring " the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects, within theſe " his realms, who could no way better ſhew their " zeal for his ſervice, than by a firm adherence " to that church, whoſe conſtitution is beſt ſuited " to the ſupport of the monarchy :" they likewiſe humbly prayed ;

A convocation deſir'd.

" That, according to the ancient practiſe and " uſage of the kingdom, in time of parliament, his " Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, to iſſue " forth his writs for calling a convocation of the " clergy of the kingdom, to be adviſed with in ec- " cleſiaſtical matters, aſſuring his Majeſty, that it " was their intention forthwith to proceed to the " conſideration of giving eaſe to Proteſtant Diſ- " ſenters."

The King did not return an immediate anſwer to this addreſs ; but, the 21ſt, the lord Nottingham, by his Majeſty's orders, acquainted both houſes : that

The King's anſwer.

" tho' he had had many occaſions of aſſuring them, " he would maintain the church of England, as by " law eſtabliſhed, yet he was well pleaſed with re- " peating theſe promiſes, which he was reſolved to " perform, by ſupporting this church, whoſe loy- " alty, he doubted not, would inable him to an- " ſwer their juſt expectations. That as his deſigns " in coming hither was to reſcue them from the " miſeries they labored under, ſo it was a great ſatiſ- " faction to him, that by the ſucceſs God had given " him, he was in a ſtation of defending that church " which had effectually ſhewn her zeal againſt Po- " pery, and ſhould always be his peculiar care. " And he hoped the eaſe they deſigned to Diſſen- " ters would contribute very much to the eſtabliſh- " ment of this church ; he therefore earneſtly " recommended to them, that the occaſions of dif- " ferences and mutual animoſities might be remov'd, " and that as ſoon as might be, he would ſummon " a convocation."

A conference between the two houſes, concerning the oaths.

There was, the ſame day, a conference between both houſes, chiefly about an amendment made by the lords in the bill for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy ; by which the clergy were excuſed from taking the oaths ; except by order of council. To this the commons diſagreed, alleging,

Arguments of the commons.

" That it has been the policy of the common and " ſtatute laws to oblige men to ſwear allegiance to " the King : that allegiance is the common and " neceſſary duty of all the ſubjects, and is moſt " ſtrictly to be required of archbiſhops, and thoſe " who have eccleſiaſtical dignities, benefices and " promotions, in regard they are highly intereſted " in the adminiſtration of the government, draw " great dependencies, and are exemplary to the " reſt of the people, and ſeveral of them are by " law to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to other " perſons. That allegiance is alſo ſtrictly to be " required of all governors, profeſſors and fel- " lows in univerſities, and ſchool-maſters ; becauſe " to them the education of the youth of the king- " dom is commited, and therefore they ought to " be perſons of known loyalty to the government. " That the taking the oaths publicly, in open " court, would better manifeſt allegiance, than " the taking them privately, before perſons appoint- " ed by order in council, and would be much more " ſafe to the perſons who are obliged to take the " oaths. That the beſt and moſt certain means to " have the oaths taken was to impoſe it upon the " perſons concerned, to tender themſelves to take " the oaths, under penalties ; but if the oaths were " not required to be taken unleſs tendered, the ſaid " perſons might, by abſenſe, or otherwiſe, avoid " them with impunity. That the clauſe which the " commons ſent to their lordſhips, allowed more " favor to the archbiſhops, biſhops, and thoſe who " had eccleſiaſtical dignities and promotions, than " to any lay-peers, or other perſons having offices " or imployments, and was more gentle in the " penalty, than the ſtatutes heretofore made, in " the like caſe. That it was unreaſonable and " unſafe to diſtinguiſh the archbiſhops, biſhops, " and perſons having eccleſiaſtical dignities, bene- " fices or promotions, and ſuch as are intruſted with " the education of youth, from the reſt of the ſub- " jects, in the declaration of their allegiance, and " might tend to make a diviſion in the kingdom, " expoſe the King's perſon and government to ha- " tred and danger, and occaſion a general diſcontent."

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The houſe of lords adjourned after this into a committee, to debate and conſider the reaſons of the houſe of commons, and the houſe being reſumed, the lord Bridgwater reported, that, after a long debate in the committee, the queſtion, whether to agree with the houſe of commons, was carried in the negative : Upon which the earls of Macclesfield and Monmouth entered their diſſents, and alleged their reaſons for it.

The next day, the earl of Nottingham reported, from the committee appointed the day before, the reaſons to be offered to the houſe of commons, in anſwer to their reaſons given at the laſt conference, which were in ſubſtance, as follows :

Anſwers of the lords.

To the firſt and ſecond reaſon of the houſe of commons, the lords, in anſwer, agreed that, " the " policy of the law requires men to ſwear alle- " giance, and that it is the common and neceſ- " ſary duty of all ſubjects, and eſpecially of the " clergy ; but that the lords did not exempt them " from taking theſe oaths, but only differed from " the houſe of commons, about the method by " which they ſhould be tendered." To the third reaſon it was alleged ; " that if the lords ſhould " agree, that it was better to tender the oaths in " open court than privately, yet that was not a " ſufficient reaſon againſt tendering them by per- " ſons appointed by the King in council, becauſe " the officers and the judges of the court might be " ſo appointed, by virtue of the clauſe offered by " the lords." To the fourth, " that the clergy " would be required to take the oaths, by ſuch " order in council, as was propoſed by the lords, " and their not appearing when ſo ſummoned would " amount to a refuſal, or if it ſhould not, the " lords would agree to any ſuch addition as would " make it ſo." As to the other reaſons, they replied ; " that the clergy, and the members of the " univerſities, were not diſtinguiſhed from the laity, " becauſe upon the preſenting to any degree or " preferment, they would be, equally with all others, " obliged to take the oaths, when required by or- " der of council. That it ſeemed more to the ſet- " tlement and ſafety of the government, that the " King ſhould be impowered to put the fidelity of " the clergy to a trial immediately, than leave any, " who were ill-affected to the government, ſo " much time as to the firſt of Auguſt, to undeter- " mine it. That the clergy were obliged, by the " prayers which they muſt uſe, in the daily ſervice, " to make ſuch expreſs and ſolemn declarations of

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" fidelity to the King and Queen, by name, that " the puting them to the taking of oaths was not " ſo neceſſary to the public ſafety, as in other " perſons who are not bound to make ſuch frequent " declarations of their fidelity. That in ſo critical " a time as the preſent, it was not to be doubted, " but upon any cauſe of apprehending their ill- " affections to the government, the tendering the " oaths by order in council, would not only take off " all imputations of hardſhips from his Majeſty, but " juſtify and even require a more rigorous way of " proceeding, againſt thoſe who ſhould give any " cauſe of offenſe. And laſtly, that ſince, during " Queen Elizabeth's long and glorious reign, in " which ſhe had both the pretended title of the " Queen of Scots, and the depoſing power, aſ- " ſumed by the Popes, to apprehend, this was " found to be the ſafeſt way for the public quiet ; " and the ill effects of leaving the tendering the oaths " to the Queen's diſcretion, not having appeared " in all that time of ſo much danger, the following " pattern, taken from the beſt part of our hiſtory, " ſeemed more ſuitable to the preſent time, than " the falling into other methods."

This anſwer having been communicated to the commons in a free conference, they inſiſted, that according to the ſtatute of the ſeventh of James I, all perſons ſhould be injoined to take the oaths, and held, there ſhould be no difference between the clergy and laity in taking them : but upon mature conſideration of the whole matter, and after a long debate, the lords propoſed a clauſe, whereby, " it " ſhould be left to the King, to allow ſuch of the " clergy as ſhould refuſe the oaths preſcribed by " this act, as he ſhould think fit, not exceeding " the number of twelve, an allowance out of their " eccleſiaſtical benefices or promotions, for their " ſubſiſtence, not exceeding a third part, and to " continue during his Majeſty's pleaſure and no " longer." This clauſe was approved by the commons, and ſo the bill for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, having paſſed both houſes, received the ſanction of the royal aſſent, the 24th of April.

They agree upon an expedient.

At the ſame time, his Majeſty gave his aſſent to five other acts, viz.

Acts paſſed.

A ſecond act impowering his Majeſty to apprehend and detain all ſuch perſons as he ſhould find juſt cauſe to ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt the government, the former being expired.

An act for removing Papiſts from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ten miles from the ſame. (1)

An act for taking away the revenue ariſing by hearth-money.

An act for the incouragement of the exportation of corn ; and

An act for explaining and making effectual the ſtatute made in the firſt year of King James I, concerning the haven and peers of great Yarmouth.

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Tho' it is not my intent in the courſe of this hiſtory, to treat of the affairs of Scotlnd, farther than they have an immediate connexion with thoſe of England, yet it will be neceſſary to ſay a word or two of them, at the begining of this reign.

Brief account of the affairs of Scotland.

The Scotiſh nobility and gentry, in and about London, had addreſſed the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the government of that kingdom, in like manner as he did that of England, and to ſummon a convention of eſtates there, with which the Prince complied. This convention met, accordingly, the 14th of March, (2) when duke Hamilton was choſen preſident, by a great majority, being ſet up by the party that was for King William, in oppoſition to the marquis of Athol, who was propoſed by the biſhops, and the party which ſtill adhered to the abdicated King (3). The ſixteenth, one Crane, an Engliſhman, ſaid to be a ſervant of the late King James's Queen, brought a letter from that unfortunate Prince, and, at the ſame time, the preſident informed the aſſembly, that the lord Leven was arrived expreſs, with another from King William. Upon this a debate aroſe, which of theſe two letters ſhould be read firſt, and it being carried by a majority, for King William's, it was read accordingly (4). His ſaid Majeſty therein acquainted them, " he was ſenſible of the kindneſs and con- " cern that nation had ſhewn for the ſucceſs of his " undertaking, for the preſervation of their reli- " gion and liberties, which were in ſuch imminent " danger, and adviſed them to enter into ſuch con- " ſultations, as might ſettle them on laſting founda- " tions, which he hoped they would ſet about with " all convenient ſpeed, and lay aſide all animoſities " and factions that might hinder it ; that he was " glad to find ſo many of the nobility and gentry " about London, inclined to an union of the two " kingdoms, and ſo ſhould do all that lay in his " power to promote it, looking upon this, as they " did, to be the beſt means for procuring the hap- " pineſs of theſe nations ; eſpecially at this time, " when the enemies of both were ſo reſtleſs, in- " deavoring to increaſe jeaouſies and diviſions." This letter being read, a committee was appointed to draw up an anſwer to it, in the moſt thankful and dutiful terms.

The next queſtion was, whether the late King James's letter ſhould be read, which was indeed allowed, but before it was opened, they paſſed an act, aſſerting the lawfulneſs of that convention, notwithſtanding any thing that might be alleged, in the ſaid letter, and declared that they would continue to ſit until their government, religion, laws, liberties and properties were eſtabliſhed. This done, the letter was read, in which, " pardon was promiſed " to all who ſhould return to their duty before " the laſt of that month, and thoſe who ſhould

(1) During the debate about paſſing this act, an incident happened which gave occaſion to ſome merriment : an addreſs was preſented to the King, that the ducheſs of Mazarine might be obliged to depart the kingdom ; to which his Majeſty only anſwered, " he would take it into conſideration." The complaint laid againſt her was, that ſhe kept aſſemblies in her houſe, which, ſome would have it, were ſo many Popiſh cabals (that being her religion, if any) but others alleged theſe meetings were only for gaming and other innocent diverſions, as they termed them ; by the former of which, it was thought, ſhe chiefly ſubſiſted : ſhe had her friends, as well in the houſe, as without doors, of the latter the Dutch embaſſador, and his brother Monſ. d' Auverquerque interceded for her. The marquis de Seiſſac ſpoke likewiſe in her favor, and to the credit of the Engliſh nation, obſerved merrily enough, " that ſhe would ſtarve in any other country." The biſhop of Saliſbury made a motion in the houſe of peers, for an addreſs againſt her, but it dropped, and her grace was, by connivance, indulged in getting her bread in England by the polite profeſſions of Ombre, Hazard, &c.

(2) Before they proceeded to the choice of a preſident, prayers were publicly performed by the biſhop of Edinburgh, who prayed for his Majeſty King James's ſafety and reſtoration. Hiſt. of K. William III. Vol. 2. p. 36.

(3) A late author attributes the great majority the party for King William had above the oppoſite one, in part to the timidity of many of the Jacobites, who abſolutely refuſed to be preſent at the convention, and partly to the advice given by the lord Stairs, to allow all Proteſtants, without diſtinction, the fredom of voting at elections, which very much increaſed the number of the Prince's friends. Cont. of Rapin, in French. l. 25. p. 49.

(4) It was alleged, by the favorers of the revolution, that the aſſembly being convened by King William, it was but juſt that regard ſhould be had to his letter firſt, and beſide who knew but King James's letter might injoin a diſſolution of the convention. This latter obſervation had, likewiſe, the good effect, that it was, without doubt, the occaſion of the ſalutary act and reſolution, which preceded the reading of King James's letter.

" perſiſt

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" perſiſt in their rebellion againſt him (as he called " it) were threatned with puniſhment, according " to the utmoſt rigor of the laws." As the greater part of the members of this convention were Preſbyterians, it is eaſy to conceive this letter had no great effect upon them, to his advantage, and it was the more diſagreable, as it was counter-ſigned by the earl of Milton, than whom none was more odious to them. It therefore rather ſerved to heighten their reſentment of the injuries he had done them, and ſo no farther notice was taken of it : the meſſenger who brought the letter, was firſt ſecured, but ſoon after diſcharged, not being thought worthy their notice, and was diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. Inſtead thereof they imployed their time in conſulting how to provide for their own ſecurity and defenſe. In order to this, they commanded all perſons, from ſixteen to ſixty, to be ready to appear in arms, raiſed 800 men, and gave the command of them to the earl of Leven, to guard the city. The nineteenth they paſſed an act, by which they approved the addreſs of the Scotiſh nobility and gentry at London, to the Prince of Orange, and they alſo thankfully acknowleged, " the great benefit done to their nation by the " Prince of Orange, and deſired his Highneſs to " accept the adminiſtration of the government of " that kingdom. And having received ſome letters from the Proteſtants in Ireland, deſiring their aſſiſtance, they ordered 2000 muſkets, and 20 barrels of powder to be ſent them immediately, and a farther proviſion of arms to be bought up for them in Holland. They likewiſe ordered two ſmall frigats to cruize between Scotland and Ireland, for mutual intelligence between both kingdoms.

The duke of Gordon, a Papiſt, was, all this while, in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburg, which he held for King James ; the convention therefore, had required it to be put into their hands. (1) The duke inſiſted upon an indemnity for all that was paſt, and ſecurity for the future. This the convention condeſcended to, in ſo far as he had acted as a Papiſt, and ſent him, by the earls of Tweedale and Lothian, a pardon for himſelf, and all that were with him : but it appeared he only trifled ; for after having deſired firſt twenty-four hours, and then twelve days, to give his reſolution, he, at length, declared, he would not ſurrender it all. The convention, hereupon, ordered it to be blocked up, and being informed, that the lord viſcount Dundee kept a correſpondence with the duke, they ſummoned him to appear before them, but he retired, with 40 or 50 horſe, into the country. This done, they diſpatched the lord Roſs to England, with an anſwer to King William's letter, in which, " they ac-

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" knowleged him to be, under God, their great " and ſeaſonable deliverer ; congratulated his ſuc- " ceſs, and deſired his Majeſty to diſpoſe the " Engliſh to an equal readineſs with them in the " affair of the union, and that, in the mean time, " he would continue to grant them his protection " in all their concerns."

Major-general Mackay having been ſent by King William to Edinburg, with four regiments of foot and one of dragoons, the convention gave a commiſſion, likewiſe, to that general, to command all the forces raiſed or to be raiſed in Scotland. The 26th they appointed a committee to ſettle the government (2) which came to the ſame reſolution the convention in England had done, viz. " that the " throne was vacant," and this was approved by the whole houſe, excepting twelve. In conſequence of this reſolution they paſſed an act, by which they declared, " that King James, being a profeſſed " Papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, and acted " as King, without taking the oaths required by " law, and by the advice of evil counſellors, had " invaded the fundamental conſtitution of the king- " dom, and altered it from a legal and limited " monarchy, to an arbitrary, deſpotic power ; and " had governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the " Proteſtant religion, and violation of the laws " and liberties of the nation ; inverting all the ends " of government, whereby he had forfeited his " right to the crown, and the throne was become " vacant." (3)

King William and Queen Mary proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland.

After this, the convention paſſed an act, to ſettle the crown on their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, and purſuant thereunto, they were proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland, the 11th of April, the very ſame auſpicious day, in which the crown was ſolemnly placed on their heads in England. Having recited in this act, the ſeveral inſtances, by which King James had invaded the conſtitution, digeſted under fourteen general heads, with their claim of right, in the ſame manner as the convention in England had done, comprehended in twenty-three articles, they concluded with " ſettling " the crown on their Majeſties, and their iſſue, " with the remainder to the Princeſs Ann and her " iſſue ; and that failing, to the heirs of the body " of King William.(4)

This act likewiſe abrogated the oath of allegiance, and ſubſtituted another very ſhort one, conformable to that which was preſcribed in England, " in the room of it, in theſe words: I, A B, do ſin- " cerely promiſe and ſwear, that I will be faithful, " and bear true allegiance to their Majeſties King " William and Queen Mary.

So help me God.

(1) It has been ſaid, that upon the Jacobites having loſt their point, in the choice of a preſident, they propoſed to the duke of Gordon, to fire upon the town, and diſperſe the convention ; but that their hopes were fruſtrated by the irreſolution of the duke, who would not do it without orders from King James. Cont. of Rapin, in French, l. 25. p. 49.

(2) This committee conſiſted of eight temporal lords, eight knights and eight burgeſſes, but no biſhops, which confirms what I obſerved above, that this convention conſiſted moſtly of Preſbyterians: however there is this farther reaſon alleged for it, that they had diſguſted the generality of the ſtate, both by their former compliance, with King James's arbitrary government, and by their prayers at the begining of the ſeſſion.

(3) The committee was obliged to have recourſe to theſe violations of the fundamental laws and conſtitutions, to juſtify their vote of the throne being vacant. In England, it was founded upon King James's withdrawing himſelf ; which reaſon could not take place in a kingdom where he had never been in perſon, after his acceſſion to the throne, and where he had left the frame of the government intire at his departure from England. This expedient was firſt propoſed by ſir John Dalrymple, and it had this advantage, that upon the ſuppoſition of King James having forfeited the crown, they thereby excluded the pretended Prince of Wales, from all future expectations.

(4) By the 21ſt article of their claim, which contained theſe words, " that prelacy and ſuperiority of an office in the church " above Preſbyters, is and has been a great and inſupportable burden to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the " generality of the people, ever ſince the reformation, they having reformed Popery by Preſbytery, and therefore ought to be " aboliſhed :" by this article, I ſay, a fatal blow was ſtruck at the very root of Epiſcopacy, which occaſioned great uneaſineſſes not only in Scotland, but in England, and rendered the union of the two nations very difficult.

I own (ſays the author of the hiſtory of King William, Vol. 2. p. 51.) the Scotiſh prelates, by reading King James's declaration for liberty of conſcience, and for repealing the teſt and penal laws ; by aſſuring that Monarch, that they looked upon the Prince of Orange's enterpriſe, as a deteſtable invaſion ; in a word, by being the inſtruments of a Popiſh arbitrary King, and by thwarting the proceedings of the convention, had drawn upon themſelves the general odium of the people ; whereas had they imitated the conſtancy of the Engliſh biſhops, their zeal and virtue had gained them the affection of the Scotiſh nation, and given them an opportunity, to ſettle Epiſcopacy, among them : but yet (continues my author) the convention would have done well to have diſtinguiſhed between the function itſelf, and the perſons that exerciſed it.

The

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The convention having deputed the earl of Argile, ſir James Montgomery, and ſir John Dalrymple to carry this act to England, it was by them preſented to their Majeſties, in the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, the 11th of May: and his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell the deputies, "he took it very "kindly, that Scotland had expreſſed ſo much "confidence in him, and that he ſhould be ready "to aſſiſt them, in every thing that concerned the "welfare of that kingdom." Their Majeſties then took the coronation (1) oath, and thus the happy revolution was juſtified and perfected in Scotland, with as great or a greater unanimity than in England.

Edinburg caſtle being in the mean time beſieged, a breach was made in the walls, and there being great want of ammunition in the place, the duke of Gordon ſurrendered it the 13th of June, on condition of ſecurity for the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the gariſon. The lord Dundee continued, however, at the head of 6000 foot, and 100 horſe of King James's troops in the h ihlands; major-general Mackay, therefore marched againſt them, with a body of 4000 foot, and four troops of horſe and dragoons. Theſe two little armies met on this ſide the blair of Athol, and fought with great obſtinacy from five in the afternoon till night, when Mackay was obliged to leave the field, and retire, in ſome diſorder, toward Sterling: but Dundee being killed in the action, his party was worſted every-where, and could never appear in any conſiderable body afterwards.

I ſhall mention nothing farther of the affairs of Scotland, in this place, but that the Scotiſh convention being to be turned into a parliament, King William gave his commiſſion to duke Hamilton, and, among other inſtructions, gave him the following: "You are to paſs an act for turning the meeting "of the eſtates into a parliament. You are to paſs "an act for recognizing Our and the Queen's royal "authority, &c. You are to paſs an act eſtabliſhing "that church-government, which is moſt agreable "to the inclination of the people, reſcinding the "act of parliament, 1669, and all the other acts "inconſiſtent therewith." (2)

I might now proceed to give an account of the affairs of Ireland, in the ſame brief manner I have done thoſe of Scotland, but that kingdom having been, in this and the ſucceeding year, a grand ſcene in the actions of war, I ſhall firſt, to go on regularly, return to England, and give ſome account how the tedious and expenſive war which inſued was begun, and premiſe ſome other matters which happened in the mean time there.

King William having pretty well ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and eſtabliſhed his throne in England and Scotland, began now to imploy his thoughts for the general good of Chriſtendom, and to conſider the neceſſities of his allies, who had favored his expedition into England. The Imperial, Spaniſh and Dutch miniſters repreſented to his Majeſty, that France had declared their reſpective maſters her enemies, for being his friends, and therefore earneſtly preſſed him to proclaim war againſt that crown.

King William had ſeveral cogent reaſons to urge him to a compliance with the deſires of his confederates, among which gratitude, and that noble ardor, which he had ever ſhewed to ſuppreſs the exorbitant power of France were not the leaſt: but he knew the nature of an Engliſh parliament too well, to enter into ſo important and expenſive a war, as this muſt neceſſarily be, without their conſent. He managed this with ſo much prudence, that on the 25th of April, the houſe of commons preſented his Majeſty an addreſs, in which: "they moſt "humbly laid before his Majeſty their earneſt de- "ſire, that he would be pleaſed to take into his "moſt tender conſideration, the deſtructive me- "thods, taken of late years, by the French King, "againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of the king- "dom, and particularly the preſent invaſion of Ire- "land, and ſupporting his Majeſty's rebellious "ſubjects there. Not doubting, in the leaſt, but "that thro' his Majeſty's wiſdom, the alliances al- "ready made, with ſuch as might, hereafter, "be concluded, on this occaſion, by his Majeſty, "might be effectual to reduce the French King to "ſuch a condition, that it might not be in his power "hereafter, to violate the peace of Chriſtendom, nor "prejudice the trade and proſperity of the kingdom. "And to this end, they moſt humbly beſought his "Majeſty, to reſt aſſured, upon this their ſolemn "and hearty promiſe and incouragement, that when "his Majeſty ſhould think fit to enter into a war "againſt the French King, they would give his "Majeſty ſuch aſſiſtance, in a parliamentary way, "as might inable him to ſupport, and go thro' "with the ſame."

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The commons addreſs for a war.

To this addreſs, his Majeſty gave the following anſwer:

The King's anſwer.

"That he received it as a mark of the confidence "they had in him, which he took very kindly, "and ſhould indeavor by all his actions, to con- "firm them in it. That his own ambition ſhould "never be an argument, to incline him to ingage "in a war that might expoſe the nation either to "danger or expenſe: but in this preſent caſe, he "looked upon the war ſo much already declared, "in effect, by France again England, that it was "not ſo properly an act of choice, as an inevit- "able neceſſity, in their own defenſe. That he "ſhould only tell them, that as he had ventured "his life, and all that was dear to him, to reſcue "this nation from what it ſuffered, he was ready "ſtill to do the ſame, in order to the preſerving it "from all its enemies; and as he did not doubt "of ſuch an aſſiſtance from them, as ſhould be "ſuitable to their advice to him, to declare war "againſt a powerful enemy, ſo they might rely "upon him, that no part of what they ſhould "give for the carrying it on with ſucceſs, ſhould "be diverted by him, to any other uſe."

Proclamation for the relief of Proteſtants.

The 25th of April, his Majeſty iſſued his royal proclamation, whereby he declared: "that "finding in his ſubjects a true and juſt ſenſe "of their deliverance from the perſecution lately "threatning them for their religion, and of the "miſeries and oppreſſions the French Proteſtants "lay under, ſuch of them as ſhould ſeek their

(1) There being a clauſe in the oath, that their Majeſties ſhould be careful to root out heretics, when they came to that, his Majeſty declared, "That he did not mean by thoſe words, that he was under any obligation to become a perſe- "cutor:" to which the deputies made anſwer, "that neither the meaning of the oath, nor the law of Scotland did im- "port any ſuch thing:" upon which his Majeſty replied, "he took the oath in that ſenſe;" and deſired all that were preſent to be witneſſes of his ſo doing. The manner of taking this oath was thus: the earl of Argyle read it very diſtinctly word for word, and the King and Queen repeated it after him, holding up their right-hands, after the manner of taking an oath in Scotland.

(2) Theſe three acts were paſſed in the order they are placed above, ſo that the act for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, which paſſed the 22d of July, may be ſaid to be the firſt act of the firſt Scotiſh parliament after the revolution: for it was the firſt which paſſed, after they had any power to act, which they had not, as a parliament, till that power was conſtituted by the two acts which preceded it; and thus fell Epiſcopacy in Scotland. "It being left to that nation (ſays a known "author) to ſettle religion, in ſuch manner, as was moſt deſired by the people, there was not a mouth open to give a vote for "Epiſcopacy. Lackhart's memoirs, p. 299.

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" refuge in, and tranſport themſelves into this king-
" dom of England, ſhould not only have his royal
" protection, but he would ſo aid and aſſiſt them, in
" their ſeveral trades and ways of livelihood, as
" that their being in this realm might be comfor-
" table and eaſy to them." (1)

Imports from France prohibited.

At the ſame time that his Majeſty incouraged the Proteſtants of France, he iſſued out another proclamation, by which he prohibited the importation of all ſorts of manufactures and commodities whatſoever, of the growth, production or manufacture of that kingdom, which was a fore-runner of the war.

His Majeſty, being now aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the commons, declared to the lords, that it was his intention ſpeedily to declare war againſt France, upon which their lordſhips took the unanimous reſolution to ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty therein, to the utmoſt of their power.

A declaration of war was, hereupon, drawn up as it is ſaid, by that eminent civilian mr. (afterwards lord) Summers, and is equal to his extraordinary talents, both in eloquence and reaſon, bearing date the 7th of May, 1689, which was publiſhed as uſual, in the following words: (2)

William Rex,

Declaration of war againſt France.

" It having pleaſed Almighty God to make
" us the happy inſtrument of reſcuing theſe na-
" tions from imminent dangers, and to place us
" upon the throne of theſe kingdoms; we think
" our-ſelves obliged to indeavor, to the uttermoſt,
" to promote the welfare of our people, which can
" never be effectually ſecured, but by preventing
" the miſeries that threaten them from abroad.

" When we conſider the many unjuſt methods
" the French King hath, of late years, taken, to
" gratify his ambition: That he has not only in-
" vaded the territories of the Emperor, and the
" Empire, now in amity with us, laying waſte
" whole countries, and deſtroying the inhabitants
" by his armies; but declared war againſt our
" allies, without any provocation, in manifeſt vi-
" olation of the treaties confirmed by the guaranty
" of the crown of England; we can do no leſs
" than join with our allies, in oppoſing the de-
" ſigns of the French King, as the diſturber of the
" peace, and the common enemy of the Chriſtian
" world.

" And beſide the obligations we lie under, by
" treaties with our allies, which are a ſufficient
" juſtification of us, for taking up arms, at this
" time, ſince they have called upon us ſo to do, the
" many injuries done to us, and to our ſubjects,
" without any reparation, by the French King,
" are ſuch, that (however, of late years, they
" were not taken notice of, for reaſons well known
" to the world, nevertheleſs) we will not paſs
" them over, without a public and juſt reſentment
" of ſuch out-rages.

" It is not long ſince the French took licenſes
" from the Engliſh governor of Newfoundland,
" to fiſh in the ſeas on that coaſt, and paid a tribute
" for ſuch licenſes, as an acknowlegment of the
" ſole right of the crown of England to that
" iſland, and yet of late, the incroachments of the
" French, upon our ſaid iſland, and our ſubjects
" trade and fiſhery, have been more like the inva-
" ſions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who
" injoyed the advantages of that trade only by
" permiſſion.

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" But that the French King ſhould invade our
" Caribbe iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of our terri-
" tories of the province of New York, and of
" Hudſon's-bay, in a hoſtile manner, ſeizing our
" forts, burning our ſubjects houſes, and inriching
" his people with the ſpoil of their goods and
" merchandizes, detaining ſome of our ſubjects
" under a hardſhip of impriſonment, cauſing others
" to be inhumanly killed, and driving the reſt to
" ſea, in a ſmall veſſel, without food and neceſſa-
" ries to ſupport them, are actions not becoming
" even an enemy: and yet he was ſo far from de-
" claring himſelf ſo, that, at that very time, he
" was negociating here in England, by his mini-
" ſters, a treaty of neutrality and good correſ-
" pondence in America.

" The proceedings of the French King againſt
" our ſubjects in Europe are ſo notorious, that
" we ſhall not need to inlarge upon them: his
" countenancing the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips by
" French privateers, forbiding the importation of
" great part of the product and manufactures of
" our kingdom, and impoſing exorbitant cuſtoms
" upon the reſt, notwithſtanding the vaſt advan-
" tage he and the French nation, reap by their
" commerce with England, are ſufficient evidence
" of his deſign to deſtroy the trade, and con-
" ſequently to ruin the navigation, upon which the
" wealth and ſafety of this nation very much de-
" pends.

" The right of the flag, inherent in the crown of
" England, has been diſputed by his orders, in
" violation of our ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas,
" which in all ages, has been aſſerted by our pre-
" deceſſors, and we are reſolved to maintain,
" for the honor of our crown, and of the Engliſh
" nation.

" But that which moſt nearly touches us is, his
" unchriſtian proſecution of many of our Engliſh
" Proteſtant ſubjects, in France, for matters of
" religion, by ſtrange and unuſual cruelties; and
" impriſoning ſome of the maſters and ſeamen of
" our merchant-ſhips, and condemning others to
" the gallies, on pretenſe of having on board
" ſome of his own miſerable Proteſtant ſubjects, or
" their effects. And laſtly, as he has, for ſome
" years laſt paſt, indeavored, by inſinuation and
" promiſes of aſſiſtance, to overthrow the govern-
" ment of England; ſo now, by open and violent
" methods, and the actual invaſion of our king-
" dom of Ireland, in ſupporting of our ſubjects
" in arms, and in rebellion againſt us, he is pro-

(1) Some, who did not rightly conſider the unqueſtionable maxim, that the riches of a nation conſiſts in the number of her ſubjects, provided they are imployed either in trade, husbandry, or manufactures, repined at this invitation and incouragement given to foreigners, to ſettle here. They did not conſider of what advantage the incouragement Queen Elizabeth gave the Walloons was to the nation, by the improvements they made in our ſilk and woollen manufactures. They did not reflect that our neighbors, the Dutch, daily increaſed, in wealth and power, by the favor they ſhewed their perſecuted brethren; nor did they foreſee the benefit which has ſince accrued to this kingdom by the great number of wealthy merchants, laborious and induſtrious artificers, and brave and experienced officers and ſoldiers, who have, by this means, been incouraged to ſettle among us, and to become ſubjects of Great Britain.

(2) Tho' this declaration of war was generally approved by all the King's allies abroad, and was agreable in England, to the Whigs and moderate part of the Tories, yet it was as much exclaimed againſt by others who were either miſinformed or diſaffected to the government. They pretended that the injuries ſuppoſed to have been done by the French to the Engliſh, in America, were not perhaps ſo atrocious as repreſented, and that the Engliſh had drawn ſome of them on themſelves, and took ſufficient revenge for the others. And they found pretexts to palliate all the other grievances alleged. They affirmed that the defenſive treaty of March, 13, 1678, renewed in 1685 and 1689, mentioned by King William, only required England to aſſiſt the Dutch with their ſhips and forces, but not to enter into a war, on their account. They put the public in mind of ſeveral injuries the Dutch had done us, particularly, when, ſoon after the peace of Nimeguen, they ſeized a ſhip belonging to our Eaſt-India-Company, which they had lent to the King of Java, and when they drove away the Engliſh factories from Bantam and Maſulipatan, where they had eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing trade. Contin. of Rapin, in Fr. L. 25. p. 55.

" moting

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" moting the utter extirpation of our good and loyal " ſubjects in that our kingdom.

" Being, therefore, thus neceſſitated to take up " arms, and relying on the help of almighty God, " in our juſt undertaking; we have thought fit to " declare, and do, hereby, declare war againſt " the French King; and that we will, in conjunction " with our allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame, " by ſea and land (ſince he hath, ſo unrighteouſly, " begun it) being aſſured of the hearty concur- " rence and aſſiſtance of our ſubjects, in ſupport of " ſo good a cauſe. Hereby willing and requiring " our general of our forces, our commiſſioners for " executing the office of high admiral, our lieu- " tenants of our ſeveral counties, governors of " our forts and garriſons, and all other officers " and ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do " and execute all acts of hoſtility in the proſecution " of this war, againſt the French King, his vaſſals " and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts. Wil- " ling and requiring all our ſubjects, to take notice " of the ſame, whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid " to hold any correſpondence or communication " with the ſaid French King, or his ſubjects. And " becauſe there are remaining in our kingdom, " many of the ſubjects of the French King; we do " declare, and give our royal word, that all ſuch " of the French nation, as ſhall demean them- " ſelves dutifully towards us, and not correſpond " with our enemies, ſhall be ſafe in their perſons " and eſtates, and free from all moleſtation and " trouble, of any kind.

" Given at our court at Hampton-Court, the " ſeventh day of May, 1689, in the firſt year of " our reign.

Judges conſtituted.

I have already obſerved, in my account of preferments above, that his Majeſty's choice of the judges was highly applauded by every body, it may not be amiſs to mention more particularly, what regard he had to the eſtabliſh'd laws, in reviving the proceedings in the reſpective courts of juſtice, by filling up the vacancies with ſuch perſons, as in the moſt difficult times had boldly aſſerted them, and were eminent for their learning and integrity; which was done the 4th of May. In the court of King's-bench, ſir John Holt was conſtituted lord chief juſtice, and ſir William Dolbin, ſir William Gregory, and Giles Eyres, eſq; juſtices. In the court of common pleas, ſir Henry Pollexfen was made lord chief juſtice, and ſir John Powel, Thomas Rokeby, and Peyton Ventris, eſqs; juſtices. In the court of exchequer, ſir Robert Atkins was appointed lord chief baron, and ſir Edward Nevil, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, eſqs; barons of that court: Henry Wallop, eſq; was made curſitor-baron; and John Trenchard, eſq; chief juſtice of Cheſter. (1) Sir George Treby, attorney-general; John Sommers, eſq; ſollicitor-general; and ſir William Whitlock, ſir Charles Porter, ſir William Williams, John Coniers, eſq; Thomas Trevor, eſq; and ſoon after William Cowper, eſq; their Majeſties learned council at law.

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The declaration of war, which the readers has ſeen above, mentions, in general, ſeveral incroachments, depredations and real acts of hoſtility commited by the French, as ſo many provocations, which juſtly induced his Majeſty, at length, to take to arms: and, indeed, it was high time, for near a week before this proclamation was iſſued, an action happen'd, which more effectually began the war, and deſerves our particular notice, I mean the ſea-fight at Bantry-bay, the firſt of May.

His Majeſty was very ſenſible of what importance it would be to have a conſiderable fleet at ſea, to declare his juſt rights, at the begining of his reign; (2) and eſpecially to prevent the French King's ſending the late King James, with a body of his own troops into Ireland: and no preparations had been wanting for this end, which the ſhortneſs of the time would allow.

Sea-fight at Bantry-bay.

The fourteenth of March, his Majeſty appointed admiral Herbert (afterwards earl of Torrington) commander in chief of this fleet, who when he came to Portſmouth, the 20th of the ſame month, found that the ſhips, which were order'd to join him from the eaſt, lay windbound in the Downs. He had received intelligence that King James landed, at Kingſale, in Ireland, the 12th; he, therefore, reſolved to make for that coaſt, with what ſhips he could get together in haſte, hoping to intercept the convoy in its return. He gave orders for the reſt of the fleet to follow him, ſingly, as they could, and not to wait one for the other. When he came before Cork, (3) the account he had before of King James being landed was confirmed, with the addition, that he had been convoyed over by 22 ſhips from France. He, thereupon, reſolved to proceed firſt off of Breſt, and to range to and fro in the ſoundings, in hopes of meeting thoſe ſhips, which, as he was now informed, were taking in a conſiderable ſupply at Breſt, for the ſervice of King James: but being diſappointed in theſe hopes, he return'd to the Iriſh coaſts, where, on the 29th of April, in the evening, he diſcover'd a fleet of 44 ſail, off of Kingſale, keeping their wind, which made him do ſo likewiſe, all night, to hinder their geting into that port.

(1) To prepare for theſe promotions, the following eminent lawyers were call'd, by writ, to be ſerjeants at law: ſir Henry Pollexfen, Nicholas Lechmere, Thomas Rokeby, Peyton Ventris, John Thurburne, William Wogan, William Pawlet, Roger Belwood, Nathaniel Bond, Giles Eyre, Henry Hatſel, John Blencoe, John Powel, John Tremaine, John Trenchard, and John Turton, eſqs; who very properly choſe, for the motto of the rings they gave, the following words. Veniendo reſtituit rem.

(2) As the royal navy of England was greatly increas'd and improv'd in this and the ſucceeding reign, it may not be amiſs to give the readers a ſtate of it, as it ſtood at the revolution, which I cannot do better than from the memoirs of mr. Pepy's, then ſecretary of the admiralty.

The ſtate of the royal navy of England, as it was on the eighteenth of December, 1688, being the day King James withdrew.

Ships and Veſſels.	At Sea, or going out.	In Harbours to be Repaired,	Repairing,	Repaired.	Newly come in from Sea.	Total.	Men.	Guns.
Rates, 1		5	3	1		9	6705	878
2		9	1	1		11	7010	974
3	15	22	1	1		39	16545	2640
4	31	3	3		4	41	9480	1908
5	2					2	260	60
6	4	2				6	420	90
Bombers	1	2				3	120	33
Fire-ſhips	26					26	905	218
Hoys		6				6	22	
Hulks	1	7				8	50	
Ketches	3					3	115	24
Smacks		5				5	18	
Yachts	9	5				14	353	104
	92	66	8	3	4	173	42003	6929

(3) He had then with him only 12 ſhips of war, 1 fireſhip, 2 yachts, and 2 ſmacks. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 623.

The

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The 30th, advice was brought him, that the enemy was gone into Baltimore, whereupon he bore away for that place: but finding no ſign of them there, and judging that they muſt be to the weſtward, he bore away, with the wind eaſterly to cape Clear, and, in the evening, ſaw them ſtanding in for Bantry-bay. He lay off the bay 'till morning, and as ſoon as day broke, ſtood towards them; the men of war being at anchor, and the tranſports (which had carried about 5000 men to Ireland) being at ſome diſtance, plying to the windward. (1)

The enemy, incouraged by their great ſuperiority got under ſail: and when admiral Herbert, not without great difficulty, worked up within two miles of them, they bore down upon him, in a very orderly line, of all the 28 men of war and 5 fire-ſhips. One of them, being within muſquet-ſhot of the defiance, which led the van, Monſ. de Chateau-Renaud put out the ſignal of battle, and they two began the fight, which was continued by the others, as faſt as they came up with one another. The admiral made ſeveral boards, indeavoring by that means, to gain the wind of the enemy, or, at leaſt, to ingage them cloſer than they ſeem'd willing to do: but finding he could not do either, and that it was not adviſeable to maintain ſo unequal a fight, he ſtretch'd off to ſea, not only to get his ſhips into a regular line, but, if poſſible, to gain the wind.

The French were ſo very cautious of bearing down, that the admiral could meet with no opportunity of obtaining his end; ſo that continuing the fight, and battering upon a ſtretch, till about five in the afternoon, the French admiral then tack'd about, and ſtood farther into the bay. Admiral Herbert could not follow them, his own, and ſeveral of the other ſhips having ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging, that not one of them were in a condition for farther action, and it is not to be queſtion'd but the French, on their ſides, received conſiderable damage likewiſe. (2) If, therefore, all circumſtances be duly weigh'd, and particularly that moſt of the Engliſh ſhips were very ill-manned, they came off more fortunately, than could reaſonably have been expected: and it muſt be ſaid, to their honor, that both officers and ſailors behaved with all the courage and vigor, that could be expected from the braveſt men. There were no more than 94 men kill'd, and about 250 or 300 wounded. Captain George Aylmer, of the Portland, and one lieutenant, being the only officers who were kill'd in the action. The ſhips received little or no damage, except what they had in their ſails and rigging. (3)

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This action being over (4) the admiral repaired to his rendezvous, two leagues weſt from Scilly, where he was in hopes of meeting with ſuch an additional force, as might inable him to proceed in ſearch of the French: but being deceiv'd in this his expectation, he returned to Spithead, where I ſhall leave him refiting, and waiting the arrival of the reſt of the fleet to join him (5); and, in the mean time, give an account of the affairs of Ireland: obſerving only previouſly that about or before, this time, moſt of the Princes and Potentates of Europe, acknowleged their Majeſties titles, and congratulated their happy acceſſion to the Imperial crown of England, by their public miniſters: in particular the Emperor by monſieur Hofman; the King of Spain, by don Pedro de Ronquillo; the King of Sweden, by monſieur Leeuenberg; the King of Denmark by meſſieurs, Pleſs and Gerſtorff; the Elector of Brandenburg, by mr. Schmettau; the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, by baron Van Schutz; the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſtle by baron Van Goertz, and the States General of the United Provinces by meſſ. Van Engelnburg, Van Witſen, Van Odyck Van, Cittern, and Van Dyckvelt, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt, by a moſt magnificent entry.

Moſt of the Princes of Europe acknowledge the King and Queen's titles.

To give a clearer idea of the affairs of Ireland, at this time, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that the earl of Tyrconnel (whom King James had made deputy, or lord lieutenant) animated with a zeal for his unfortunate maſter, had ſeized the moſt important places of that kingdom for his uſe, and had diſarmed, pillag'd and impriſon'd the chief of the Proteſtants in Munſter, Lemſter and Connaught. (6) This obliged the Engliſh to retire to their brethren

Affairs of Ireland.

(1) Admiral Herbert had, by this time, increas'd the force of his little fleet, to twenty or two and twenty ſail, the enemy had 28 men of war, moſt of them from 60 to upwards of 70 guns, and ſome larger (there being 18 of them, the leaſt whereof was as big as the Elizabeth, in which the Engliſh admiral was) with five fire-ſhips, under the command of monſ. Chateau-Renaud. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2 p. 623-4.

(2) How far the French admiral was reſtrain'd by his order is not known: but certain it is, that he made a very little uſe of the great advantages he might have taken: for he had not only the wind, but double the force, conſidering the bulk of his ſhips, and the advantage of having fireſhips. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2. p. 624.

(3) As the French aſcribe to themſelves the honor of this day, and rejoicings were made on acconnt of it, in France, it may not be unaceptable to the reader to hear what they ſay of the action. F. Daniel ſays, that the count de Chateau-Renaud, lieutenant-general of the French fleet, was ordered to carry over a conſiderable convoy of proviſions and ammunition, with three thouſand men to Ireland. While he was landing his forces, he received advice, that the Engliſh admiral Herbert, was approaching to attack him, at the head of the Engliſh fleet. The two fleets were pretty near of an equal force, and monſieur de Chateau-Renaud advanced to receive the Engliſh, whom he defeated and follow'd, 'till night gave them an opportunity of eſcaping. After having landed his men he returned to Breſt, where he was welcomed with loud acclamations of joy; having (ſays my author) made a voyage to Ireland and back again, landed his troops, routed the Engliſh fleet, taken ſeven Dutch veſſels, richly laden, on his return, brought back his fleet in as good condition as when he went out of harbor, and all this within the ſpace of eleven or twelve days. A ſhip commanded by the chevalier de Coetlogon was ſet on fire, during the fight, by a cannon-ball, which accidentally fell among the granadoes and a barrel of powder, and part of the ſtem was blown away. De Larrey, in his hiſtory of France, under Lewis XIV, does yet more honor to the French, and pretends their fleet conſiſted of but twelve ſhips of war. He adds, that with this ſmall fleet they defeated the Engliſh admiral with two and twenty ſhips.

(4) When King William received the news of this ſea-fight, he is reported to have ſaid; "That ſuch an action was neceſſary "in the begining of a war, but it would be raſh in the courſe of it."

(5) The King went himſelf a fortnight after this, to Portſmouth, as well to haſten the refittng of the fleet, as to diſtribute rewards to theſe officers and ſoldiers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ingagement. Admiral Herbert was declared, and ſoon after made earl of Torrington, captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſly Shovel of the Edgar, were knighted, and every ſeaman had a gratuity of ten ſhillings: and beſide this, a bounty was added to the relicts of thoſe who had loſt their lives.

(6) It is a very great queſtion, whether, if proper meaſures had been at firſt taken, Tyrconnel might not eaſily have been induc'd to declare for King William; and thereby the great expenſe of blood and treaſure, which it afterwards coſt to redeem Ireland been ſav'd. As ſoon as the Prince of Orange came to London, the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who were then there, met at the duke of Ormond's houſe, in St. James's-ſquare, and drew up an addreſs to be preſented to his highneſs, together with a draught of the chief ports of that kingdom, humbly praying him to take them into his protection, which the lords and commons of England had before deſir'd. The negoication with colonel Richard Hamilton, who undertook to prevail with the deputy, Tyrconnel, to deliver up the ſword to ſuch perſon as the Prince of Orange ſhould commiſſion to receive it, and the ill advice of the marquis of Hallifax, not to give that commiſſion to the earl of Clarendon, out of a pique to that lord, who would doubtleſs have been moſt acceptable to the people of Ireland, were the two chief obſtacles to the relief of the Proteſtants.——

Hamilton,

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thren in Ulſter, who declared for King William and Queen Mary, and ſeiz'd the towns of Coleraine, Kilmore, Inniſkillin and Londonderry. King James, in the mean time, having in vain implor'd the aſſiſtance of ſeveral Princes, and finding he had no friend, upon whoſe help he could rely, but the French King, reſolv'd to make his laſt trial, for the recovery of his dominions, in Ireland, with the ſuccors given him by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: to which he was, likewiſe, incouraged by Tyrconnel, who ſent baron Rice and the lord Mountjoy, to France, to invite him. (7)

King James lands in Ireland.

Induced by theſe motives, the unhappy Monarch took ſhiping at Breſt, with about 1500 men, who were commanded by experienced French, Scots, and Iriſh officers (having with him a ſmall ſupply of arms, ammunition and mony) and landed ſafely at Kingſale, the 12th of March. He went, the next day, to Cork, with a numerous attendance, and was there received by the earl of Tyrconnel. The 24th, he enter'd triumphantly into Dublin, and having call'd a council, the next morning, diſplaced the earl of Granard, chairman, judge Keating, and others, and put in their rooms, the French embaſſador, count d'Avaux (who attended him as a ſort of ſpy upon his actions) the biſhop of Cheſter, and lieutenant-colonel Dorrington. The reſult of this counſel was iſſuing of five proclamations, by King James's order; viz. 1ſt, "To require all his Pro-

Five proclamations.

"teſtant ſubjects, who had left the kingdom, to "return, and remain upon the premiſſes, with "aſſurance of his protection, and all his ſubjects, "of what perſuaſion ſo ever, to join him againſt "the Prince of Orange. 2d, To commend his Ro-"man Catholic ſubjects for their vigilance, in "arming themſelves, but requiring all, who were "not actually under pay in the army, to lay up "their arms in their reſpective abodes. 3d, To in-"vite the country to carry proviſions to the army. "4th, To raiſe ſuch money as was current in "Ireland; 5th, for the parliament to meet "at Dublin, the 7th of May." At the ſame time, he created the earl of Tyrconnel duke, and gave the royal regiment, which the duke of Ormond had, to colonel Dorrington.

The firſt of theſe had very little effect, the Proteſtants reſolving to ſtand on their defenſe; and they made a ſhow of oppoſing King James's forces in the field, but were defeated by lieutenant-general Hamilton at Dunmore; upon which the King and Tyrconnel march'd, with near 20,000 men, towards the north, to drive the reſt of them out of the towns they had ſeiz'd, before the Engliſh ſuccors could arrive; which reduced the Proteſtant cauſe in Ireland, to a very deſperate condition.

King James takes Coleraine and Kilmore.

King James having taken Coleraine and Kilmore, after a ſtout reſiſtance, hoped the ſame ſucceſs at Londonderry, towards which place he, therefore, moved with his army. King William had indeed, already ſent captain James Hamilton, with arms and ammunition thither (the latter conſiſting of about 500 barrels of powder, and the former being ſufficient for 2000 men) and named colonel Lundee, to be governor of the place. In the mean time, mr. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, in the county of Tyrone, had, out of zeal to his religion, raiſed a regiment for the defenſe of it. This gentleman having received intelligence, the 13th of April, that King James was drawing his forces towards London-derry, haſtened thither in perſon to give an account of it, and upon advice of their being advanced to Cledyford, returned to Lyfford, where he joined colonel Craſton. He afterwards, purſuant to the directions given by colonel Lundee, took poſt at the Long-cauſey, which he defended, with great courage, the whole night, 'till, being over-powered with numbers, he was obliged to retreat to Londonderry, where he indeavored, tho' in vain, to prevail on Lundee to take the field; which he might have done, with ſome probability of ſucceſs, before the late King's army was fully formed (8).

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This officer ſoon ſhewed how miſtaken King William had been in his reliance upon him: for notwithſtanding colonel Cunningham, and colonel Richards, were arrived with their regiments, and all other neceſſaries, in the harbor, to reinforce the gariſon, in a council of war, held the 17th, he influenced the reſt of the officers of the council, which was chiefly packed by him, in ſuch manner, that it was reſolved the town was "not tenable, as "well becauſe they had not proviſions for above "eight or ten days, as becauſe the works were "not in a condition to be defended againſt ſo formi-"dable an army as King James had under his "command." This reſolution being taken, he would not ſuffer the two regiments to land, but, notwithſtanding all indeavors that were uſed, by mr. Walker, and others, to perſuade him to continue his government, he abandoned the place; and, leaving the inhabitants, and the Proteſtants who had retired thither, as a place of ſecurity, to ſhift for themſelves, returned thro' Scotland in his way for England; but was there ſecured, and ſent priſoner to London, where he was confined to the Tower, to anſwer for the neglect of duty laid to his charge. Colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards ſailed back with their regiments to England, where, tho' they urged, in their juſtification, that they were inſtructed to obey the orders of colonel Lundee, they were juſtly caſhiered.

Treachery of col. Lundee.

Theſe poor people being thus abandoned, by thoſe whoſe duty it was to have ſupported them, reſolved nevertheleſs, to maintain their town againſt the whole force of King James's army, in which brave reſolution they were greatly ſtrengthened by that bold and reverend divine, mr. George Walker, whom, together with major Baker, an officer of great courage and experience, they choſe their joint governors. The eighteenth, King James appeared before the town, at the head of a powerful army, when the two new governors, having formed the men in the place, who were able to bear arms, into regiments and companies, to the number of 7020, under eight colonels, and 333 other officers, made a briſk

Londonderry inveſted by K. James.

Hamilton, inſtead of influencing Tyrconnel to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange, perſuaded him to ſtand out for King James, and accepted of the command of his army of Iriſh Papiſts under him.——By the advices from Ireland, there was ſome reaſon to believe, that Tyrconnel was not at firſt determin'd in that reſolution: for the day after the late King left Rocheſter, in order to go out of England, which he could not then have heard, he held an extraordinary council, in the caſtle of Dublin, to conſult and adviſe of the then cogent affairs, which were debated at that board. Lord chief juſtice Keating, the only Proteſtant judge in the kingdom, ſpeaking in favor of the Prince of Orange, Tyrconnel heard him with patience.——Being preſs'd to follow the fate of England, and ſubmit to that government, he replied haſtily, "What would you have me fling the ſword over the "caſtle walls?" nay he ſeem'd to comply ſo far with the moderate men, that it was agreed by him and them, to ſend perſons to King James in France, to repreſent the impoſſibility of holding out the kingdom of Ireland, and to deſire permiſſion to treat. ——Thus did Tyrconnel diſguiſe his intentions, if he then really deſigned to enter into a war for reſtoring King James. Oldmixon, p. 16.

(7) Their firſt inſtructions were (as I have mention'd above) to deſire leave to treat with the Prince of Orange: but a French ingineer landing at that time, with a meſſage for the deputy, other meaſures were ſoon taken.

(8) Sir Arthur Rawdon, had two or three hundred horſe well mounted, and the lord Kingſton 1000 horſe, and 2500 foot, ready to have joined him, had he appointed any place of rendezvous, without the walls of Derry. Oldmixon, p. 20.

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sally upon the King's troops, and forced them to retire to St. John's town. (1)

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, the King inveſted it the 20th, and the next day the batteries began to fire. The governors immediately diſpatched mr. Bennet, with an account of their diſtreſs to England, declaring, at the ſame time, that they were reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, and intreating a ſpeedy ſuccor.

And beſieg'd.

The 29th the King was obliged to leave the care of this ſiege to his general, to go and meet the parliament he had ſummoned for the 7th of May, at Dublin. This did not, however, hinder the proſecution of it; many were the attacks of the beſiegers, and as many the ſallies made by the beſieged, in both which the latter had generally the advantage: And in this manner was the ſiege continued during the whole month of May. The 4th of June, the beſiegers made a vigorous aſſault on a part of the place which they thought the moſt acceſſible, but met with their uſual ill ſucceſs, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter.

Great diſtreſs of the inhabitants.

In the mean time, the greateſt danger the beſieged ſeemed to be expoſed to, was from thoſe two cruel and raging enemies, ſickneſs and famine; with reſpect to the latter of which eſpecially, their caſe was very deplorable, they being reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and all manner of vermin, as likewiſe tallow, hides, and in ſhort, the moſt loathſome things that any men, even in their condition, ever made uſe of for ſuſtenance. (2) And to compleat their misfortune, the 20th of June, they loſt one of their brave governors, major Baker, who was ſnatched away by death, when they could leaſt bear the loſs of him. (3) Some days before his death, the French general de Roſe, who was arrived with a commiſſion to command the beſiegers in chief, had threatned them with not only fire and ſword, but the moſt exquiſite torments, if they continued obſtinate, and on the other hand, lieutenant-general Hamilton had ſent them ſome plauſible offers of favorable conditions if they would ſurrender: but they were as little intimidated with one, as worked upon by the other. On the contrary, theſe threats and offers did but ſtrengthen their reſolutions, and prompted them to return ſuch an anſwer as could hardly be expected from men in their deplorable circumſtances (4).

This ſo inraged the French general, that to add, if poſſible, to their miſery, he cauſed all the Proteſtants of the adjacent country, to the number of about 7000, to be drove under their walls, and there left without any ſuſtenance, that they might ſee them periſh before their eyes, or leſſen their own exhauſted ſtores, to relieve them. But even this unheard of cruelty had no effect upon them; they looked upon it with indignation and contempt, and to ſhew their reſolution, cauſed a gallows to be erected in ſight of the beſiegers, and, in their turn, threatned, if they did not immediately ſuffer theſe poor wretches to return to their habitations, they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, giving them leave, at the ſame time, to ſend ſome of their prieſts to prepare them for death, in their own way. The beſiegers ſeemed at firſt reſolved to ſacrifice their friends to their revenge: at length, however, ſeeing the gallows finiſhed, and being aſſured by a letter from the chief of theſe priſoners, that the beſieged were reſolutely bent to execute their purpoſe, the generals ſubmited to the importunities of thoſe who ſollicited in their behalf, and ſuffered the poor half-ſtarved Proteſtants, to return to their homes, the fourth of July (5).

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This unparalleled reſolution of the beſieged was, doubtleſs, in ſome meaſure kept up, by a reaſonable proſpect of relief, they having received ſeveral meſſages from major-general Kirk, that he was come to their aſſiſtance, with men, proviſions and arms, and tho' it would be very difficult for him to come to them with his ſhips, becauſe of the enemies batteries, and other works they had made, to ſecure the narrow part of the river, yet when they were reduced to the laſt extremity, he would certainly come to their relief, tho' with the utmoſt hazard of his own perſon, his ſhips and men. (6) To this criſis matters were come at laſt; and the ſcarcity of the moſt vile of eatables was ſo increaſed, that the gariſon was very near reduced to the neceſſity of preying upon one another. Mr. Walker, being apprehenſive, that the reſolution of the gariſon might at length flag, did all that was in his power to ſupport it; he performed with an incomparable preſenſe of mind, the different functions of governor, captain, ſoldier and divine. After a ſally, in which he always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct, he would, with all the tranquility imaginable, perform his office in the government, and that done, indeavor, in the pulpit, to inſpire his auditors with that noble ardor which he himſelf poſſeſſed. Thus he, by his own great example, daily animated the gariſon, and preſerved the place till the 30th of July: when, having ſtill a confi-

(1) To attempt to defend a town ill-fortified, with a gariſon of poor people, moſt of them frightned from their own homes, without a ſufficient number of horſe for ſallies, or ingineers to inſtruct them in the neceſſary works, with only twenty ſmall guns ill-mounted, and with not above ten days proviſion, and that againſt a formidable army, commanded by a King implacable and revengeful, who looked upon them as traytors and rebels, was a bold and almoſt unheard of undertaking, which none but men inſpired with an almoſt ſuper-natural zeal and courage, ſpured on by a neceſſity either of vanquiſhing or falling victims to inraged and unmerciful enemies, could ever have ventured upon.

(2) If we may believe F. Daniel, 7000 perſons were famiſhed to death during this ſiege. A noble example of reſolution in a brave people, who could look death in the face, in its moſt ugly form, rather than bow their necks to the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion.

(3) Upon this officer's being taken ill, and rendered uncapable of doing the duty of a governor, colonel Michelburn, a gentleman who before had been equally zealous with mr. Walker and mr. Baker, in the defenſe of the place, and had advanced ſeveral conſiderable ſums for the uſe of the gariſon, was choſen to aſſiſt mr. Walker, that if one ſhould fall, the place might not be in danger of being without a government, or laid liable to the inconveniencies of a conteſted election.

(4) They unanimouſly reſolved, when all other means of ſuſtenance failed, to eat the Iriſh, and laſtly, one another, rather than ſurrender, and to general Hamilton's offers, they anſwered, "that they very much wondered he ſhould expect they ſhould "place any confidence in him, ſince he had ſo unworthily broke faith with King William, their ſovereign: that he was once "generouſly truſted (by them) tho' an enemy, and yet betrayed his truſt, and that they could not believe he had learned more "ſincerity in an Iriſh camp. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 65.

(5) This cruelty of the French general turned out, in ſome meaſure, to the advantage of the beſieged: for they found means to get rid of about 500 of their uſeleſs people, by thruſting them among the Proteſtants under their walls, who paſſed undiſtinguiſhed with them, and in exchange, got ſome able and ſtout men of their numbers. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 67.

(6) The major-general had a fleet of tranſports with ſeveral frigats to convoy them, for this purpoſe: but at their arrival near the place, the 9th of June, upon information how difficult the enemy had rendered the paſſage up the river, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to ſtay 'till their forces were augmented, and then, by making a deſcent, indeavor to oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, he went on an expedition to the iſland of Inch, and upon advice of the great diſtreſs the gariſon of Londonderry was in, he returned and made this bold and ſucceſsful attempt for their relief. Lediard's naval hiſtory. Vol. 2. p. 626.

Some however, who conſider major-general Kirk's cruelties in the Weſt, againſt the Engliſh Proteſtants, after the defeat at Sedgmore, can hardly forbear inſinuating, that there was a ſecret treachery in his delaying the relief of London-derry ſo long, and that the courageous and reſolute defenſe of the gariſon, obliging him, at laſt, to do ſomething, it was attempted in ſuch a manner, that it was next to a miracle it ſuceeded.

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dence in God, that he would not ſuffer them to fall a prey to their enemies, he as uſual, preached to the gariſon in the cathedral, and indeavored to confirm them in their conſtancy, by reminding them of the many inſtances of providence they had already been witneſſes of, and of what importance it was at this time, to the Proteſtant cauſe; concluding with aſſurances of a ſpeedy relief; which accordingly almoſt immediately followed: for within an hour after his ſermon was ended, the gariſon, to their unſpeakable joy, ſaw the means imployed by general Kirk to effect it. The manner of their deliverance was as follows:

The ſiege raiſed.

The Montjoy of Derry, commanded by captain Browning, and the Phenix of Coleraine, by captain Douglas, both laden with proviſions, were ſent towards the town, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigat, commanded by captain Leake. They were obliged to ſtand a furious fire of the enemy from Kilmore-caſtle, and from the batteries on both ſides of the river, which they received and returned with the greateſt bravery imaginable. The Montjoy made a little ſtop at the boom, occaſioned by her rebound, after ſtriking and breaking it, ſo that ſhe was ran a-ground. Upon this the enemy gave a loud and joyful ſhout (tho' a dreadful one to the beſieged) fired all their guns upon her, and were preparing their boats to board her. The trouble and concern of the beſieged, to ſee their laſt hopes diſappointed, is not to be expreſſed; but by a great providence, firing a broad-ſide, the ſhock looſened the ſhip ſo, that ſhe got clear and paſſed the boom. Captain Douglas was ingaged all this while, and the Dartmouth gave the enemy very warm entertainment, 'till at length the three ſhips, having overcome the great difficulty of breaking and paſſing the boom, got up to the city, to the inexpreſſible joy and tranſport of a gariſon, which reckoned but upon two days life, having nothing left but nine lean horſes, and a pint of meal to each man.

The beſiegers ſeing the ſucceſs of this brave attempt, and that now a communication was open between the town and the ſuccors brought to its relief, under major-general Kirk, were ſo diſcouraged, that the very next day, being the laſt of July, they prepared to be gone, and, the night following, raiſed the ſiege, with great confuſion, and in their retreat, ravaged the country in a terrible manner.

When major-general Kirk came to Londonderry in perſon, mr. Walker made him an offer of his regiment, "that after having done the King all "the ſervice in his power, he might return to his "own profeſſion": but the major-general deſiring him to diſpoſe of it himſelf, he gave it to captain White, a gentleman of valor and merit. He was afterwards prevailed upon by a council held at Derry, to imbark for England, to carry an addreſs of thanks to their Majeſties, who upon his arrival gave him a reception and reward equal to his extraordinary ſervices. (1)

Succeſs of the Iniſkillin men.

Having now done juſtice to the reſolution and courage of the inhabitants and gariſon of Londonderry, I think myſelf no leſs obliged to render the ſame to the men of Iniſkillin, a town in the north of Ireland, who having dared to aſſert the Proteſtant cauſe, and to proclaim King William and Queen Mary, were ſummoned by the lord Galmoy, to ſurrender their town to him for the uſe of King James; but their ſteady reſolution detered him from attempting any thing againſt them; and he having attacked the caſtle of Crom, at about ſixteen miles diſtance from them, poſſeſſed by Proteſtants, they not only found means to re-inforce the gariſon but obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat to Beltürbat. The 24th of April, a derachment of their gariſon, with lieutenant colonel Lloyd at their head, made an excurſion into the enemy's country, took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Anghor, and returned home with a conſiderable booty. They had ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes and rencounters with the enemy, in which they ſignalized their valor, and always came off with ſucceſs. They, likewiſe, did good ſervice during the ſiege of Londonderry, by haraſſing the beſiegers, and cuting off their convoys: but of all their actions, none was ſo remarkable, as that which happened, the very ſame day that Londonderry was relieved; in which 2000 Iniſkilliners, under the command of col. Berry, fought and routed 6000 Iriſh, at a place called Newton-Butler: and what with the number killed by them, and thoſe who were knocked on the head by the country-people, the enemy loſt at leaſt 4000 men, with their cannon, and moſt of their ſurviving officers, who were taken priſoners: among the latter was major-general Mackarty, who was ſhot thro' the thigh, and run into the back: all this was performed with the loſs of only 20 men killed, and 50 wounded. About two months after, 1000 of theſe brave men, under the command of colonel Lloyd, routed 5000 Iriſh, of whom they killed 700 and took Kelly, their commander, and forty other officers priſoners, with a great booty of cattle, and this with the loſs of a very few men only.

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Procedings of the parliament in Ireland.

The Iriſh parliament, met at Dublin, purſuant to King James's proclamation, the 7th of May, and was opened by a ſpeech, in which he told them:

"That the exemplary loyalty they had ſhewn, "at a time, when the reſt of his ſubjects behaved "themſelves ſo undutifully, or betrayed him, had "made him reſolve to come and venture his life "with them, in defenſe of their liberties, and his "own rights: that to his great ſatisfaction, he had "not only found them ready to ſerve him, but that "their courage had equalled their zeal: that he had "always been for liberty of conſcience, and againſt "invading any man's right or liberty, and nothing "ſhould perſuade him to change his mind: he "deſigned wherever he was maſter to eſtabliſh it by "law, and to have no other teſt or diſtinction, but "that of loyalty, in which Chriſtian work he hoped "for their concurrence; and he ſhould readily "conſent to ſuch other laws as might be for the "good of the nation, and the improvement of "trade, recommending to them the regulating the "act of ſettlement: and as he ſhould do his part to "make them happy and rich, he made no doubt of "their aſſiſtance to inable him to oppoſe the unjuſt "deſigns of his enemies; and to incourage them "the more in it, he informed them, that the French "King had imbraced his intereſt, and furniſhed "him with ſupplies of all kinds, and that at a time "when he had many conſiderable enemies to con-"tend with; concluding, as he begun, that he was "ſenſible of their ſignal loyalty, and that he ſhould "make it his chief ſtudy, as he had always done, "to make them and all his ſubjects happy."

His Majeſty being withdrawn, two addreſſes were fram'd; one to return his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and another deſiring count d'Avaux to thank the French King for the aſſiſtance he had afforded them. This done, a bill was brought in, containing a recognition of the King's title, and an abhorence of the Prince of Orange's

(1) He received, beſide, the thanks of the houſe of commons, and was deſired, in the name of that houſe, to thank all thoſe who had ſerved under him, in the defenſe of Londonderry. They alſo addreſſed the King that 10,000 l. might be diſtributed, among the widows and orphans of ſuch, as were ſlain or died in that ſiege: and the univerſity of Oxford preſented mr. Walker with a doctor's degree.

uſurpation,

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uſurpation, and of the defection of the Engliſh nation. The next day, King James publiſh'd a declaration, addreſs'd to all his loving ſubjects, in the kingdom of England, in which, "after having "highly extoll'd his many acts of favor and leni- "ty to his Proteſtants ſubjects in Ireland, as an "earneſt of what he deſign'd to do in England, he "promiſed pardon to all thoſe, who, in 24 days "after his appearance in perſon amongſt them, "ſhould return to their duty."

Act of ſettlement repealed.

The 12th of May a bill was brought in, for repealing the act of ſettlement, which having been made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, and to depreſs the Popiſh intereſts, both houſes, in which there were a great majority of Roman Catholics, very readily paſs'd it, notwithſtanding, in the upper houſe, the biſhop of Meath argued very long and learnedly againſt it.

Act of attainder paſſed.

But this was nothing to the fatal blow deſign'd, at leaſt, to be given to the Proteſtants, by a bill of attainder: in order to make this bill effectual, and to ſtrike at the root, every member of the houſe of commons return'd the names of all ſuch Proteſtant noblemen and gentlemen as lived near them, or in the county or borough for which they ſerved. By this black act, were attainted "2 archbiſhops, 1 "duke, 17 earls, 7 counteſſes, 28 viſcounts, 2 "viſcounteſſes, 7 biſhops, 18 barons, 33 baronets, "51 knights, 83 clergymen, 2182, eſquires and "gentlemen; and all of them, unheard, declar'd "traytors, and adjudg'd to ſuffer death, and the "forfeiture of their eſtates (1)."

To ſooth this act, at leaſt in pretext, another for liberty of conſcience paſs'd ſoon after, which left the heirs of thoſe whoſe eſtates were forfeited, the injoyment of their religion, if they had virtue enough to bear with penury and want for the ſake of it.

The parliament of Ireland prorogued.

Having paſs'd ſome other acts, the 20th of July, King James thought fit to prorogue this parliament (whoſe proceedings occaſion'd no leſs diſturbance in the kingdom of Ireland, than the war it ſelf) to the 12th of January inſuing.

Impolitic behavior of K. James.

King James, all this while, inſtead of ſtudying to heal the breaches his unwary conduct had made, ſeem'd rather wholly bent to widen them; he gave himſelf intirely up to thoſe deſpotic methods, which were ſuggeſted to him by the French embaſſador, who rul'd his council at will, and the reſt of his evil adviſers, and thereby loſt ground daily among thoſe who had remained true to him, in hopes, as any reaſonable man would have done, that his paſt misfortunes would have induced him to alter his conduct. I ſhall give an inſtance or two of his impolitic as well as unjuſt behavior, and then return to the parliament of England.

With regard to the univerſity of Dublin.

And firſt with reſpect to the univerſity of Dublin; it was not enough, that Tyrconnel had ſtop'd the maintenance of it, King James ſoon after his arrival, proceeded farther againſt the vice-preſident, fellows and ſcholars, and turn'd them out, ſeiz'd their furniture, library and communion-plate, and took away every thing that belong'd to the college, and to the private fellows and ſcholars: and all this notwithſtanding his promiſe to them (2) when they waited upon him, at his firſt coming into that city. A gariſon was put into their houſe, their chapel was turned into a magazine, and their chambers into priſons for Proteſtants; More, a Popiſh prieſt, was made proveſt, and Mackartey another, library-keeper; and, in ſhort, the whole was deſign'd for them and their brethren. But it was not the univerſity of Dublin alone, in Ireland, that felt the weight of King James's indignation; it was leveled in general againſt the Proteſtant religion, and more particularly the church of England. One archbiſhopric, ſeveral biſhoprics, and a great many other dignities and livings of the church were deſignedly kept vacant, and the revenue firſt paid into the exchequer, and afterwards diſpos'd of to titular biſhops and prieſts, while, in the mean time, the cures lay neglected, ſo that it appear'd plainly, the deſign was to deſtroy the ſucceſſion of the Proteſtant clergy. I now return to the parliament of England.

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And the Proteſtants in general.

Proceedings of the parliament of England.

The commons having voted the yearly ſum 1,200,000 l. for the ſupport of the crown, and 600,000 l. for the maintenance of the forces to be imployed in the reduction of Ireland, the next thing they did was to prepare a poll-bill, which having paſs'd both houſes, was preſented, on the 1ſt of May, for the royal aſſent, by their ſpeaker, who, upon that occaſion, made the following remarkable ſpeech to his Majeſty:

An act for poll-mony paſſed.

A remarkable ſpeech.

"The commons aſſembled in this preſent parliament, have taken into their moſt ſerious conſideration the deplorable condition of Ireland, where "thoſe fatal councils, that did ſo long govern the "affairs of theſe kingdoms, have ſo far prevailed, "that your arms and gariſons there have been "taken from your Proteſtant ſubjects and put into "the hands of Iriſh Papiſts, and the Engliſh Proteſtants that remain there, left naked and defenſeleſs, in the power of thoſe enemies, which yet "never ſhewed them any mercy, when they had "them at an advantage.

"Nor is it the ſtrength of the Iriſh natives only, "animated with the zeal for Popery, and a long- "ing deſire to free themſelves from any dependency upon the crown of England, that is likely "to create your Majeſty an oppoſition there, but "they have likewiſe caſt them under the protection "of the French King, who will, without doubt, "imploy that force with which of late years, he "has over-awed Europe, to ſupport thoſe your rebellious ſubjects, thereby if poſſible, to give your "Majeſty a diverſion from oppoſing, in other "parts of the world, his ambitious deſigns of an "univerſal Monarchy.

"The commons, therefore, ſeing ſo evident a "neceſſity of reducing that kingdom, under your "Majeſty's obedience, and the great expenſe your "Majeſty muſt undergo, in maintaining ſuch a "war, do now humbly preſent to your Majeſty "their hearty aſſiſtance in a poll-bill, which they "look upon as the moſt ſpeedy and effectual way "of raiſing ready money, on this occaſion, ſolemnly "ingaging themſelves to ſupply your Majeſty with "ſuch future aids, as may be proportionable to "the charge of the war, as long as it ſhall con- "tinue."

This ſupply being afterwards found not ſufficient, an additional poll-bill was brought in to anſwer the preſent emergencies, the commons paſſed an additional act to the former act for raiſing money by poll, which being ſent up to the lords, for their concurence, their lordſhips added, on the ninth of May, a clauſe to it, "for rating and

(1) To reconcile this act, with the King's ſpeech, would puzzle even the caſuiſtical head of a jeſuit. This was favoring the Proteſtants, and eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, with a vengeance, and an excellent incouragement to the Proteſtants in England, to truſt to King James's clemency. This was coming up to, if not exceeding the horrible proſcription at Rome, during the laſt triumvirate: at leaſt there were more than double the number condemn'd, in this little kingdom, than were at that time proſcrib'd, throughout the whole Roman empire. But the cruelty of this act cannot be better illuſtrated, than by what the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons told King James upon preſenting it for his aſſent: viz. "That many were attainted, "in that act, upon ſuch evidence as ſatisfied that houſe, and the reſt upon common fame."

(2) He was pleas'd to promiſe them, that he would preſerve them in their liberties and properties, and rather augment than diminiſh their privileges and immunities, which had been granted them by his predeceſſors. Welwood's memoirs, p. 235.

"taxing

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" taxing the peers, by commoners of their own " naming, appointing a collector to receive the " rates and taxes of the peers, and freeing their " persons from imprisonment." To this clause the commons disagreed;

1. " Because the bill in question taxed the commons only;

2. " Because the poll-bill, already passed, had " sufficiently provided for taxing all the nobility, " to which the lords had consented."

The peers, however, insisted on their clause, and alleged:

1. " That it is the common course of parliaments " to pass explanatory acts, if any thing has been " omited, or ill expressed, in any other act passed " in the same session, which was the present case.

2. " That the house of commons had in this bill " taken care of the serjeants-inn, and the inns of " court and chancery, that they should be rated by " their own members, and that since there is no " comparison to be made between them and the " peers of England, therefore the peers ought " to be rated by none but those who are of their " own house.

3. " That the house of peers, out of extraordi- " nary zeal for the reducing of Ireland, the poll- " bill coming up so late to them from the house of " commons, that they had not so much time to " deliberate upon every part of it, as had been " necessary, if so pressing an occasion would have " allowed it, did make this omission, which for " that reason only, ought not to turn to their pre- " judice, it being their undoubted right, which " had been preserved in all former poll-bills, and " particularly in the last, which passed in the 29th " year of King Charles II, the proviso in that bill " being conceived in the same form which the clause " was offered by their lordships." To these reasons the commons answered; " that the admiting " their lordships amendment would, in a manner, " repeal the bill for the tax, and therefore they per- " sisted in their disagreement to it."

But dropp'd.

The peers being, however, positive, in adhering to their clause, the commons let drop the additional act, and instead thereof, made and passed a bill, for a grant to their Majesties, of an aid of twelve pence in the pound for one year, for the necessary defense of their realms, to which the lords having given their concurence, it was presented to the King on the 22d of July, by the house of commons, and accompanied with the following speech to his Majesty, by their speaker: (1)

A land tax granted.

Speech on that occasion.

" The commons in this present parliament assem- " bled do, with all duty and humility, acknowlege " your Majesty's great care for the protection of " the people, in that your Majesty hath made it " one of the first acts of your reign to declare war " against the French King, and to seek reparation " for the losses and injuries your subjects have sustain- " ed from that nation.

" If we consider the ballance of trade between " the two kingdoms, we shall find the French " King, of late years, continually loading the Eng- " lish manufactures with new duties and impositions, " thereby prohibiting in effect all commerce " in his dominions, but for ready money.

" If we consider our laws and liberties, he hath " always assisted and incouraged those who de- " signed their subversion. If we consider our " religion, the miseries he hath inflicted upon his " own subjects of the same profession, do sufficiently demonstrate how great an enemy he is to " ours, and whoever looks upon the present state " of Europe, and sees the injuries made upon your " Majesty's allies, the horrible devastations of their " countries, and the open supporting your Majesty's " rebellious subjects, must needs confess that the " war, which your Majesty has declared against " France, is, at this time, not only just, but " necessary.

" To this war, as your dutiful and loyal com- " mons did humbly offer their advice and assistance, " before your Majesty entred into it, so they are " now come to present your Majesty with a supply " towards the carrying it on, humbly desiring your " Majesty to rest assured, that they shall never be " wanting to expose both their lives and estates, in " defense of your Majesty, against all your enemies."

Having thus given an account of what happened at passing the mony-bills, I must go back a little to see what was done in parliament about other affairs of importance, and first of the act of indemnity. (2) The very first step the commons made in this bill seemed, in a great measure, to destroy the hopes of impunity which a great many had conceived from it: for in a committee of the whole house, it was resolved, on the 23d of May, " that " for the safety, settlement and welfare of the nation, " for the future, and vindication of public justice, " some persons might justly be excepted out of it". What sort of persons these were, whom the commons intended, at least, to exclude from the benefit of this act, it will be necessary for the reader to know, in order to shew the motive to some future proceedings of this parliament, which I shall mention below; and the sense of the house of commons in particular at this time: and as they were excepted in general by the crimes laid to their charge, and not by name, I shall proceed in the same manner; their design being to leave the decision of who were, or who were not guilty, to future examination. These crimes were:

Act of indemnity.

Persons design'd to be exempted.

1. " For the asserting, advising, and promoting " of the dispensing power, and suspense of laws, " and executing of laws, without consent of parlia- " ment, and the acting in pursuance of that dispen- " sing power.

2. " For the commitment of the seven bishops, " and prosecuting of them.

3. " For advising, promoting, and executing " the late commission for eccleasiastical causes.

4. For advising the levying-mony, and collecting " it, for the use of the crown, by pretense of pre- " rogative, for other time, and in other manner, " than granted by parliament.

5. " For advising the raising and keeping a " standing army in time of peace, without consent " of parliament, and quartering of soldiers.

6. " For advising, procuring, contriving, alter- " ing and subverting corporations, and procuring " new charters, and violating the rights and free- " dom of elections to parliament, in counties, cities,

(1) Many, who were friends to the then government, were so hearty in their affections to it, that when this pound-tax came to be levied, they gave in to the assessors, the value of their estates to the full, expecting to have the busines over in a year or two, but that value was continued in all future assessments, during both the French wars, except where the proprietors swore it off, by the falling of the rents. And thus those of King William's subjects, who were most zealous for his service, were sufferers by their too forward zeal, while the disaffected were probably not so just and conscientious, in the payments of this tax. Oldmix. p. 11.

(2) This act occasioned great obstructions in passing the mony-bills, for the discontented party (consisting chiefly of those whose compliance with the despotic proceedings of the foregoing reigns, made them liable to the censure of the present government) were justly apprehensive, that as soon as the supplies were provided for, this act, tho' recommended by the King, might be laid aside, and therefore used all their indeavors to have this passed first, and to impede the other, 'till they were assured, by the contrary party, that the said act should speedily be brought into form, to their satisfaction; tho' we shall see it did not pass till the next session.

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" corporations, boroughs and ports, and queſtion-
" ing the proceedings of parliament, out of parlia-
" ment, by declarations, informations, or otherwiſe.

7. " For undue conſtructions of law, and undue
" and illegal proſecutions and proceedings in capital
" caſes.

8. " For undue return of jurors, and other ille-
" gal proceedings, in civil cauſes.

9. " For the requiring exceſſive bail, impoſing
" exceſſive fines, giving exceſſive damages, and
" uſing undue means for levying ſuch fines and
" damages, and inflicting cruel and unuſual pu-
" niſhments; and;

" Laſtly, for adviſing King Charles II, and
" King James II, that parliaments need not be
" called, according to the ſtatutes."

By theſe heads of exceptions, if they had paſs'd into an act, a great many members, of both houſes of parliament, and others, would have run a great hazard of being excluded the benefit of it. (1)

The intent of the houſe of commons therein.

What the intent of the houſe of commons was, in making theſe exceptions, is evident by their immediate proceedings: for, the very ſame day, major Wildman reported, from the committee appointed, in relation to the priſoners in the Tower: " that
" having inſpected and examined the accounts of
" mr. Burton and mr. Graham, who had been
" commited ſome time before, they found, that
" the ſaid Burton and Graham, from the year
" 1679 to the year 1688, had received 48,000 l.
" out of the exchequer, which they alleged to have
" paid to witneſſes, jurors, ſollicitors, council,
" and to themſelves and other perſons, in their
" proſecutions of indictments, informations and
" trials of perſons, in capital, and other pretended
" criminal caſes, and in Quo Warranto's againſt cor-
" porations, and other proceedings, in the name,
" and on behalf of the late King. That there
" were ſeveral witneſſes concuring with theſe ac-
" counts, to make it manifeſt, that the ſaid Graham
" and Burton were inſtrumental in moſt or all the
" illegal proſecutions for the taking away the lives
" and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of
" either, within eight years laſt paſt. And that
" they had, by their malicious indictments, in-
" formations, and proſecutions of Quo warranto's,
" openly indeavored the ſubverſion of the Pro-
" teſtant religion, and the government of the realm,
" and waſted many thouſand pounds of the public
" revenue, in their undue proſecutions and ſollici-
" tations. (2)

Attainders reverſed.

And tho' the bill of indemnity, as I have already obſerved, did not paſs with the exceptions I have mention'd above; nor come up to the houſe of lords, by what fate, I ſhall not determine, yet that houſe, if it had come to them, ſeem'd to be much the ſame way inclined: for it having been thought neceſſary, in order to juſtify the preſent ſettlement, to animadvert upon the irregular proceedings of the foregoing reigns, and more eſpecially thoſe of the corrupt judges in Weſtminſter-hall, bills were brought into the houſe of peers to reverſe and annul the attainder of the lord Ruſſel, Alicia Liſle, and Algernon Sidney, which, being beſide recommended from the King, paſs'd both houſes with great unanimity.

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The earl of Devonſhire's caſe examined into.

A committee of privileges having been, likewiſe, appointed by the houſe of peers, and having examined the caſe of the earl of Devonſhire, their lordſhips reported their opinion, which was: " that the
" proceedings againſt the ſaid earl, in the court of
" King's-bench, in Eaſter-term, in the third year
" of King James II, upon an information of an
" aſſault upon mr. Culpepper, wherein his lord-
" ſhip's plea of privilege of parliament was over-
" ruled, and he was fined 30,000 l. and thereupon
" committed to the King's-bench, in execution,
" was a great violation of the privileges of the peers
" of England; and likewiſe, that thoſe judges,
" who ſat in the ſaid court, when the ſaid judg-
" ments were given, and the ſaid commitment
" made, ſhould be required to attend at the bar of
" this houſe, to anſwer for the great offenſe, which
" they commited thereby."

Proceedings thereupon.

The lords hereupon ordered, that ſir Robert Wright (who, upon the withdrawing of King James, had been commited to Newgate) ſir Richard Holloway, mr. Bradbury, mr. Petyt, and mr. juſtice Powel, ſhould attend their houſe the ſixth of May, which they did accordingly. When the deputy of the clerk of the crown-office, in the King's-bench, having publicly read the record relating to the earl of Devonſhire's caſe, and the judges being aſked what they had to ſay for themſelves, they only made ſome frivilous excuſes, and aſked the earl pardon: wherefore, upon full conſideration of the ſeveral caſes and precedents, wherein the privileges of the peers have been concerned, the lords ſpiritual and temporal did declare and adjudge; " that
" the court of King's-bench, in over-ruling the
" earl of Devonſhire's plea of privilege of par-
" liament, and forcing him to plead over in chief,
" it being within the uſual time of privilege, did
" thereby commit a manifeſt breach of privilege;
" and that the fine of 30,000 l. impoſed by the court
" of King's-bench upon the ſaid earl, was exceſſive
" and exorbitant, and againſt Magna Charta, the
" common right of the ſubject, and the law of the
" land, and that no peer of this realm, at any time,
" ought to be commited for the non-payment of a
" fine to the King."

Report about forfeitures, &c.

The houſe of commons, having, about this time, appointed a committee to make an eſtimate of forfeitures, ground rents, and additional exciſe, in order to raiſe farther aids to carry on the war, on the 15th of May, mr. Papillon reported, from that committee, " that as to forfeitures, the committee
" had peruſed the liſts delivered in by the members

(1) By the firſt, all the judges, except baron Street, and all the court-lawyers, in the late King's time. By the ſecond John late duke of Buckinghamſhire, ſir Richard Graham, viſcount Preſton, Henry earl of Peterborough, Henry lord Dover, William marquis of Powis, Henry lord Arundel of Warder, Theophilus earl of Huntington, Roger earl of Caſtlemain, William earl of Craven, George lord Dartmouth, ſir John Erle, ſir Edward Herbert, ſir Nicholas Butler, and chancellor Jefferies, who ſigned the warrant for commiting the biſhops. Likewiſe the lord chief juſtice Wright, judge Allybone, ſir Thomas Powis, ſir Bartholomew Shore, and ſir William Williams. By the 3d, Lawrence Hyde earl of Rocheſter, John Sheffield earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Buckinghamſhire, Nathaniel Crew biſhop of Durham, Thomas Sprat biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, Herbert and Wright the two chief juſtices, and Jenner, who was made recorder of London when the city charter was taken away. By the 4th, ſir Humphry Mackworth, and thoſe bariſters and ſtudents of the Middle Temple, who preſented an addreſs of thanks to K. James for taking the cuſtoms, before the parliament had given them to him. By the 5th, in particular, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, who ſaid in the houſe of commons, " it was a deplorable thing, that the
" King had no more forces, than about 20,000 men, after the rebellion in the Weſt." By the 6th, Burton and Graham, Brent of the temple, and other lawyers and ſollicitors, as likewiſe many lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, mayors, and aldermen of cities and towns, ſuch as the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs, &c. of Newcaſtle, who, in an addreſs to King James, " rendered
" him their hearty thanks, for regulating their corporation, for which, both their town, and the country about it, were under tran-
" ſports of joy." By the 7th, almoſt all the judges, attornies and ſollicitors-general, King's council, &c. Oldmixon, p. 36.

(2) This report mentioned farther, in particular, that they had charg'd their accounts with exorbitant expenſes, in proſecuting (for pretended conſtructive treaſons) the lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, eſq; ſir Thomas Armſtrong, the lord Brandon and Delamere, John Hamden, eſq; alderman Corniſh and diverſe others; and in their proſecuting upon information, for ſuppoſed miſdemeanors, and crimes not capital, ſir Samuel Barnadiſton, ſir Patience Ward, ſir Thomas Pilkington, Slingſby Bethell, ſir William Williams, mr. Samuel Johnſon, Oates, and many others.

of

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" of the ſeveral counties, and on examination did " find great difficulties on the matter; as, whether " ſome that were named had acted in their offices? " whether others were not inſolvent and unable to " pay? whether others had not qualified them- " ſelves, and whether there were not ſeveral omited? " but that, on conſideration of the whole, it was " their opinion, that the forfeitures, in the ſeveral " counties, might produce 348,000 l. without in- " cluding the counties of Bedford, Lincoln, and " Cardigan, there being no liſt brought in of thoſe " counties. That as to the additional exciſe, it " was the opinion of the committee, that nine " pence per barrel might produce 120,000 l. per " ann. but that, as to the ground-rents, the com- " mittee as yet could not find out means to come to " any probable grounds to make an eſtimate, but " they were indeavoring it, and in a fair way " towards it."

Proceedings concerning Titus Oates.

About this time, the famous (or as ſome will rather have it, infamous) Titus Oates took the opportunity of the favorable diſpoſition both houſes were in, to juſtify his pretended veracity, in his informations relating to the Popiſh plot, and was very buſy to that end, at Weſtminſter and Whitehall. The 31ſt of May, it was moved in the houſe of lords, to reverſe two judgments given againſt him for perjury, for which he had brought his writs of error; but the lords, after having heard the opinions of all the judges, inſtead of reverſing them, thought fit to confirm them, againſt which thirteen lords entered their diſſents. The matter, did not however reſt there; a bill paſſed in his favor in the houſe of commons, to which the lords made ſome amendments, and a proviſo, againſt which ſeveral lords likewiſe entered a diſſent. The bill, with the amendments, being paſſed, and ſent to the commons, that houſe diſagreed to the amendments, and the lords inſiſting upon them, a free conference was held concerning them, the 29th of July (1) in which the matter was long and learnedly debated, on both ſides. The reſult of this memorable conference was, that the commons ſtifly rejected the amendments and proviſo, and that the lords firmly adhered to both, with which they acquainted the lower houſe, the 31ſt of July. The commons, offended at this meſſage, demanded a conference with the lords, for ſettling the method of proceedings between the two houſes, upon conferences and free conferences, and appointed a committee to draw up reaſons to be offered to the lords. The heats between the two houſes, about this matter, were like to increaſe to a dangerous height, when they were happily extinguiſhed by a ſudden adjournment of the parliament: ſo that all Oates was able to obtain, in this ſeſſion, was only an addreſs from the lords, at the deſire of the commons, in which they requeſted his Majeſty; " that whereas Titus Oates, clerk, " had already undergone a ſevere puniſhment, for " the perjury, whereof he had been formerly con- " victed, and ſome of the ſaid puniſhments would " ſtill be continued upon him, unleſs they ſhould " be remited by his Majeſty, he would be pleaſed " to grant his pardon to the ſaid Oates." The King not only readily complied with this deſire of the lords, but as ſoon as he was diſcharged from his confinement, received him into his protection, and granted a penſion of 300 l. per ann. for his own and his wife's life, and the life of the ſurvivor, which they injoyed accordingly.

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And Mr. Johnſon.

The affair of mr. Johnſon met with better ſucceſs in parliament, for his trials and ſufferings being reported to the houſe of commons, they gave an inſtruction to the committee appointed to draw the bill for reverſing the judgment, to declare the proceedings in the eccleſiaſtical court againſt him, as to his degradation, void; and reſolved that he be recommended to his Majeſty for preferment.

Bill of right and liberties.

I muſt now go back again to ſome other parliamentary affairs, which were tranſacting in the mean time. The 9th of May, the commons ſent up a bill to the lords, " for declaring the rights and liber- " ties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of " the crown". Their lordſhips upon reading this bill, thought the latter part of it defective, no mention being made in it of the Princeſs Sophia, they therefore, among other amendments, added a proviſo in her highneſs's favor. The bill being returned to the commons, with theſe amendments, the 25th, that houſe diſagreed to their lordſhips proviſo, it being alleged, by ſome members, " that the par- " liament of England never determined the ſucceſſion " beyond two or three perſons; that mentioning " the houſe of Hanover would give a handle to " foreigners to intermedle too far in our affairs; " and that before the crown ſhould devolve on the " Princeſs Sophia, it was poſſible, that ſome of " the Catholic Princes, who were to be excluded " by this bill, might turn Proteſtants."

Succeſſion in the houſe of Hanover propoſed.

Oppoſed by the commons.

The lords, however, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on their clauſe, and on the 15th of July, alleged:

Arguments of the lords, for it.

1. " That tho' in the inſtrument offered the " King and Queen, the limitation went no farther " than to their perſons; yet in a law, which has " reſpect in all ſucceeding ages, and that ſettles for " ever the liberties of the ſubjects, they thought it " reaſonable to carry the limitation of the ſucceſſion " of the crown farther than was neceſſary in that " inſtrument in which the crown was offered their " Majeſties, and that had no other view, but " of the ſucceſſion to their poſterity.

2. " That they could ſee no danger, nor any ill " conſequences, that might follow a farther limi- " tation, but very much to the contrary: becauſe this " clauſe would effectually ſecure the nation from " the danger of ever having any Papiſt, or pre- " tended Proteſtant, tho' concealed Papiſt, to " ever reign in it; and becauſe it was the in- " tereſt of England, at that time, to do right to " the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, by limiting " the ſucceſſion, according to the proviſo, eſpeci- " ally as it had been once propoſed, ſince, ſhould " it be now laid aſide, it would have the appearance " of an excluſion, which might be of fatal conſe- " quence." (2)

The birth of the duke of Gloceſter ends the diſpute.

Theſe reaſons were delivered to the commons, and ſeveral conferences were thereupon held between the two houſes, but without effect: when Heaven interpoſed, and put an end to the diſpute, by bleſſing her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs of Denmark, with a ſon. He was born the 24th of July, and baptiſed three days after by the name of William, his Majeſty, at the ſame time, confering the title of duke of Gloceſter, on the royal infant.

(1) The managers for the houſe of commons opened the debate by ſaying; " That they looked upon that bill not to be " the buſineſs of a particular man, but of every ſubject in England, with regard to his perſon and eſtate, and that the honor " of parliaments, public juſtice, and the Proteſtant religion were concerned in it, as well as the integrity of King Charles II " and his privy-council, and that the amendments made by the lords, if agreed to, would make that bill of great prejudice to " the ſubject, inſtead of anſwering the ends which were intended by the commons.

(2) The King, who was very earneſt to have the bill paſs with this clauſe, did what he could to influence the commons to a compliance with the lords, and to this end, declared in council, that as well the Queen, as the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, concurred with him, in their deſires for it.

Some

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Some days after, it was propoſed in the houſe of commons, to increaſe her Royal Highneſs's revenue from 30,000 l. to 70,000 l. per ann. which motion, however reaſonable, was rejected: and, about the ſame time, a motion was made for an addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty to remove from his preſenſe and councils, ſuch as had been impeached by parliament, and had betrayed the liberties of the ſubject. (1) This matter was debated with great warmth, and had probably been carried that day, had not thoſe who were for it at firſt cooled on a ſudden. The ſame motion was made again, the next day, and was ſtrongly ſupported, but the oppoſite party inſiſting upon their naming the perſons, and no body caring to do that, the motion fell. (2)

Motion for an addreſs to remove ſome perſons from his Majeſty's council.

Drop'd.

Several acts paſſed.

The 11th of May the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill for diſarming Papiſts, and to ſome others. The 24th, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave his aſſent to an act for exempting his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, commonly call'd, "the "act of toleration," whereby the act of uniformity were repeal'd, as far as they related to the Diſſenters; and on the 28th, another act paſs'd, for ſuſpending the Habeas-corpus act, the former being expired.

The 4th of June, after reading the exceptions to the bill of indemnity, a reſolution paſs'd, in the houſe of commons, "that the King's pardon was not pleadable in bar to an impeachment." The ſame day, that houſe appointed a committee to inquire into the delays uſed in ſending the ſuccors to Ireland, and into the miſcarriages, that render'd thoſe ſuccors ineffectual.

Reſolutions againſt the Papiſts.

The 15th, the lords, in a grand committee, having conſider'd the ſtate and condition of the nation, and what means were moſt proper to prevent the deſigns of the Papiſts, and curb the power of the French King, reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, to put the iſles of Wight, Jerſey, and Guernſey, Scilly, Dover-caſtle, and other places, which were moſt expos'd to the enemy, into a poſture of defenſe; that all Papiſts might be diſarm'd, their horſes taken from them, and they not be permited to travel above five miles from their own habitations, and that care might be taken to prevent Proteſtants from owning or concealing horſes belonging to Papiſts: and a committee was, accordingly, appointed to prepare this addreſs.

Miſcarriages o Ireland inquired into.

The ſame committee was impower'd to look into the miſcarriages in Ireland, and to ſend for perſons and papers for their information: but they having acquainted the houſe, that they could not come to a full diſcovery of theſe miſcarriages, without a ſight of the minute-books of the committee for Iriſh affairs, to the 1ſt of May laſt, the lords ordered another addreſs to be preſented to the King, deſiring, that the ſaid minute-book might be communicated to the committee. This being preſented, the 18th of June, his Majeſty coldly anſwer'd, "he would conſider of it," which obſtructed the proceedings of the committee for almoſt a month. His Majeſty, however, bethought himſelf at length, and, on the 16th of July, ordered the earl of Nottingham to acquaint the lords, and mr. Comptroller the commons, that he gave leave for a committee of the former to inſpect that book, according to their deſires. (3) But this not proving ſufficient neither, the earls of Shrewſbury and Nottingham were ordered, the 29th, to make farther application to his Majeſty, that he would be pleas'd to give order, that the minutes in relation to Ireland, from the time his Majeſty took the adminiſtration of the government upon him, to the time the council-books were open'd, might be communicated to the committee: but the King anſwer'd, "that there "were no minutes of the Iriſh affairs, in the time "mention'd by their lordſhips.

William & Mary. An' 1689.

Some time before this, ſeveral letters from King James, ſome of which were ſign'd with his own hand, directed to ſeveral perſons in town and country, were intercepted at Liverpool, and being ſent to court, were, by his Majeſty's orders, laid before the parliament. By ſeveral enigmatical expreſſions they contain'd, and among others, this, "That cer-"tain countraband goods were ready to be ſhip'd off, "in order to be run into ſuch places, where they "might not be ſeiz'd by cuſtom-houſe officers," it ſufficiently appear'd, that there was a deſign of an invaſion. Mr. Hamden happening to be, at the ſame time, chairman of the committee of the whole houſe, took that opportunity to repreſent the apparent danger with which the nation was threatned, and the difficulties the King lay under in preventing it, for want of money, and, to conclude, moved for a farther ſupply.

Letters from K. James intercepted.

Mr. Hamden being a privy-counſellor, this motion from him, eſpecially ſo near the end of the ſeſſion, was thought very much out of the way, and indeed, it was not back'd by any one, and ſo of courſe fell. (4) However the houſe took the intercepted letters into conſideration, and reſolv'd upon an addreſs to his Majeſty, to ſecure all the Papiſts of note, and to diſarm and take away the horſes from the reſt, and as a farther conſequence of this matter, a bill for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their Majeſties was brought in. (5).

Farther reſolutions againſt Papiſts.

(1) Tho' no body was nam'd, yet it was eaſy to gueſs, that the perſons at whom the addreſs was to be levell'd, were the preſident of the council, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, and that, not ſo much on account of their miſmanagements in former reigns, as for their having influenc'd the reſolutions of the convention, and contributed much to the preſent ſettlement. Hiſt. K. Will Vol. 2. p. 119.

(2) It has been ſaid, that monſ. Dyckvelt diſcourſing with the member who made the motion (probably to diſuade him from renewing it) he anſwer'd, "He did not think it to be of any conſequence to his Majeſty, and beſide that a place at court, "(he was in the Queen's ſervice,) ſhould never ſilence him, when the good of his country requir'd him to ſpeak."

(3) The reaſon of the King's changing his mind, at this time, was ſuppos d to be a vote of the houſe of commons: "That "thoſe perſons who had been the occaſion of the delaying the ſending relief to Ireland, and had advis'd the King to defer the "giving leave for ſome members of the houſe of commons to inſpect the minute-books of the committee for Iriſh affairs, were "enemies to the King and Kingdom": To which we may probably add, the debates in the ſame houſe, to addreſs the King, that he would be pleas'd to remove the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Caermarthen from his council, thoſe delays being aſcrib'd to them, and they being thought to have too great a ſhare in his Majeſty's favor.

(4) There happen'd a very warm debate, on this occaſion; for mr. Hamden, among other dangers to which he ſaid the nation was expos'd, mentioning that of falling into the hands of the French and Iriſh, a diſſaffected member cried out, "Add "the Dutch." And another, whoſe affection was not in the leaſt doubted, ſaid, "They had given money enough for that "year, and if they could have imagined there had been occaſion for more, would have been before hand with the King's de-"mands; that it was not the want of money, but the ill conduct of thoſe who had the management of affairs, which cauſed the "difficulties the King labor'd under; that the miſcarrlages in aſſiſting the Proteſtants of Ireland were of ſo bad conſequence, "that if they were not ſpeedily remedied, the houſe would be oblig'd to take notice of them;" to which it was replied by another, "that their preſent dangers proceeded from their not addreſſing the King to remove his evil counſellors."

(5) The city of London, to whom his Majeſty had likewiſe cauſed the intercepted trayterous letters to be communicated, preſented a very dutiful addreſs to his Majeſty on this occaſion.

About

William & Mary. An' 1689.

About the ſame time, the lords having information that the French Papiſts, in and about London, behaved very inſolently, in traducing and publiſhing libels againſt their Majeſties, and diſperſing papers in favor of the late King James, order'd an addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, deſiring he would iſſue his proclamation, that no French Papiſts might come within the verge of the court, and that all who were not houſholders nor merchants ſhould depart the kingdom within ſix weeks, and they within ſix months, under penalty of being proſecuted as alien enemies. His Majeſty, at firſt, ſaid he would give ſpeedy orders for it; but a few days after ſent a meſſage to the houſe, that he thought that rigor might be diſadvantageous to the nation, and beſide a forfeiture of his royal word, with regard to thoſe againſt whom nothing could be proved.

The 22d of June, the King came to the houſe, and, beſide the land-tax bill, gave the royal aſſent to an act, declaring the authority of the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, to be equal to that of a lord chancellor or keeper, with ſome others of leſs moment.

Several perſons impeached.

The commons, in the mean time, were drawing up articles of high treaſon againſt ſir Adam Blair, captain Henry Vaughan, captain Frederick Mole, John Elliot, and Robert Gray, both doctors of phyſic, for publiſhing and diſperſing the late King James's declaration. The articles of impeachment were read to ſome of them at the bar of the houſe of lords, who ſoon after gave in their anſwers to them. Others were examin'd by the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, who likewiſe gave in their anſwers; and all pleaded innocence, ſubmiting to their lordſhips judgments for their trial. Copies of all their anſwers were communicated to the houſe of commons: but the ſeſſion drawing near to a concluſion, no farther progreſs was made in this matter.

The bill for the aditional exciſe being paſs'd, ſome progreſs was made in that of indemnity, the benefit of which, notwithſtanding the exceptions before made, was to be extended to thoſe who had been concern'd in the proſecution of the biſhops: but all who had acted in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion were to be excluded. (1)

The continual jarings and animoſities between the two houſes, and the ſlow proceedings of both, which obſtructed the King's deſigns, put his Majeſty upon coming to the houſe of lords, the 28th of June, where, the commons being ſent for, he made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen;

"The time of the year being ſo far advanced, "and there being ſeveral acts yet to be paſs'd, for "the ſafety and ſettlement of the nation, I deſire "you would expedite them as ſoon as you can, it "being neceſſary there ſhould be ſhortly a receſs, "both that I may be at liberty to purſue the buſi-"neſs of Ireland with all poſſible vigor, and that "the members of both houſes may repair to their "ſeveral countries, to ſecure the peace, and put "the militia into ſome better poſture.

"I am very ſenſible of the zeal and good af-"fection, which you gentlemen of the houſe of "commons, have ſhewn to the public, in giving "thoſe ſupplies you have done already, and I do "not doubt, but from the ſame inducements you "will be ready to give more, as occaſions require, "which I muſt let you know will be ſooner than "perhaps you may expect, becauſe the neceſſary "expenſe of this year will much exceed the ſums "you have provided for it; and that you may "make the truer judgment in that matter, I am "very willing you ſhould ſee how all the mony "hitherto has been laid out, and to that end I "have commanded thoſe accounts to be ſpeedily "brought you, by which you will ſee how little "of the revenue has been applied to any other "uſe, than that of the navy and land forces.

"I muſt remind you of making an effectual and "timely proviſion of the mony for the ſtates of "Holland, and I doubt not but you will take "care, to ſee a fiting revenue ſettled for myſelf.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I will add no more but to recommend earneſtly "to you, to avoid all occaſions of diſpute or delay, "at a time which requires union and vigor in your "councils, upon which the preſervation of all that "is dear to us doth ſo much depend: and I do "promiſe, that nothing ſhall ever be wanting on "my part, which may contribute towards it."

William & Mary. An' 1689.

Debates about the coffee, tea, and chocolate bill.

Both houſes returned his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, but it had not any great effect upon the proceedings of either, for the ſame jarings and delays appeared as before. The firſt inſtance was an account of the "bill for laying cer-"tain duties on coffee, tea and chocolate, to be "collected at the cuſtom-houſe," which being ſent up from the commons to the lords, their lordſhips added a clauſe to it, allowing a draw-back upon exportation, and altered the date, from the 24th of July, to the 25th of Auguſt. The commons diſagreing, a warm diſpute inſued, they alleging, "that they had always taken it for an undoubted "privilege (of which they have ever been jealous "and tender) that in all aids given to the King by "the commons, the rate or tax ought not to be "any ways altered by the lords. That the amend-"ments made by the lords being in point of time, "the commons hoped their lordſhips would not, "at this time renew a queſtion, concerning the "method of granting aids, which had formerly, "in inſtances of this nature, occaſioned great de-"bates, and which might now beget many confe-"rences, ſpend much time, and end in inconve-"niences. That this amendment propoſed by the "lords made the bill incoherent, for both houſes "having agreed, that the forfeitures ſhould com-"mence from the 20th of July, it would look "ſtrange, that the forfeitures, ſhould be given "before the duty was made payable. That ſhips "were then arriving daily with the commodities "mentioned in the bill, which would be a loſs to "the King, by puting the commencement of the "duty ſo far. And that, as to the proviſo their "lordſhips had ſent to the commons, the commons "did diſagree to it, and for that did refer to their "firſt reaſons; for the proviſo being an alteration "and leſſening of the grant made by the commons, "they hoped for theſe reaſons, their lordſhips "would agree with them, and not revive old "diſputes.

"The lords, inſiſting upon their proviſo, ſaid, "they were very much ſurprized at the aſſertion of "the commons, that in all aids given to the King, "by the commons, the rate or tax ought not to "be altered by the lords, ſince they conceived it

(1) Two of them, viz. Jefferies, and the biſhop of Cheſter, were dead; the earl of Sunderland and the lord chief juſtice Herbert, were out of the kingdom, the biſhop of Rocheſter was ſhelter'd by the King's protection, the earl of Huntington liv'd retired in the country, the lord chief juſtice Wright was priſoner in the Tower, and for the earl of Mulgrave, beſide that he had always been againſt the violent and deſpotic proceedings of the reſt, his great parts and eloquence, which had ever bore a mighty ſway in the houſe of lords, inclined King William to indeavor to ingage him in his intereſt, by an offer of a more honorable title. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 123.

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" had always been their undoubted right, in caſe " of any aids given to the King, to leſſen the rate " and tax granted by the commons, whereof ſeveral " precedents might be given, which for the preſent " they were willing to forbear, that they might " not revive old diſputes. But that, as to the pro- " viſo now offered by the lords, their lordſhips " were of opinion, this general point was not the " caſe, now in difference, it being neither an alter- " ation, nor a leſſening of the duty laid on thoſe " commodities; for what was propoſed to be drawn " back, upon the exportation of them, could not be " ſaid to leſſen the rates impoſed upon them. That " it did indeed, take away ſo much of the King's " income, but added much more to the benefit of " trade, of which the lords conceived, they were " equal and competent judges, and therefore they " thought they were well founded to inſiſt on the " proviſo."

The bill loſt.

One would have thought an expedient might eaſily have been found to remove this difficulty; but ſuch was the ſpirit of contradiction, at this time, that the bill was loſt on this account, at leaſt for this ſeſſion.

The royal aſſent given to ſeveral acts.

The 25th of July, his Majeſty came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to an act for laying an additional duty on beer and ale; an act to take away the court holden before the preſident and council of the Marſhal of Wales; an act to veſt in the two univerſities, the preſentations of benefices belonging to Papiſts; an act concerning the oath to be taken, by commiſſion and warrant-officers, and acts for erecting courts of conſcience, in Briſtol, Glouceſter and Newcaſtle.

The miſcarriages in Ireland reſumed.

The commons having conſidered the ſtate of the nation, in a committee of the whole houſe, on the 20th of Auguſt, came to a reſolution, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, upon theſe heads:

1. " That there had been delays in the ſuccor " of Ireland.

2. " That there were not ſufficient prepara- " tions to tranſport the forces to Ireland.

3. " That ſeveral ſhips had been taken for " want of guards, and convoys to preſerve " them."

The queſtion was, at the ſame time, put, but carried in the negative, " that it was inconvenient " to his Majeſty's affairs, that the marquis of " Hallifax was in his council." The twelfth of the ſame month; ſir Thomas Littleton made a report from the committee, appointed to examine into the miſcarriages relating to Ireland, and particularly Londonderry; upon which it was reſolved, to addreſs his Majeſty, " that colonel Lundee be ſent " over to Londonderry, to be tried there for " the treaſons laid to his charge."

Uproar of the weavers.

The commons having, the next day, ſent up a bill to the lords, for injoyning the wearing the " woollen manufactures of this kingdom, at certain " times of the year", the bailiffs, wardens, and aſſiſtants of the companies of ſilk-weavers of London and Canterbury, preſented a petition to their lordſhips, in a tumultuous manner, praying to be heard before the ſaid bill paſſed into a law: but their lordſhips ordered their ſpeaker to tell them, " that " they did not think proper to give an anſwer to " a petition delivered in that manner; that they " ſhould return quietly to their homes, and that " then they need not fear, but that their lordſhips " would do juſtice, and hear all objections againſt " this or any other bill that ſhould come before " them". And neceſſary diſpoſitions being likewiſe made to prevent the like diſorders for the future, the weavers remained in their houſes, and upon the ſecond reading of the bill, on the 19th, it was unanimouſly rejected.

The commons having, likewiſe, ſent up the bill, " for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion " againſt their Majeſties", the lords deſired a liſt " of the perſons that gave evidence to the com- " mons, againſt the ſeveral perſons deſigned to be " attainted, that their lordſhips might be fully " ſatisfied by evidence, viva voce, to attaint the " ſeveral perſons, as they ſuppoſed the commons " were". This the commons agreed to in a conference, and named William Watts, Matthew Gun, Baſil Pureſoy, and William Dalton: but their evidence not being ſatisfactory to the lords, the bill lay neglected for ſome days, till the commons having preſſed their lordſhips, by two meſſages, on the 29th of Auguſt, the houſe agreed with the committee in leaving out Thomas, lord Howard, the earl of Dover, the lord Hunſdon, ſir Roger Strickland, ſir Edward Herbert, colonel Hugh Southerland, and ſir William Jennings, becauſe there did not appear ſufficient evidence againſt them: but a final ſtop was, ſoon after, put to this bill by the adjournment of the parliament.

William & Mary. An' 1689.

Bill of attainder.

Loſt.

Bill for payment of the States-general paſſed.

At length, in compliance with the King's repeated inſtances, the commons put the finiſhing hand to a " bill for appropriating certain duties for paying " the States-general of the United Provinces, the " charges for his Majeſty's expedition into this " kingdom;" which being ſent up to the houſe of lords, upon the reading of it, the 13th of Auguſt, it was moved, that ſeveral members of the houſe, and diverſe ſervants of King Charles II, had ſecurities appropriated out of ſeveral duties which paſt away from them by this bill, and therefore they deſired to be heard by their council, which they were accordingly; however their lordſhips conſented to the bill, without any amendment, and were contented with ordering their ſpeaker to preſent " an ad- " dreſs to his Majeſty, ſeting forth, wherein ſome " of their members, and others, were aggrieved by " this act; and that they had been induced to poſt- " pone their own private intereſt, for the ſake of " the public good, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, " to take their condition, and the manner of their " preſent reſignation of it, into his gracious con- " ſideration, not doubting but the particular peers " concerned, would therein find an intire ſecurity". His Majeſty received this addreſs very kindly, and with regard to thoſe peers who were concerned in the bill, he ſaid; " he was ſenſible of their behavior " towards him, on this occaſion, and would not " forget it."

The 23d the King went to the houſe of lords, to paſs this and other bills, upon which occaſion, mr. Powle, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, made the following remarkable ſpeech:

A remarkable ſpeech on this occaſion.

" The commons (ſaid he) in this preſent parlia- " ment aſſembled, taking into conſideration the " great aſſiſtance that was given by the States of the " United Provinces to your Majeſty, in your glo- " rious deſign of reſtoring this kingdom to their " ancient rights and liberties, and how for that " end, they intruſted their army and fleet to your " Majeſty's diſpoſal, at a time when they had war " declared, and an invaſion threatned by the French " King, meerly to divert them; they do here " humbly preſent your Majeſty, with a bill, ap- " pointing certain duties, exciſe and cuſtoms, for " the raiſing 600,000 l. which they deſire may be " applied by your Majeſty for the ſatisfaction of " the charges which have been expended by the " States in this expedition.

" It is a little more than an age, ſince the illuſ- " trious Prince of Orange, your Majeſty's great " grandfather, whoſe name will be ever famous for " his love to his country, did, by the aſſiſtance of " the Engliſh, redeem thoſe provinces from the like

" oppreſ-

" oppreſſions ; (1) which ſhews how inſeparable " the intereſts of thoſe two nations are. And ſince " it was the policy of thoſe who labored our de- " ſtruction, to divide us, it ought to be the indea- " vors of all true lovers of their country, to keep " us firmly united, in order to our preſervation.

" The commons have likewiſe conſidered of " the great arrears, that were left due by King " Charles II, to his ſervants, and have therefore, " made a proviſion of 60,000l. for them, which they " humbly deſire your Majeſty would be pleaſed to " diſtribute among them, in ſuch proportion, as " your Majeſty, in your princely wiſdom, ſhall " think moſt fit.

" And having proceded thus far, in the weighty " affairs depending before them, they now become " humble ſuitors to your Majeſty for a receſs, that " thereby they may have the opportunity of re- " pairing to their ſeveral countries, and promoting " your Majeſty's ſervice, and what remains at " preſent for want of time, to diſpatch, they " doubt not but that they ſhall be able to perfect it, " at their next meeting, and as they hope, to the " intire ſatisfaction of your Majeſty, and your " whole kingdom."

The parliament adjourned.

His Majeſty having given his royal aſſent to ſeveral, as well private as public bills, (2) directed the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords (according to the deſire of the commons) to ſignify his pleaſure, that both houſes ſhould ſeverally adjourn themſelves to the 20th of September, upon which day they were farther adjourn'd to the 19th of October following.

Thus have I brought the proceedings and intricate tranſactions of the firſt ſeſſion of this convention-parliament, remarkable for their continual jaring, as well each houſe within it ſelf, as one with the other, to an end. I now return to the affairs in Ireland.

Duke of Schomberg ſent with an army to Ireland.

During the tranſactions in Ireland, of which I have given the reader an account above, King William had iſſued out commiſſions for raiſing eighteen regiments of foot and five of horſe, which were deſigned for the reduction of that kingdom. Theſe troops were compleated in about ſix week's time ; but there was not ſo much diſpatch in providing the ſhips neceſſary for tranſporting them, together with a train of artillery, ammunition and proviſions. (3). The King had given the command of theſe troops to duke Schomberg, who having had a preſent from the commons of 100,000 l. his grace obtained leave of the houſe of lords, to return his acknowlegments to that honorable houſe, for their generous gift, (4) and ſoon after began his journey for Cheſter. (5) Captain Hopſon, in the Bonadventure, with ſome other men of war and tranſports (about 90 of all ſorts) being come to Highlake near that city, the troops, being together about 10,000 men, horſe and foot, were put on board, and on the 12th of Auguſt, the duke himſelf imbarked. They ſteered directly for Carrickfergus, and on the thirteenth, in the afternoon, arrived in that bay, where the army immediately landed, at Bangor-ſide, without oppoſition. After having ſent out ſome parties to ſcour the country, and bring him intelligence of the enemy, and they being ſafely returned, he marched his forces to Belfaſt, which the enemy had abandoned, and were retired to Carrickfergus. Here ſeveral of the neighboring Proteſtants joined him, who before durſt not declare.

Arrives in Carrickfergus bay.

Belfaſt abandon'd.

The army being ſufficiently refreſhed, after their voyage, the 21ſt the duke detached ſeveral regiments, with ſome cannon and mortars, towards Carrickfergus, where they no ſooner arrived, than the gariſon offered to capitulate ; but their demands being rejected, the place was ordered to be attacked in form. The 22d the trenches were opened and ſome batteries raiſed : The attacks were vigorouſly purſued till the 26th, when, conſiderable breaches being made, and every thing for the general aſſault prepared, the gariſon was glad to accept of ſuch terms as the duke would grant them, which were, to be conducted, with their arms, and as much baggage as they would carry on their backs, to Newry, which was the next Iriſh gariſon.

Carrickfergus taken.

The duke muſters his army.

In the mean time, the reſt of the troops, which for want of tranſports had been left at Highlake, arrived. The 28th the duke returned to Belfaſt, the 30th his own French regiment of horſe, of 500 men, joined him, and the next day he muſtered his whole army, conſiſting then of four regiments of horſe, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot ; which were joined afterwards, by three regiments more. (6)

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(1) This reminding the Dutch of their former obligations to the Engliſh, which were never acknowleged in ſo ample manner as this, was ill-taken by ſome, who did not think it enough to acknowlege the obligation, and to pay for it too, to the utmoſt, unleſs we did more than even they had the aſſurance to aſk. Mr. Oldmixon is ſo diſpleaſed at this part of Mr. Powle's ſpeech, that he breaks off a little before he comes at it, with an, &c. and reſumes it immediately after. He expreſſes his diſguſt at it in another place, where he ſays, " it was ſo far from being artful (as ſome hiſtorians call it) that it was neither de- " cent nor ſeaſonable :" I muſt beg leave to diſſent from him, and could ſhew him, if it was not going too far out of my way, that it was both. I do not ſay this out of any diſguſt to the Dutch, I know them, have been frequently among them, and value them ; I confeſs they did us real and good ſervice at that time, I allow them to be excellent arithmeticians : but as we paid them within a trifle their own demand (whether exorbitant or not is not for me to determine) I do not ſee the harm, nor indeed ingratitude of reminding them, that there was a time when they had as great an obligation to us.

(2) The public bills were, (1) An act for appropriating ſeveral duties for paying off the States-general, &c. (2) An act for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France. (3) An act for the better preventing the exportation of wool, and incouraging the woollen manufactures of this kingdom. (4) An additional act for appointing commiſſioners for executing the act for a grant to their Majeſties of 12 d. in the pound. (5) An act for the relief of the Proteſtant Iriſh clergy. (6) An act to repeal the ſtatute made in the ſixth year of King Henry IV, againſt multiplying gold and ſilver. And (7) an act for explaining part of an act, in the firſt year of King James I, concerning tann'd leather.

(3) The fault of theſe delays was charged on mr. Harbord, who out of avarice had ingroſſed to himſelf the office of paymaſter, and purveyor-general of the army, the latter of which, however, he was at length prevailed upon to reſign to mr. Shales ; tho' we ſhall find, that did not much mend the matter.

(4) Of this grant of the houſe of commons, he however received but a ſmall part ; for the remainder King William paid his ſon 5000 l. per annum. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 133.

(5) He was very uneaſy at the dilatory proceedings of the managers both of ſhiping and proviſions, and propoſed that the forces ſhould march over land to Scotland, and embark at Port Patrick, from whence it is a ſhort paſſage over into Ireland, and it would have ſaved two or three months time : but it was oppoſed. Oldmixon, p. 22. It was indeed, amazing (as the ſame author juſtly obſerves) that the late King James had been ſix months in Ireland, before ſo ſmall an army as 10,000 men could be ſent againſt him from England, where the diſtreſſes of the Proteſtants of that kingdom were well enough known, and the whole body of the nation was impatient to have them relieved.

(6) The horſe were, the earl of Devonſhire's, the lord Delamere's, colonel Coy's, and the duke's regiments. The dragoons were colonel Levingſton's regiment. The foot, one batallion of the Dutch blue guards, Careliſcoon's white Dutch, colonel Beaumont's, colonel Wharton's, earl of Drogheda's, lord Liſburn's, earl of Meath's, earl of Roſcommon's, lord Lovelace's, lord Kingſton's, duke of Norfolk's, colonel Herbert's, ſir Edward Deering's, ſir Thomas Gower's, and colonel Earl's regiments, with the three French regiments of la Melloniere, du Cambon, and la Caillemote. The three regiments, which joined afterwards, were major-general Kirk's, ſir John Hanmer's, and brigadier Stuart's.

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The artillery-horſes were yet moſt of them at Cheſter, which obliged him to ſhip the greater part of the train, and to order the fleet to ſail with them, and all other neceſſaries, to Carlingford-bay, while he marched the army beyond Liſburn, and thro' Hilſborough. He pitched his camp at Drummore, and, the next day, continued his march to Loughbritan, where he was joined by the Inniſkillin horſe and dragoons, who bravely offered themſelves to march in the van of his army. The Iriſh, upon their approach, immediately abandoned the Newry, a very ſtrong paſs, after having burnt the town (1). From thence the duke marched with his army to Dundalk, which he, likewiſe, found abandoned. He incamped about a mile North of it, in a low moiſt ground, having the town and river, towards the Weſt, between him and the enemy, the ſea towards the South, the Newry-mountains to the Eaſt, and hills and bogs intermixed, to the North. Here it was he was joined by the three regiments already mentioned, on the ninth of September, and here likewiſe his wearied men met with ſome refreſhment. The duke's deſign was to have continued his march; but the ſhips, with the artillery, not coming up in time, to Carlingford, he was obliged, to his great diſappointment and uneaſineſs, to continue in that camp, 'till the 20th (2); when he received advice, in the morning, that King James, having gathered all his forces together, near Drogheda, was advancing towards him, and that a party of 2000 foot, and 1500 horſe, were gone on the other ſide of the mountains to attack the paſs at Newry, that they might fall upon his rear. Upon this he detached a party of horſe againſt them, at whoſe approach they retreated towards Sligo.

The Iriſh abandon the Newry.

And Dundalk.

The next day, the enemy appear'd in order of battle, and a great party of their horſe advanced towards the Engliſh intrenchments. Several of their officers were for ingaging the enemy; but the duke ſaid, "let them alone, we ſhall ſee what they will do;" and tho' he ſaw them advance, within cannon-ſhot of his camp, he yet ſaid, "he did not "believe they would fight". However, once, ſeeing them draw their army into two lines, he ſent lieutenant-general Douglas to the camp, to order all the foot to ſtand to their arms, and the horſe, which were foraging, to return to the camp upon a certain ſignal; but the Iriſh made no attempt (3), and in a day or two afterwards, they march'd off for good and all.

The Iriſh, tho' ſuperior, decline fighting.

Notwithſtanding duke Schomberg had his reaſons for not hazarding his own army, with the groſs of which he kept in his camp, yet he did not reſtrain the Inniſkilliners from making excurſions, and it was in one of theſe, on the 27th of September, that they had that ſucceſs under colonel Lloyd, of which I have given an account above (4).

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The Iriſh were, however, ſoon after revenged, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, by taking of Sligo and James-town, with a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by colonel Sarsfield, at the former of which, monſ. de Sauveur, a French captain in Melloniere's regiment, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in an extraordinary manner, with his own company of grenadiers, as did colonel Lloyd, with his Inniſkillin men, theſe two retreating into two forts, which they defended bravely, after the place was abandon'd.

The Iriſh take Sligo, and James town.

The duke had ſoon a more fatal misfortune than this to incounter with: a raging ſickneſs, occaſion'd by the unwholſomneſs of the place, bad weather, and worſe food, ſwept away, or at leaſt diſabled, daily a great number of brave officers and ſoldiers. Among the reſt, died ſir Edward Deering, colonel Henry Wharton, brother to the late marquis, ſir Thomas Gower, and colonel Hungerford, two young gentlemen of diſtinguiſh'd merit. Of common ſoldiers there periſh'd about 2,000 at Dundalk, and as many more were ſhip'd off ſick, to be tranſported to Belfaſt, of which not above 1100 came aſhore, the reſt dying at ſea. And the mortality grew afterwards to ſo great a height, that by the begining of the inſuing year, near two thirds of the troops, that were tranſported to Ireland, were intirely loſt. This mortality was not alone among the land troops, but ſeized the ſeamen likewiſe, inſomuch that ſeveral ſhips loſt almoſt all their crew. Thus ended this unſucceſsful campain in the north of Ireland; for the winter approaching, both armies went into quarters, and duke Schomberg made preſſing inſtances, that the 7,000 Danes, who, about this time, came over to England and Scotland, as auxiliaries, purſuant to a treaty concluded with the King of Denmark, for that purpoſe, on the 15th of Auguſt, might be ſent to Ireland.

Sickneſs in the Engliſh camp at Dundalk.

While theſe things were doing, in the north of Ireland, the earl of Tyrone declar'd for King William, in the ſouth, and took Waterford, which was follow'd by ſome other ſucceſſes.

Tyrone declares for K. William.

It may not be improper now to ſay a word or two of our affairs at ſea, which were not more ſucceſsful than thoſe of Ireland. We left our little fleet, after the fight of Bantry-bay, return'd to Spithead, to refit. This being done, the admiral arriv'd, about the middle of June, with his fleet at Torbay, where he was join'd by a ſmall ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, under an admiral, a vice and a rear-flag, by mr. Ruſſel (afterwards earl of Orford) admiral of the blue, and by ſeveral other ſhips, as they came in: as likewiſe by vice-admiral Killigrew, with a ſmall ſquadron, which had been

Affairs at Sea.

(1) The general, being informed of this inhumanity, ſent a trumpeter to the duke of Berwick, who commanded there, to acquaint him, "that if they continued to burn, in this barbarous manner, he would give no quarter." This meſſage had its effect, for the Iriſh, upon their abandoning Dundalk, did no harm to the town.

(2) The duke had intelligence here, by an ingineer, who deſerted from the enemy, that the French general de Roſe, being then at Drogheda, with about 20,000 men, and hearing that the Engliſh halted at Dundalk, ſaid, "He was ſure they were in want of "ſomething;" and therefore ſent part of his forces to ſeize Ardee, a ſmall town between Drogheda and Dundalk.

(3) It may here naturally be ask'd, why general Schomberg did not attack them, ſince they were ſo afraid of him? the reaſon is very evident: he wiſely conſider'd, that the enemy was much ſuperior in number (being at leaſt 20,000) eſpecially in horſe; that his own men were new, undiſciplined levies, weakened by hunger and ſickneſs, and, on the contrary, the enemy's troops, fluſh'd with health and plenty, and that the loſs of a battle might be attended with the loſs of all Ireland. And beſide, he had diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy in his own camp, carried on by ſome French Papiſts, who had liſted in the Proteſtant regiments of that nation, and had formed a deſign to go over with a good number of their comrades, to the enemy: for which conſpiracy ſix of them were executed. One of theſe ſix, du Pleſſis by name, had been a captain of horſe, in the French ſervice, but having been obliged to flee, on account of a duel, had taken ſervice in theſe troops as ſimple ſentinel. It is ſaid that he held a regular correſpondence, with the count d'Avaux, in recompenſe for which he demanded the earl's protection and a regiment. Cont. of Rap. in French, L. 25. p. 64. The ſame author affirms, that notwithſtanding what has been ſaid to the contrary, by the writers of thoſe times, King James was certainly imbark'd in this odious deſign.

(4) Duke Schomberg was ſo pleas'd with the news of this ſucceſs, that having order'd all the Inniſkillin horſe and foot, in his camp to draw out, he rode all along their line with his hat off, and cauſed the Dutch guards and the Inniſkillin foot to make three running fires, which were anſwer'd by the Inniſkillin horſe, and by the cannon upon the works, as alſo from the ſhips which lay at the mouth of the river.

cruiſing,

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cruiſing, for ſome time, off of Dunkirk. With this united fleet, admiral Torrington cruiſed on the French coaſt, and to and fro in the ſoundings, but without any ſucceſs, till the latter end of Auguſt, when a want of beer oblig'd him to return to Torbay, where the fleet ſeparated. The largeſt ſhips, and thoſe which wanted repair, were ſent into harbor, and the reſt imploy'd on different ſtations and ſervices.

Mr. Rook on the coaſt of Ireland.

Mr. Rooke (afterwards ſir George) had been detach'd, in April, with a ſquadron to the Iriſh coaſt, and arriv'd off of Greenock, the tenth of May, whence he ſent orders to Cheſter, for the Bonaventure, and other ſhips, to join him off of Cantire. The 8th of June, he fell in with the little ſquadron which accompanied major-general Kirk, and the tranſports deſign'd for the relief of Londonderry. What ſlender aſſiſtance that brave and diſtreſs'd gariſon had of this ſquadron, till at length, they were reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity, we have already ſeen; the 13th of Auguſt, the commodore of this ſquadron, met duke Schomberg's ſquadron of tranſports and other ſhips, going into Bangor-bay. The 25th the commodore diſpoſed of the ſhips, in thoſe ſeas, on certain ſtations (1). He himſelf indeavor'd to get ſouthward; but was drove into Bantry-bay (2.)

The ſixteenth of September he arriv'd in Dublin-bay, and the 18th off of Cork; but had no great ſucceſs at either. At length, his ſhips being foul, and in want of almoſt every thing, he was oblig'd to quit his ſtation, and repair to the Downs, where he arriv'd the 13th of October.

Before I return to England, and the proceedings of the ſecond meeting of the convention-parliament, I ſhall take a ſhort view of ſome affairs on the continent.

Treaties with foreign Princes concluded.

King William, whoſe intereſt and ſafety, in conjunction with that of the nation, conſiſted as well in the ſucceſs of foreign, as domeſtic affairs, had not been wanting, all this while, in concluding proper treaties with the ſeveral powers which form'd the grand alliance, the baſis of whoſe intention was to curb the exorbitant power of France. The Emperor, the Empire, Spain, and the Dutch were all combin'd in this alliance with England: and had all mutual treaties one with the other, as well as with England.

His Majeſty being oblig'd, by virtue of theſe treaties, to have ſome troops in the Netherlands, gave the command of them to the earl of Marlborough, who, for that end, went into Holland, in the month of May, and arrived at Maeſtricht, the

Battle of Walcourt.

begining of the inſuing month. This campain produced nothing remarkable in theſe parts, but the battle of Walcourt. The allies were much inferior to their enemy in ſtrength, and could, therefore, only act on the defenſive. Their army was incamp'd behind a little town call'd Walcourt, in ſuch a manner, that the French could not come at them, without firſt taking that place. This they attempted, the 25th of Auguſt, N. S. but to their own coſt. The earl of Marlborough, with the Engliſh troops under his command, were at the main-poſt, where they behaved with ſo much gallantry, and made ſuch a continual fire on the enemy's flank, as not only gave their whole army an opportunity of retreating in exact order, but, in the end, obliged the French, who advanced too near them, to withdraw in great confuſion, leaving ſome cannon and ammunition behind them, with the loſs of near 2000 men, officers included, killed and wounded; whereas the allies, on their ſide, did not loſe above 300. The Spaniards, who acted ſeparate about Courtray, levell'd a good part of the French lines, and rais'd large contributions in the enemy's country.

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Campaign in Germany.

In Germany, the allies were more ſucceeſsful, the Elector of Brandenburg took Keyſerſwaert, and laid ſiege to Bonn, where he, however, found a vigorous oppoſition; till the duke of Lorrain, who, in the mean time, was beſieging Mentz, having taken that place, after a ſhort reſiſtance, led part of his victorious troops to join the Elector, which oblig'd that place to ſurrender, the 7th of October, after a blockade of fifty-five days, and a ſiege of twenty-nine.

I return now to England; but before I reſume the affairs of parliament, ſhall mention ſome few things, which, not coming ſo properly under any of the general heads already treated, I have for that reaſon poſtpon'd.

Their Majeſties purchaſe Kenſington-houſe.

After the King's return from Portſmouth, whither he went to reward the officers and ſailors who had behav'd ſo well at Bantry-bay fight, his Majeſty, with the Queen, went to ſee the earl of Nottingham's houſe, at Kenſington, which they were inclin'd to purchaſe. Their Majeſties liked the houſe, on account of the ſituation, in a wholeſome air, and being ſo near London. They had conſider'd what improvements it was capable of, in order to make it a royal palace, fit for the reception of their Majeſties, during the ſiting of parliament. The bargain was ſoon made with the earl, and 20,000 l. paid him for it, out of the treaſury.

Abuſes in the ſoldiery redreſs'd.

Some time before this, the King had information given him, that certain officers of the army made a practiſe of detaining part of the pay of their ſoldiers, which had occaſion'd diſorders among them; and likewiſe, that abuſes and injuries had been put upon perſons where they were quarter'd. To redreſs theſe grievances, his Majeſty granted a commiſſion to the duke of Schomberg, the earls of Devonſhire and Mordaunt, the lord Delamere, mr. Wharton, and ſome others, to make inquiry into theſe matters, of which public notice was given by proclamation, "for preventing of falſe muſters, "and injuries which might be done, either to the "ſoldiers or ſubjects.

Malecontents in England.

Notwithſtanding all the advantages and ſecurity the nation had obtain'd, as well in their civil as religious liberties, there was a ſet of diſaffected malecontents, who bearing a ſecret good will to their abdicated ſovereign, which they durſt not make public profeſſion of, made it their buſineſs to inſinuate themſelves into all companies, and privately to ſow the ſeeds of ſedition in ſuch minds, as they found ſuſceptible of them; in which they were not a little countenanced and incouraged by ſome of the clergy who had refuſed to take the oaths (3). To prevent the prejudice which might ariſe from ſuch inſinuations, dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, imploy'd his pen, in a paſtoral letter to the clergy of his dioceſs, concerning the allegiance due to King William and Queen Mary: but the prelate, in the heat of his zeal, could not forbear carrying the matter too far,

Biſhop Burnet's paſtoral letter.

(1) See a particular account of theſe ſtations, in Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 628. note (n.)

(2) In his paſſage from Carrickfergus, he was obliged, by a ſtrong ſoutherly wind, to bear up an anchor at the Skerries, about 12 miles from Dublin, where ſending in a yacht to get intelligences, ſeveral ſhot were fired at her from the ſhore. Inraged at this treatment, he order'd the ketches in, and manning all the boats, landed about 200 men, who ſoon clear'd the town. After which, having ſtaved or brought off all the ſmall veſſels and fiſher-boats, that were there, they imbark'd again. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 628.

(3) Theſe male-contents diſpers'd, about this time, a libel intitled: "A ſhort hiſtory of the convention, or new chriſten'd "parliament," againſt which his Majeſty iſſued a proclamation promiſing a reward of 100 l. to ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover either the author, printer or publiſher of the ſaid treaſonable pamphlet.

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and not contented with asserting their Majesties title, by alledging, "that they were actually in "possession of the throne, by the unanimous con- "sent of the representatives of the nation," indeavor'd to prove that, "King William had a "just claim to the crown by his sword;" which so offended a future parliament, that it was burnt by the common hangman.

Commissioners of the customs and excise appointed.

During the sessions of parliament, his Majesty was pleas'd to appoint commissioners of the customs and excise, which it was observed were most of them Whigs, and several of them Dissenters.

Creations of nobility.

About the same time were, likewise, some creations of nobility. John Ashburnham, esq; was created baron Ashburnham, and Charles lord Dursley, and Robert lord viscount Lisle, were call'd to the house of lords by writ.

The King goes to Newmarket,

And Cambridge.

The begining of October, the King, to gain the affection of the nobility and gentry, by an act of popularity, resolved to share the diversions of Newmarket. The concourse of people, on that occasion, was very extraordinary, and the university of Cambridge took this opportunity to wait on his Majesty (1), who was most graciously pleas'd to make a visit to that university, the very next day, where he was received and entertain'd with all possible demonstrations of joy, duty and loyalty.

Eccleſiaſtical promotions.

At the King's return from Newmarket, the 10th of October, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament drawing near, at which time his Majesty design'd likewise to summon a convocation, he thought fit to fill up the vacant sees of Worcester, Chichester and Bristol, of which the first was bestowed on dr. Edward Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; the second on dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, and the third on dr. Gilbert Ironside, warden of Wadham college in Oxford, who were consecrated the 13th at Fulham, by the bishops of London, St. Asaph, and Rochester, being commissioned for that purpose.

Dignified clergy suspended ab officio.

The time allow'd by act of parliament for the clergy to take the oaths being expired, some of those, who refus'd to qualify themselves, were suspended ab officio: among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Glocester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough.

A convocation summon'd.

About the same time dr. Tillotson, then dean, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was made clerk of the closet to his Majesty; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Rochester, Exeter, Salisbury, Bangor and Chester, with twenty of the most eminent doctors in divinity, were appointed, by an ecclesiastical commission, to prepare such matters as were to be debated in the convocation, to examine the canons and ancient rubric, and to consider what ceremonies might be laid aside, in order to invite the Presbyterians to join in communion with the church of England. After these preliminaries, writs were issued out for the convocation to meet in November next following.

The marquis of Hallifax, who, during the last sessions of parliament had perform'd the office of speaker to the house of lords, having made himself obnoxious to both parties, King William, finding how ill his affairs succeeded in his hands (2), granted a commission to sir Robert Atkins, chief baron of the exchequer, to supply the place of lord chancellor, or lord keeper, and as such to be speaker of the house of lords (3).

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The 19th of October, being the day to which the parliament was adjourned, his Majesty open'd this second meeting with the following speech:

The King's speech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Tho' the last siting continued so long, that it "might perhaps have been more agreable to you, "in relation to your private concerns, not to have "met again so soon, yet the interest of the public, "lays an indispensable obligation upon me, to call "you together at this time.

"In your last meeting, you gave me so many tes- "timonies of your affection, as well as confidence "in me, that I do not at all question, but in this "I shall receive fresh supplies of both.

"I esteem it one of the greatest misfortunes can "befal me, that in the begining of my reign I am "forced to ask such large supplies; tho' I have this "satisfaction, that they are desired for no other "purposes than the carrying on these wars, in "which I entered with your advice, and assurance "of your assistance, nor can I doubt of the blessings "of God, upon an undertaking wherein I did not "ingage out of a vain ambition, but from the ne- "cessity of opposing their designs of destroying "our religion and liberties.

"It is well known how far I have exposed myself "to rescue this nation from the dangers that threat- "ened, not only your liberty, but the Protestant "religion in general, of which the church of England "is one of the greatest supports, and for the defense "whereof I am ready again to venture my life.

My lords and gentlemen,

"That which I have to ask of you, at present, is, "that what you think fit to give towards the charges "of the war, for the next year, may be done without "delay; and there is one reason which more parti- "cularly obliges me to press you to a speedy deter- "mination of this matter, because the next month, "there is appointed, at the Hague, a general meet- "ing of all the Princes and States concerned in this "war against France, in order to concert the mea- "sures, for the next campain: and 'till I know "your farther intentions, I shall not only be uncer- "tain myself what resolutions to take, but our "allies will be under the same doubts, unless they "see me supported by your assistance: beside, if "I know not in time, what you will do, I cannot "make such provisions as will be requisite, but "shall be exposed to the same inconveniencies the "next year, which were the cause that the prepa- "rations for this were neither so effectual nor expe- "ditious as was necessary. The charge will be also "considerably lessened, by giving time to provide "things in their proper season, and without con- "fusion.

"I have no other aim in this, but to be in a con- "dition to attack our enemies, in so vigorous a "manner, as, by the help of God, may in a little "time bring us to a lasting and honorable peace, "by which my subjects may be freed from the "extraordinary expense of a lingring war: and "that I can have no greater satisfaction than in

(1) They were introduced by the duke of Somerset their chancellor, and admited to kiss his Majesty's hand. Their vice-chancellor, dr. Covel (who had been chaplain to the Queen in Holland) made an eloquent speech to his Majesty, on this occasion, congratulating the glorious successes of the revolution, and recommending themselves to his Majesty's protection; to which his Majesty was pleas'd to answer, "That as God had bless'd him in his undertaking, so he would faithfully discharge his trust, "in preserving the church of England, and giving all protection and favor to the universities."

(2) He is said to have gain'd the ill-will of both parties, by trimming to avoid espousing either, and by his peevish domineering temper. He was a good statesman in speculation, but being incapable of those subtle insinuations, feign'd confidences, and politic managements, which are necessary to carry on a great design, what he had wisely projected in his closet generally miscarried in the senate. History of King William III, Vol. 2. p. 144.

(3) The marquis of Hallifax, being in council the 18th (the day before the parliament was to meet) declar'd, "That for "several reasons, which he forbore to mention, he must desire to be excus'd from doing the office of speaker in the house of "lords." Which was readily granted him.

"contri-

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" contributing to their eaſe, I hope I have already " given proof of.

" That you may be ſatisfied how the money has " been laid out, which you have already given, " I have directed the accounts to be laid before " you, whenever you ſhall think fit to call for " them.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have one thing more to recommend to you, " which is the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that " the minds of my good ſubjects being quieted, we " may all unanimouſly concur to promote the wel- " fare and honor of this kingdom (1).

A ſhort prorogation of the parliament.

The buſineſs of Oates, and ſome other matters, which had raiſed ſuch dangerous heats and animoſities between both houſes, being only ſuperſeded by the adjournment of the parliament, it was moved in council, to put a final end to them, by a prorogation, but the King thought fit to do nothing in ſo nice an affair, without the advice of both houſes. The houſe of peers readily came into it, and tho' ſome members of the houſe of commons pretended, that it was irregular, after his Majeſty had made a ſpeech, in which he had propoſed new matters to their conſideration, it was carried againſt them by a majority: upon which his Majeſty came to the houſe of lords the 21ſt, when ſir Robert Atkins, their new ſpeaker, acquainted both houſes with his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the parliament ſhould be prorogued till the 23d of the ſame month. (2)

Proceedings of parliament.

Accordingly, the 23d of October, the parliament being met, the King refer'd them to what he had ſaid to both houſes, the 19th. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons having read his Majeſty's ſpeech, the conſideration of it was put off 'till the next day, when they unanimouſly reſolved, " effectually to " aſſiſt his Majeſty, both to reduce Ireland, and to " proſecute the war againſt France." And becauſe the act for detaining ſeveral ſuſpected perſons in priſon, notwithſtanding the ſtatute of Habeas-corpus, was expired, and that thoſe perſons had petition'd the houſe, to be tried at the King's-bench bar, a committee was appointed to inquire into the informations which had been given againſt them, and to inſpect the journals of the houſe, in order to find out precedents, relating to commitments order'd by the commons: and another committee was named to report what bills were depending in the laſt ſeſſion, with which they had chiefly the bill of rights in view.

With reſpect to ſtate priſoners.

The court was buſied in ſecuring the moſt ſuſpected perſons; but the commons, in the mean time, granted the benefit of Habeas-corpus to the lords Preſton and Forbes, and ſir John Fenwic, on ſufficient bail: the earls of Saliſbury, Peterborough, and Caſtlemain, ſir Edward Hales, baron Jenner, and mr. Walker, were upon the point of injoying the ſame favor; but after reading the informations againſt them, the three lords were remanded to the Tower, upon a ſuppoſition that they might be proſecuted for high-treaſon; the two firſt for reconciling themſelves to the church of Rome, and the third for indeavoring to reconcile the kingdom to that communion, and for other crimes. Sir Edward Hales and baron Jenner, beſide the treaſon in turning Roman Catholics, were accuſed of high miſdemeanors; but the latter, having been already ſet at liberty, had eight days given him to make his defenſe, during which he was to remain in the cuſtody of a ſerjeant at arms; which eaſy confinement was likewiſe granted to Graham and Burton.

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Bills of rights, and indemnity.

The next thing of moment the commons did, was to put a finiſhing hand to the bill of rights, which they did with great unanimity and diſpatch, tho' without mentioning the houſe of Hanover. The attorney-general was, at the ſame time, ordered to bring in a bill of indemnity, in ſuch ample manner as might anſwer his Majeſty's gracious intentions and clemency: and, on the other hand, the King ordered accounts of the expenſes of laſt ſummer, and of the neceſſary charges for the next year's ſervice, to be laid before the houſe of commons, who having read the ſame, unanimouſly voted a ſupply of two millions ſterling, to his Majeſty.

A ſupply voted.

Colonel Ludlow comes to England.

Colonel Ludlow, who upon King Charles II's reſtoration, was excluded the general pardon, by act of parliament; in 1661, as having been one of King Charles I's judges, came over into England, about this time, as it was ſuppoſed, upon the incouragement given him by a great man at court, with a deſign to offer the King his ſervice in reducing Ireland. The commons were ſoon informed of his preſumption (3), and ſeveral members took notice of it (4); upon which they ordered their ſpeaker to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring him to iſſue out his proclamation for the apprehending him, he being attainted of high-treaſon by act of parliament; which his Majeſty, indeed, complied with, but it was not publiſhed 'till the 4th of November.

Makes his eſcape again.

Bill of pains and penalties.

The bill of indemnity being brought in, according to order, by the attorney-general, both he and the ſollicitor-general were ordered, by the houſe of commons, to prepare another, to lay penalties and fines on ſuch, as had been inſtrumental, in the late reigns, to the violation of the laws. The houſe afterwards declared, that thoſe, who had put ſome perſons to death, in the iſland of St. Hellen, under pretenſe of rebellion, were guilty of murder, and a committee was appointed to inquire, by what warrant they had proceeded. A bill was alſo ordered to be brought in to declare the late chancellor Jefferies's eſtate forfeited to the crown, and to

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(1) This ſpeech met with univerſal applauſe; but what was moſt remarkable, concerning it, was, its being compoſed by the King himſelf, who, the day before the parliament met, produced it in council, written with his own hand, in French, ſaying.

" I know moſt of my predeceſſors were uſed to commit the drawing of ſuch ſpeeches to their miniſters, who generally had " their private aims and intereſts in view: to prevent which I have thought fit to write it myſelf in French, becauſe I am not " ſo great a maſter of the Engliſh tongue: therefore I deſire you to look it over, and change what you find amiſs, that it " may be tranſlated into Engliſh."

The ſpeech being read, was highly applauded by the whole board, excepting that the earl of Monmouth objected to the expreſſion, " de laquelle, l'Egliſe Anglicane eſt le principal appuis" (of which, ſc. the Proteſtant religion, the church of England; is the principal ſupport) alleging it would not ſound well in Engliſh; upon which it was altered to, " of which the church of Eng- " land is one of the greateſt ſupports"; and ſir Thomas Clarges, is a member of the houſe of commons, was for adding, to the words, " church of England," thoſe of, " as by law eſtabliſhed," but his opinion did not prevail.

(2) Before this prorogation, the biſhop of Durham, contrary to the expectation of moſt people, took the oaths, and ſubſcribed the declaration appointed by law.

(3) His preſumption was eſteemed the greater, as multitudes of Independants and Fanaticks, were continually flocking to him, and, by openly converſing with them, he, as it were, avowed thoſe principles, for which he ſtood attainted; without which incidents, perhaps, he had not been ſo much taken notice of.

(4) Sir Edward Seymour, in particular, repreſented, and indeed, aptly enough, how highly it reflected on the honor of the, nation, that one of the parricides of that King, whoſe death the church of England had dignified with the title of Martyrdom, ſhould not only be ſuffered to live here, but alſo entertained with hope of preferment: tho' private intereſt ſeems to have had ſome ſhare in moving ſir Edward to ſtir ſo much in this matter, the eſtate he then lived on having been Ludlow's, and being come to him by grant.

attaint

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attaint his blood; but it met with ſo much oppoſition that no progreſs was made in it (1).

However, for a terror to all the late inſtruments of Popery and arbitrary power, they agreed, "that "the pecuniary penalties incured by all privy coun- "ſellors, lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, mili- "tia-officers, juſtices of the peace, and by any "perſons who had accepted and exerciſed any office "or place of profit, either military or civil (other "than ſuch as are new officers in their Majeſties "army or fleet) contrary to the laws againſt Popiſh "recuſants, ſhould be ſpeedily levied and applied "to the public ſervice."

They likewiſe appointed a committee to examine who were the adviſers and proſecuters of the murders of the lord Ruſſel, colonel Sidney, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, mr. Corniſh, and others; ſo that had they accompliſhed all they begun, they would juſtly have deſerved the thanks of the nation: but we ſhall ſee below, that the proceedings of this ſitting met with the ſame obſtructions as thoſe of the foregoing.

Proceedings concerning the lord Griffin;

The houſe of lords, had, in the mean time, the affairs of the lords Griffin and Preſton before them. The former had been often required to attend the ſervice of that houſe; but ſtill refuſing, they addreſſed his Majeſty to ſummon him, by his royal proclamation, to render himſelf, at a certain day, to that houſe, if ſiting, if not, to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. This being done, he ſurrendered himſelf accordingly to the lord Nottingham, and the day the parliament met appeared before the houſe of peers. The ſpeaker told him, he knew what he had to do previous to his ſiting in that houſe; upon which his lordſhip declared, he was not prepared to receive the oaths, and deſired time to conſider of it. This was readily granted him; but two days after, a packet was intercepted, which plainly ſhewed the lord Griffin had no deſign to reconcile himſelf to the government (2). Upon this, his houſe and papers were ſearched, and, he abſconding, his lady was ſent to the Tower. Several other ſuſpected perſons were taken up, and the cuſtom-houſe officers ordered to ſtop all unknown perſons, who offered to go out of the kingdom without paſſes. His lordſhip finding it, thereupon, difficult to eſcape, ſurendered himſelf, in a few days, to the earl of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, who having examined him, commited him to the cuſtody of a meſſenger, from whence he was afterwards ſent to the Tower. The houſe of commons, hereupon, appointed a committee, to inquire how the lord Griffin knew a reſolution, with which the King had intruſted four perſons only. The lords being jealous of this proceeding of the commons, addreſſed the King, to let him know, that the lord Griffin being a member of their houſe, they only were his competent judges. His Majeſty having left the cognizance of this matter to the lords, they began to inſpect into the intercepted papers, which was all the evidence they had againſt the lord Griffin, who after the matter had been warmly debated, was inlarged upon bail (3).

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And the lord Preſton.

The lords had, at the ſame time, the affair of the lord Preſton under their conſideration. This lord, who was a Scotiſh viſcount, had preſented to the houſe of peers a patent from the late King James, dated Verſailles, the 21ſt of January, creating him a baron of England; upon which their lordſhips voted him guilty of high-treaſon; refering, however, the examination of the matter to the judges. His lordſhip's plea was, that the patent was dated the day before the meeting of that convention which had voted the throne vacant, and ought therefore, to be deemed valid: but to this he was anſwered, that the vacancy was ſuppoſed to begin from the moment the King left the kingdom. The judges bringing in the lord Preſton, the next day, guilty of a high miſdeamenor, he was commited to the Tower. His lordſhip, ſoon after, acknowleged his fault, and beged pardon for it, in a petition to the lords; but it was rejected, becauſe he ſubſcribed himſelf viſcount Preſton, without mentioning of what kingdom: this he remedied the next day, by another petition ſigned viſcount Preſton of Scotland, and was thereupon releaſed without bail (4).

Miſcarriages of Ireland inquir'd into.

As for public affairs before the two houſes, there were three in particular that gave occaſion to the ſame heats and animoſities, which had drawn the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſions into ſuch a length; theſe were the miſcarriages of Ireland; the ill ſucceſs of the fleet, and the bill of indemnity. As for the firſt, information having been given to the houſe of commons, that the army under duke Schomberg had been bare 14,000 men, tho' there were 23,000 upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, they deſired his Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, to inquire into the condition of that army, which his Majeſty aſſur'd that houſe he would do (5). In theſe debates, ſome reflections were caſt on duke Schomberg, for not fighting King James's army; and tho', with thoſe who knew his capacity and affection to the eſtabliſh'd government, all apologies were ſuperfluous, yet his grace being inform'd, that his conduct, had been call'd in queſtion, even in parliament, he acquainted his Majeſty with the reaſons that had oblig'd him not to come out of his camp, when King James's army was ſo near him, moſt of which I have already hinted at. They were, in general, that his army never had exceeded 12,000 men, moſt of them new-rais'd levies, whereas the late King had double that number: that he waited above a month for artillery-horſes and carriages; that his army had always been in want of bread, both men and horſes of ſhoes, and the ſurgeons and apothecaries of proper medicines for the ſick. This account was confirm'd at all hands, and it appear'd, that the miſcarriages of Ireland were wholly chargeable

(1) The oppoſers of this bill argued, that it is contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws to proceed againſt a man after his death, whether natural or violent, and might be of very ill conſequence.

(2) The diſcovery was made in the following manner: his lordſhip had cauſed a large tin bottle to be made, with a double bottom, which he ſent by his cook to a pewterers, to have the falſe bottom ſoldered in, at an unſeaſonable time of night. The pewterer obſerving a packet between the two bottoms, and the cook not giving the beſt account of it, he opened it; when finding ſeveral letters directed to King James, the duke of Berwick, &c. he ſeized the fellow, and carried him before a ſecretary of ſtate. The ſervants refuſing the pewterer admitance, their maſter being in bed, delayed the time ſo long, that the lord Griffin, ſuſpecting what had befalen his cook, took this opportunity to get out of the way. There was found in the bottle, beſide the letters, an account of ſome private reſolutions of the council, and an exact liſt of all the land and ſea-forces of England.

(3) The caſe of colonel Algernon Sidney, having been examined not long before, and the lords having reſolved, that he was unjuſtly condemned, becauſe nothing but writings found in his cloſet had been produced in evidence againſt him, the earl of Rocheſter argued, from a parity of reaſon, in favor of the lord Griffin, which had great weight with the houſe; tho' it would puzzle a Jeſuit to aſſign the parity between theſe two caſes.

(4) It was alledg'd in his behalf, that he meant no affront to King William, by accepting of a patent from King James, but only to ſecure his own perſon from impriſonment, he being, at that time, proſecuted at law, by the lord Montague, for a conſiderable ſum.

(5) Notwithſtanding this aſſurance of the King's, ſome members were for carrying the matter farther, and mov'd that the commons ſhould ſend commiſſioners of their own appointing, as well to look into the expenſe, as to prevent falſe muſters; but this ſeem'd to be an incroachment on the King's prerogative, which his Majeſty was afterwards, however, pleas'd voluntarily to wave.

On

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on mr. Shales, who was purveyor-general to the army: for had there not been a want of provisions, and a train of artillery, at the duke's first coming to Dundalk, the consternation of the Irish was then so general, that he might, in all probability, have march'd directly to Dublin, without opposition. The commons hereupon, voted an address, the 19th of November, to desire his Majesty to cause Shales to be arrested, and all his papers, accounts and provisions to be seiz'd. The next day, major Wildman reported his Majesty's answer, which was: "that having been inform'd "of Shales's misdemeanors in his imploy, he had, "sometime before, taken order therein, and writ- "ten to duke Schomberg, for that purpose; and "that he verily believed what was desired, was al- "ready effectually done, tho', the wind being "contrary, he had not yet any account of it from "Ireland." The upshot was, that duke Schomberg put Shales under arrest, and thus the matter ended; for tho' the commons twice address'd the King, to name those who had recommended Shales into his service, all the satisfaction they could get was, "that it was impossible for his Majesty to "give an answer to that question" (1).

The 30th of November, the King sent a message to the house of commons, by mr. comptroller Wharton, "that having declared his resolution to "carry on the war in Ireland to the utmost of his "power, and to use the most effectual means for "that purpose, he was willing that the commons "should recommend a certain number of persons, "not exceeding seven, to whom he would give "commissions to overlook the necessary prepara- "tions for that war, and also that they should "appoint some persons to inspect the condition of "the army in Ireland;" a laudable condescension hardly to be parallel'd in our history: and the house of commons received it with that universal applause it justly merited. They return'd his Majesty thanks for it, and excus'd themselves from naming any body, humbly leaving the choice to his Majesty's great wisdom. To this address the King was pleas'd to answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I shall take all the care that may be, to carry "on the war in Ireland with vigor, and to im- "ploy such persons as may be most proper for the "service: and I doubt not but I shall have the "assistance of the house of commons, to carry it "on in such a manner, as may be according to "your desires and my intentions."

Miscarriages of the fleet examin'd into.

As for the miscarriages of the fleet, it appear'd, that they proceeded chiefly from a raging sickness among the seamen, occasion'd by bad provisions; and the house of commons having received information, that great quantities of corrupt and unwholesome victuals had been furnished to the navy, this last summer, which had been the occasion, as was conceived, of great sickness and mortality in the fleet; and the same being attested by several members of the house, upon their own knowledge; it was resolved, the 23d of November, "that sir John Parsons, sir Richard Haddock, "alderman Sturt, and mr. Nicholas Fenn, victual- "lers of the fleet, should be sent for in the custody "of the serjeant at arms, to answer to the said "complaint," and they were all turn'd out.

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The bill of indemnity was again an amusement to both houses for a considerable time, but to as little purpose as in the foregoing session. The lords acquainted the commons that they had appointed a committee to inquire who had advised the using of Quo warranto's, against corporations, and desir'd that mr. Hamden, junior, and mr. Trenchard, two of their members might appear before the committee they had named to find out the authors and promoters of the execution of the lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, sir Thomas Armstrong, and mr. Cornish. They appeared accordingly, but as the matter came to nothing, I shall not detain the reader with any farther account of it.

Farther proceedings on the bill of indemnity;

I have already mentioned, that the bill to settle the rights of the subjects, and the succession of the crown, passed the house of commons with great unanimity and dispatch, when it came before the lords, they wisely consider'd how far King James had gone towards introducing the Popish religion into this kingdom, and, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, added the following clause to it: "That the Kings "and Queens of England should be oblig'd, at their "coming to the crown, to take the test, in the "first parliament that should be call'd at the be- "gining of their reign; and that if any King "or Queen of England should imbrace the Ro- "man Catholic religion, or marry with a Roman "Catholic Prince or Princess, their subjects should "be absolv'd of their allegiance, and that the crown "and government of these realms should from time "to time descend to, and be injoy'd by such persons, "being Protestants, as should have inherited the "same, in case the said persons, so reconcil'd to "the church of Rome, or marrying a Papist, as "aforesaid, were naturally dead." Some few days after, the lords made a farther progress in this bill; and the dispensing power, which was mention'd in it, as one of the chiefest grievances, being brought upon the carpet, some pretended to aver, that such a power was a prerogative inseparable from the crown, and that, in some cases, the King may dispense, if not with a law, yet with some part of it: but their opinion was rejected with some warmth.

And on that of rights.

About the begining of December, a question was propos'd in the house of commons: "whether "a person having a place at court, or any depen- "dence upon the King, should be a member of "that house?" This question occasion'd a very warm and obstinate debate, but it was, however, at length, carried in the affirmative (2).

Question concerning court and place-men.

The 14th of December, the house of commons took into consideration the state of the nation, on which occasion, some members who were dissatisfied with the ministry, made heavy complaints of the late miscarriages, which they cast on them: this occasioned very warm debates, and ended in a vote for an address, humbly to represent to his Majesty, the miscarriages of Ireland, and of the fleet, and to desire his Majesty would be pleased to discover the authors of them, that they might be brought to punishment (3). The same day, sir Thomas Clarges represented to the commons, that it was dangerous to bring so many

Miscarriages again complain'd of

(1) This Shales had been purveyor to King James's army, when incamp'd on Hounslow-heath, and he was shrewdly suspected of treachery as well as knavery, and very probably was deeply guilty of both: but he had his patrons who screen'd him from justice, and was one among the many who gave occasion to the saying, that great kn——es are never punish'd.

(2) According to bishop Kennet and others, it was rightly urg'd, "that if the negative prevail'd, the fittest persons for pub- "lic imployments would remain excluded, and be debarr'd the opportunity of serving either the King or their country." And this has been the grand argument against the like questions ever since.

(3) Mr. Hampden, junior, who had been one of the loudest in these complaints, being named, among others, to draw up this address, gave occasion to a report, that it was levelled chiefly against the earl of Nottingham, and that he hoped, if he could get him removed, he should step into his office of secretary of state.

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foreign troops into the kingdom, and that it was both safer and more expeditious to imploy English-men, in the reduction of Ireland (1).

Bills pass'd.

The 16th, the King gave the royal assent to two important bills; "one to grant an aid to their "Majesties, of two shillings in the pound, for "one year: and the other to declare the rights and "liberties of the subjects, and to settle the succes- "sion of the crown." In the latter was contained the whole declaration presented to their Majesties, on the 13th of February, with some additions concerning the limitation of the crown, particularly the clause mentioned above, to exclude all Papists from any hopes of the succession.

Debates about the Princes Ann's revenue.

The next grand debate was upon a motion made, to settle a part of the public revenue on the Princess Ann of Denmark. The house was in general divided into those who were for the motion, and those who were for leaving that matter wholly to the King's discretion; but the former were again divided into two parties. The lord Eland, son to the marquis of Hallifax, mr. Finch and mr. Godolphin insisted upon 70,000 l. as the least that could be allowed her Highness, whereas others were for reducing it to 50,000. The debate, growing warm, was adjourned to the next day; in the mean time, the King, being unwilling that so nice an affair should be farther debated in parliament, sent the earl of Shrewsbury and mr. Wharton to the Princess, to indeavor to persuade her to rely upon his generosity: but her answer was; "that since the affair was "before the commons, it must e'en take its course, "and be concluded by that wise body." The commons, therefore, resumed the debate the next day, and at length agreed upon an address to the King, that he would be pleased to settle 50,000 l. a year upon the Prince and Princess of Denmark; and it was ordered accordingly to be paid out of the excise (2).

More Bills pass'd, and farther proceedings of the parliament.

The 23d of December, the King went again to the house of commons, and gave his assent to an act, "to prevent doubts and questions, concerning the "collection of the public revenue;" and to another, "for punishing officers and soldiers who "should mutiny or desert their Majesties service, "and for punishing false musters." The same day mr. Hambden junior, presented the address concerning the miscarriages of this year, against which several exceptions were made, by some, because it contained a tedious relation of all the ill successes both by sea and land, and was therefore too long; and by others because it was too short, and did not particularize those things enough; the latter, however carried their point, and the address was returned for that purpose. The 16th of January, the King gave the royal sanction to "an act for a grant to their Ma- "jesties of an additional aid of twelve pence in the "pound for one year," and another, "for charging "and collecting the duties upon coffee, tea, and "chocolate, at the custom-house;" which latter bill now passed, with a proviso of a draw-back, in the same manner, as the lords would have had it in the foregoing session. The 23d, the commons proceeded again upon the bill of indemnity, but with as little success as before; and the jarings and animosities breaking out a-new, in such manner that there was little probability of puting an end to them, otherwise than by puting a final end to their proceedings, his Majesty thought fit to come to the house the 27th, to pass such bills as were ready for the royal assent; among which the principal were: "an act for the review of the poll-bill, and "for an additional poll: an act to prevent vexati- "ous suits against such as had acted in order to the "bringing in their Majesties, or for their service; "and an act for the better security and relief "of the Irish Protestants:" by which latter bill, the acts of the parliament of Ireland were annulled, and that assembly declared to be unlawful and rebellious. After which his Majesty made the following speech:

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My lords and gentlemen,

The King's speech to both houses.

"I am so sensible of the readiness you have "shewed, to supply me with mony for the car- "rying on the war I am ingaged in, that I am glad "of this occasion to give you thanks for your "chearful dispatch, which was absolutely neces- "sary for the common safety. The best return I "can make to your kindness is, to assure you, that "as far as it will go, it shall all be imployed to the "purposes it was given.

"It is a very sensible affliction to me, to see my "good people burdened with heavy taxes. But "since the speedy recovering of Ireland is, in my "opinion, the only means to ease them, and to "preserve the peace and honor of the nation, I am "resolved to go thither in person, and with the "blessing of God Almighty, indeavor to re- "duce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a "charge to them.

"And as I have already ventured my life, for "the preservation of the religion, laws and liber- "ties of this nation, so I am willing again to "expose it, to secure you the quiet and injoyment "of them.

"The spring draws on, and it being requisite I "should be early in the field, I must immediately "imploy my thoughts, to the giving orders for the "necessary preparations, which that I may have the "more leisure to do, I have thought convenient "now to put an end to this session."

The parliament dissolved, and another called.

The parliament being then, by his Majesty's command, prorogued, to the 2d of April, was, by proclamation, on the 6th of the next month, dissolved, and, at the same time, another called, to meet on the 20th of March.

Proceedings of the convocation.

I shall now give a brief account of the proceedings of the convocation. At their first meeting, at St. Paul's, the begining of November, all they did was to read the commission, by which they were summoned, and then to adjourn to the 21st of that month (3). Both houses being assembled, that day, at Westminster, they proceeded to the election of their respective prolocutors or speakers. The choice fell upon the bishop of London for the upper, and dr. Jane for the lower house (4). The latter being presented to the bishops, the 25th, and approved, they both made speeches, in the Latin tongue, tho' in a very different strain; one breathing nothing

(1) Sir Thomas was misled to this motion, by a false rumor, that beside the 7000 Danes, which were by this time landed in England and Scotland, the King had sent for 8000 foreign troops more.

(2) To this address his Majesty answered, "Gentlemen, whatsoever comes from the house of commons is so agreable to me, "and particularly this address, that I shall do what you desire of me." Notwithstanding which, tho' this sum was less than the Princess expected, it was generally believed to be more than the King would have given had it been left to him.

(3) The commissioners appointed by his Majesty to prepare matters, debated, in the mean time, an important point among themselves, viz. the re-ordaining of Dissenting ministers, which had always been the greatest obstacle to the reconciling the Presbyterians of England, to the national church, and they concluded, that to the common form, the following words might be added, by way of lenity, "in case the ordination you have already received, be any ways defective."

(4) Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was set up in opposition to dr. Jane: most of the bishops, and of the moderate part of the inferior clergy were for him, and it was generally believed, that if this great ornament of the church of England, and truly worthy divine, had sat in the prolocutor's chair, his christian moderation, and pious example, would have gone a great way towards softning the rigid principles of some of the most bigoted and prejudiced of the inferior clergy.

but

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but moderation and chriſtian charity, the other red-hot with pride and perſecution. Dr. Jane's conſiſted chiefly in encomiums on the church of England, eſtabliſhed by law, which he, indeed juſtly, extolled above all other chriſtian communities; but at the ſame time ended with a caution, "not to change the "laws and conſtitutions of England;" or, as he meant it, not to make any change in the ceremonies of the church; as if, with all its perfection, it had not ſome ſuperfluities, or at leaſt indifferent things, which it might have parted with, for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and to bring about the ſo much wiſhed for comprehenſion. The biſhop of London, on the contrary, told the aſſembly, "they ought to "indeavor a temper in thoſe things, that are not eſ-"ſential in religion, thereby to open the door of ſalva-"tion to abundance of ſtraying chriſtians; that it was "their duty to ſhew the ſame indulgence and charity "to the Diſſenters, under King William, which "ſome of the biſhops and clergy had promiſed "them in their addreſſes to King James;" and cloſed his diſcourſe with an exhortation to unanimity and concord. Nothing of moment paſſed the firſt day, but the next, the biſhop, plainly perceiving, that the majority of the lower houſe would oppoſe the intended union with the Diſſenters, in order to gain time to bring them, if poſſible, to another temper, told them; that having communicated the commiſſion, by which they were aſſembled, to an eminent civilian, he had found it defective, for want of the great ſeal, and therefore they muſt adjourn 'till another was procured (1). The new commiſſion being ready, was brought to both houſes aſſembled in King Henry VIIth's chapel, by the earl of Nottingham, together with a letter from his Majeſty, importing, "that he ſummoned them, not only "becauſe it was uſual upon holding of a parliament, "but out of a pure zeal to do every thing that "might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church "of England, which is ſo eminent a part of the "reformation, and is certainly the beſt ſuited to "the conſtitution of the government, &c. and "that he expected the things he propoſed ſhould be "calmly and impartially conſidered, he intending "to offer nothing but what ſhould be for the ho-"nor, peace and advantage, both of the Pro-"teſtant religion in general, and particularly of "the church of England." The earl of Nottingham accompanied this letter with an eloquent ſpeech, exhorting them to lay aſide all partial prepoſſeſſions and animoſities in their debates.

An addreſs of thanks, being immediately voted, was drawn up by the biſhops, but the latter part of it acknowleging his Majeſty's favor in aſſembling them to indeavor a reconciliation of the Diſſenters, the lower houſe diſagreed to it. Upon this another was drawn up by a committee of both houſes, and preſented by ſix or ſeven biſhops, and ſeveral doctors of divinity. It contained in ſubſtance, "that "they gratefully acknowleged his Majeſty's pious "zeal and care for the honor, peace, advantage "and eſtabliſhment of the church of England, "which, they doubted not, would tend to the ſecurity and intereſt of the Proteſtant religion, in "all other Proteſtant churches, &c. and aſſured his "Majeſty they would conſider whatſoever ſhould "be offered them by his Majeſty, without preju-"dice, and with calmneſs and impartiality, &c." His Majeſty addreſſing himſelf to the biſhops, anſwered: "He took this addreſs very kindly "from the convocation, that they might depend "on it, he would do all he had promiſed, and all "he could do for the church of England, and he "gave them this aſſurance, that he would improve "all occaſions and opportunities for its ſervice." The King however, plainly perceived, that this addreſs was a meer compliment, and that by their expreſſion of tenderneſs for the Proteſtant religion, they had more an eye to the reformed churches abroad, than to the Diſſenters at home: His Majeſty therefore thought fit to adjourn them to the 24th of January (2).

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The King and Queen dine in the city.

This year the King and Queen, with the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, and both houſes of parliament, having accepted of ſir Thomas Pilkington's invitation to dine with him at Guild-hall, on the nine and twentieth of October, the day of his being ſworn in Lord-mayor for the inſuing year, nothing was omited that could augment the ſplendor by which the city indeavored to teſtify the dutiful reſpect they owed their ſovereigns. And his Majeſty, on his ſide, to ſhew the value and love he had for his metropolis, about this time, allowed the company of Grocers to chuſe him their ſovereign maſter.

His Majeſty maſter of the Grocers company.

Indignity offer'd the King's picture.

Not many days after, ſome vile wretches offered an indignity to his Majeſty's picture in Guild-hall, by cuting away the crown and ſcepter. Upon which, the Lord-mayor and court of Aldermen offered a reward of 500 l. to whomever ſhould diſcover the author of this mean and audacious action.

Envoys ſent abroad.

Towards the latter end of this year, mr. Cox was ſent envoy to Switzerland, and mr. Stanhope, brother to the lord Cheſterfield, to Spain: about the ſame time, the lord Paget was ſent to the Imperial court, and the lord Durſley to Holland, to relieve the earl of Pembroke, who had been ſent thither in the begining of the year; he was now made privy-counſellor, and, ſoon after, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, upon the voluntary reſignation of the lord Torrington.

AN' 1690.

The Queen of Spain conv'oy'd to the Groyne.

The King of Spain, having married the Princeſs Mariana of Newbury (ſiſter to the Empreſs and the Queen of Portugal) by proxy, deſired of King William, an Engliſh convoy to ſee her ſafe to the Groyne. Vice admiral Herbert being appointed for that ſervice, ſet ſail for Holland, to take her Majeſty on board there, with a ſecond rate, four third rates, two fourth rates, and two yachts. He arrived at Fluſhing, the 12th of December of the foregoing year, and her Majeſty imbarking, about the middle of January, on board the duke, they arrived the 18th in the Downs. Her Majeſty and her retinue being there removed into more proper

(1) During this interval, all poſſible indeavors were uſed, and even preferments offered, to the moſt obſtinate of the inferior clergy, to bring them to a charitable condeſcenſion with the Preſbyterians, but to no purpoſe. Their chief objections were, againſt diſpenſing with their re-ordination, which they thought derogatory to the dignity of the church of England; and that ſo important a ſtep ought not to be made before they were aſſured of their ſincere deſire of a reconcilement.

(2) It is very difficult to determine which ſide contributed moſt to the loſing of this happy and favorable opportunity: the majority of the biſhops ſeemed ſincerely inclined to make very large ſteps towards meeting the Diſſenters, and receiving them as ſons of the church, upon terms not very wide from what many of them profeſſed only to deſire. The lower houſe of convocation ſeemed indeed pretty obſtinately bent not to loſe an inch of ground, the alterations, propoſed by the commiſſion, were not debated, and their pretenſe that they ought not to make advances till they were aſſured of a hearty deſire for a reconcilement, on the other ſide, ſavored more of pride, than of that charity and forbearance, ſo frequently and ſo forcibly recommended in ſcripture. Had they made the trial, and the Diſſenters had ſtood out, they would have had a good plea againſt them ever after: On the the other hand, it is aſſured, that the rigid Preſbyterians did not a little contribute to exaſperate the convocation againſt them, by giving, at the ſame time, orders to near fifty young ſtudents, and mr. Baxter, one of their heads; by publiſhing a book reflecting on the church of England. The Diſſenters made no advances; the court was believed to favor that ſide; and Epiſcopacy was aboliſhed in Scotland.

ſhips,

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ſhips, they arrived the 24th at St. Hellens, where ſhe was complimented in the names of their Majeſties and of their royal highneſſes. The fleet put to ſea, and were drove back to Torbay twice, till, at length, being increaſed to 400 merchant ſhips, bound for the Streights, with about thirty men of war to convoy them, they ſet ſail again, on the 7th of March, and after a ſtormy paſſage arrived the 16th at the Groyne. The Queen and her retinue being landed, and the ſhips deſigned for the Mediteranean ſquadron diſpatched to Cadiz, the remainder of the fleet returned, and arrived, the 28th of April, at Portſmouth.

Affairs of Scotland.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt ſay a word or two of the affairs of Scotland. The greateſt part of the rebels having laid hold of the act of oblivion, and colonel Canon, with a handful of men under his command, being retired into the iſland of Mull, ſeveral of the regiments, which were in Scotland, were ſent into Ireland, to re-inforce duke Schomberg's army. This incouraged the Highlanders, to renew their excurſions, and to burn and plunder whereſoever they ſet footing. They marched out of Inverloghy, to the number of 800, headed by the laird of Lochelly, thinking to ſurprize Inverneſs, but in this they were timely prevented. There was at the ſame time, a general diſcontent, throughout the whole Scotiſh nation, on account of the prorogation of the late parliament, before their grievances were ſo fully redreſſed as they expected.

The rebels continuing ſtill in a body, and being preſſed by hunger and want, made frequent depredations in the low-lands, upon which the council of Scotland ordered general Mackay, and ſir Thomas Levingſton to march Northward, with a proper force, and the nobility, and other inhabitants, who were moſt expoſed, put themſelves into a poſture of defenſe. On the other hand, colonel Canon indeavored to ingage ſeveral perſons, in Edinburg, in his party; but his letters, with a pardon from King James, being intercepted, and his expectations thereby diſappointed, he retired to Ireland. The Highlanders, thereupon, choſe ſir Hugh Cameron, one of their country-men, for their leader, and continuing their excurſions under his command, King William thought fit to ſend duke Hamilton into Scotland, to have a watchful eye over them. Notwithſtanding this, having received a ſuccor of cloths, arms, ammunition and officers, from King James, from Ireland, they ventured ſoon after, to the number of 1500 men, to march as far as Strathſpag, in the county of Murray, where they expected to be joined by ſome malecontents of thoſe parts. To prevent this, ſir Thomas Levingſton marched with 800 foot, ſix troops of dragoons, and two troops of horſe, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon the rebels, that they fled, leaving near 500 men killed upon the place, and 100 priſoners, among whom were four captains, and other inferior officers. After this, ſir Thomas took the caſtle of Lethingdey, obliging the gariſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. Major Ferguſon, in the mean time, was as ſucceſsful, in the Iſland of Mull, where landing, he deſtroyed ſeveral places belonging to the rebels, drove them from the caſtle of Dewart, and obliged them to retire to their hills.

Not to paſs by the civil affairs of Scotland, the parliament meeting, the 15th of April, at Edinburg, the earl of Melvil, lord high commiſſioner, made a ſpeech, intimating "his Majeſty's grief, "that he could not be preſent with them, accord-"ing to their deſires, and his own wiſhes;" and after he had laid before them what his Majeſty had done, to deliver them from the yoke under which they groan'd, "he deſired an aſſiſtance of mony, "anſwerable to the expenſes his Majeſty had been, "and was ſtill obliged to be at, to ſecure their li-"berty and religion; and, laſtly, he exhorted "them to lay aſide all animoſities and private in-"tereſts, and jointly to labor the ſettlement of "public affairs." They ſhew'd, however, that their principal care was to eſtabliſh Preſbytery, and firſt paſſed an act for reſtoring the miniſters of that perſuaſion, who had been put out, ſince the firſt of January 1661, and afterwards another declaring all thoſe to be rebels who were actually in arms againſt King William and Queen Mary.

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Preparations for the expedition to Ireland.

To return to England, where, while the different parties were buſy in influencing the elections of parliament men, as uſual, his Majeſty was no leſs aſſiduous in forwarding the preparations for his expedition to Ireland, that both his ſubjects and his allies might ſee he was in earneſt. The old reigments were compleated, new ones were rais'd, the Daniſh forces were imbark'd for Ireland, and ſtrong draughts out of the guards were order'd to be in a readineſs, to attend his Majeſty thither.

The privy-ſeal and treaſury put in commiſſion.

In the mean time, to prevent ſuch heats as had ariſen in the late parliament, on account of the marquis of Hallifax being lord privy ſeal, his Majeſty reſolved to put that office into commiſſion, and, to that end, the 19th of February, appointed William Cheney, eſq; ſir John Knotchbull, baronet, and ſir William Pultney, his commiſſioners: and the ſame day of the inſuing month, a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high treaſurer, was given to ſir John Lowther, Richard Hambden, eſq; (who was alſo conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer) Thomas Pelham, eſq; and ſir Stephen Fox.

Proceedings of the parliament of England.

The parliament of England being met, the 20th of March, purſuant to ſummons, the King went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons attending, ſir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure to them, that they ſhould proceed immediately to the choice of a ſpeaker, and preſent him the next morning. The choice falling on ſir John Trevor, he was preſented and approved, the next day, accordingly, when his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he was reſolved to leave nothing unat-"tempted, on his part, which might contribute to "the peace and proſperity of this nation; and find-"ing his preſenſe in Ireland would be abſolutely "neceſſary, for the more ſpeedy reducing of that "kingdom, he continued his reſolution of going "thither as ſoon as might be, and he had now "call'd them together, for their aſſiſtance, to ina-"ble him to proſecute the war, with ſpeed and "vigor; in which he aſſured himſelf of their "chearful concurrence, being a work ſo neceſſary "for their own ſafeties.

"That, in order to this, he deſired they would "forthwith make a ſettlement of the revenue, and "he could not doubt, but they would, therein, "have as much regard for the honor and dignity "of the Monarchy in his hands, as had been lately "ſhewn to others. That he had ſo great a confi-"dence in them, that if no quicker or more con-"venient way could be found for the raiſing of "ready mony (without which the ſervice could not "be perform'd) he ſhould be very well content, "for the preſent, to have it made ſuch a fund of "credit, as might be uſeful to them, as well as "himſelf, in this conjuncture; not having the leaſt "apprehenſions, but that they would provide for "the taking off all ſuch anticipations, as it ſhould "happen to fall under."

In the next place, he told them; "that it was "ſufficiently known, how earneſtly he had indea-"vor'd to extinguiſh (at leaſt to compoſe) all "differences amongſt his ſubjects, and, to that "end,

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" end, how often he had recommended an act of " indemnity to the laſt parliament. But ſince that " part of it which related to the preventing of pri- " vate ſuits was already inacted, and becauſe de- " bates of that nature muſt take up more of their " time, than could be now ſpared, from the diſ- " patch of other things, which were abſolutely ne- " ceſſary for the common ſafety, he intended to " ſend them an act of grace, with exceptions of " ſome few perſons only, but ſuch as might be ſuf- " ficient to ſhew his diſlike of their crimes, and, at " the ſame time, his readineſs to extend protection " to all his other ſubjects, who would thereby ſee, " that they could be recommended to him by no other " methods, than what the laws preſcrib'd, which " ſhould always be the only rules of his go- " vernment.

" That a farther reaſon which induced him to " ſend this act, at this time, was, becauſe he was " deſirous to leave no color of excuſe to any of " his ſubjects, for the raiſing of diſturbances in " the government, and eſpecially in the time " of his abſenſe; and that this he ſaid, both " to inform them, and to let ſome ill-affected men " ſee, that he was not unacquainted, how buſy " they were in their preſent indeavors to alter it.

" That amongſt other incouragements, which " his Majeſty found the diſaffected gave themſelves, " one of the ways by which they hoped to com- " paſs their deſigns was, by creating differences " and diſagreements in the counſels of both houſes, " which he hoped, they would be very careful to " prevent, ſince his and their greateſt enemies could " have no better inſtruments for their purpoſes, " than thoſe who ſhould any way indeavor, to " diſturb or delay their ſpeedy and unanimous pro- " ceeding, upon theſe neceſſary matters.

" His Majeſty, likewiſe, recommended to their " conſideration a union with Scotland, tho' he did " not mean it ſhould be now enter'd upon, but they " having propos'd this to him, ſome time ſince, " and the parliament there having nominated com- " miſſioners for that purpoſe, he ſhould be glad " that commiſſioners might be nominated here to " treat with them, and to ſee if ſuch terms could " be agreed on, as might be for the benefit of both " nations, ſo as to be ready to be preſented to him " in ſome future ſeſſion.

" He then acquainted them, he thought it moſt " convenient to leave the adminiſtration of the " government in the hands of the Queen, during " his abſenſe, and if it was judged neceſſary to " have an act of parliament for the better confir- " mation of it to her, he deſir'd they would pre- " pare ſuch a one; and concluded, that the ſea- " ſon of the year, and his journey into Ireland, " would admit of but a very ſhort ſeſſion; ſo " that he recommended to them the making ſuch " diſpatch that they might not be ingaged in de- " bates, when their enemies were in the field; " for the ſucceſs of war, and the more thrifty " management of it, would both principally de- " pend upon their ſpeedy reſolutions. But he " hoped it would not be long before they ſhould " meet again, to perfect what the time would not " now allow to be done (1).

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Crown. The revenue ſettled.

Soon after, the commons prepar'd two bills, " one to declare guilty of high-treaſon, all thoſe " who were actually in King James's ſervice in Ire- " land, with forfeiture of their eſtates to their Ma- " jeſties, unleſs their children were Proteſtants;" and the other, " to confirm all the acts of the " convention-parliament, by which King William " and Queen Mary were acknowledg'd to be law- " ful King and Queen of England."

At length, the act of oblivion or indemnity, which the King had ſo long deſired, paſſed both houſes, tho' it met with many difficulties, and with the excluſion of thirty one perſons only (3). All matters being thus brought to a happy concluſion in ſo ſhort a time, his Majeſty came to the houſe the 20th and 23d of May, and gave the royal aſſent to ſuch public and private bills, as were prepared for that purpoſe. Of theſe the principal, beſide the act of indemnity, were " an act for puting the adminiſtration of the government " into the Queen's hands, not only during the " King's being in Ireland, but whenever his " affairs ſhould call him out of the kingdom, (4) " &c. and an act for reverſing the judgments in a " Quo warranto againſt the city of London, and " for reſtoring that great metropolis of this king- " dom to its ancient rights and privileges." This done, his Majeſty returned thanks to both houſes, " for the aſſurances of their affection to him, and " particularly for the ſupplies given him," and then recommending to them, " the diſcharge of their duties, in their reſpective counties, that the peace of the nation might be ſecured, by their vigilance and care, in their ſeveral ſtations," he order'd the parliament to adjourn to the 7th of July.

Acts paſſed.

The parliament adjourn'd.

During this ſeſſion, and before his Majeſty's departure for Ireland, he was pleaſed to confer the following titles. The 17th of April, Richard lord

Titles and preferments.

(1) At the opening of this ſeſſion, the biſhop of Oxford took the oaths and ſubſcribed the declaration; upon which he was admited to his place in the houſe of lords.

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(3) The perſons excluded the benefit of this act, were William marquis of Powis; Theophilus earl of Huntington; Nathaniel biſhop of Durham; Thomas biſhop of St. David's; Robert earl of Sunderland; lord Thomas Howard; Henry lord Dover; John earl of Melfort; Roger earl of Caſtlemain; ſir Edward Hales; Thomas Tildeſley, eſq; Rowland Tempeſt, eſq; colonel Robert Lundee; mr. William Molineux; ſir Edward Herbert; ſir Francis Wythen's; ſir Edward Lutwyche; ſir Thomas Jenner; ſir Richard Holloway; ſir Richard Heath; colonel Townley; ſir Nicholas Butler; Edward Morgan, eſq; Robert Brent, eſq; mr. Richard Graham; mr. Philip Burton; dr. Obediah Walker; Edward Petre, jeſuit; Matthew Crane; ſir Roger L'eſtrange; and George lord Jefferies. Oldmixon p. 41.

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ſhips, they arrived the 24th at St. Hellens, where ſhe was complimented in the names of their Majeſties and of their royal highneſſes. The fleet put to ſea, and were drove back to Torbay twice, till, at length, being increaſed to 400 merchant ſhips, bound for the Streights, with about thirty men of war to convoy them, they ſet ſail again, on the 7th of March, and after a ſtormy paſſage arrived the 16th at the Groyne. The Queen and her retinue being landed, and the ſhips deſigned for the Mediteranean ſquadron diſpatched to Cadiz, the remainder of the fleet returned, and arrived, the 28th of April, at Portſmouth.

Affairs of Scotland.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt ſay a word or two of the affairs of Scotland. The greateſt part of the rebels having laid hold of the act of oblivion, and colonel Canon, with a handful of men under his command, being retired into the iſland of Mull, ſeveral of the regiments, which were in Scotland, were ſent into Ireland, to re-inforce duke Schomberg's army. This incouraged the Highlanders, to renew their excurſions, and to burn and plunder whereſoever they ſet footing. They marched out of Inverloghy, to the number of 800, headed by the laird of Lochelly, thinking to ſurprize Inverneſs, but in this they were timely prevented. There was at the ſame time, a general diſcontent, throughout the whole Scotiſh nation, on account of the prorogation of the late parliament, before their grievances were ſo fully redreſſed as they expected.

The rebels continuing ſtill in a body, and being preſſed by hunger and want, made frequent depredations in the low-lands, upon which the council of Scotland ordered general Mackay, and ſir Thomas Levingſton to march Northward, with a proper force, and the nobility, and other inhabitants, who were moſt expoſed, put themſelves into a poſture of defenſe. On the other hand, colonel Canon indeavored to ingage ſeveral perſons, in Edinburg, in his party; but his letters, with a pardon from King James, being intercepted, and his expectations thereby diſappointed, he retired to Ireland. The Highlanders, thereupon, choſe ſir Hugh Cameron, one of their country-men, for their leader, and continuing their excurſions under his command, King William thought fit to ſend duke Hamilton into Scotland, to have a watchful eye over them. Notwithſtanding this, having received a ſuccor of cloths, arms, ammunition and officers, from King James, from Ireland, they ventured ſoon after, to the number of 1500 men, to march as far as Strathſpag, in the county of Murray, where they expected to be joined by ſome malecontents of thoſe parts. To prevent this, ſir Thomas Levingſton marched with 800 foot, ſix troops of dragoons, and two troops of horſe, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon the rebels, that they fled, leaving near 500 men killed upon the place, and 100 priſoners, among whom were four captains, and other inferior officers. After this, ſir Thomas took the caſtle of Lethingdey, obliging the gariſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. Major Ferguſon, in the mean time, was as ſucceſsful, in the Iſland of Mull, where landing, he deſtroyed ſeveral places belonging to the rebels, drove them from the caſtle of Dewart, and obliged them to retire to their hills.

Not to paſs by the civil affairs of Scotland, the parliament meeting, the 15th of April, at Edinburg, the earl of Melvil, lord high commiſſioner, made a ſpeech, intimating "his Majeſty's grief, "that he could not be preſent with them, according to their deſires, and his own wiſhes;" and after he had laid before them what his Majeſty had done, to deliver them from the yoke under which they groan'd, "he deſired an aſſiſtance of mony, "anſwerable to the expenſes his Majeſty had been, "and was ſtill obliged to be at, to ſecure their li- "berty and religion; and, laſtly, he exhorted "them to lay aſide all animoſities and private in- "tereſts, and jointly to labor the ſettlement of "public affairs." They ſhew'd, however, that their principal care was to eſtabliſh Preſbytery, and firſt paſſed an act for reſtoring the miniſters of that perſuaſion, who had been put out, ſince the firſt of January 1661, and afterwards another declaring all thoſe to be rebels who were actually in arms againſt King William and Queen Mary.

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Preparations for the expedition to Ireland.

To return to England, where, while the different parties were buſy in influencing the elections of parliament men, as uſual, his Majeſty was no leſs aſſiduous in forwarding the preparations for his expedition to Ireland, that both his ſubjects and his allies might ſee he was in earneſt. The old reigments were compleated, new ones were rais'd, the Daniſh forces were imbark'd for Ireland, and ſtrong draughts out of the guards were order'd to be in a readineſs, to attend his Majeſty thither.

The privy-ſeal and treaſury put in commiſſion.

In the mean time, to prevent ſuch heats as had ariſen in the late parliament, on account of the marquis of Hallifax being lord privy ſeal, his Majeſty reſolved to put that office into commiſſion, and, to that end, the 19th of February, appointed William Cheney, eſq; ſir John Knotchbull, baronet, and ſir William Pultney, his commiſſioners: and the ſame day of the inſuing month, a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high treaſurer, was given to ſir John Lowther, Richard Hambden, eſq; (who was alſo conſtituted chancellor of the exchequer) Thomas Pelham, eſq; and ſir Stephen Fox.

Proceedings of the parliament of England.

The parliament of England being met, the 20th of March, purſuant to ſummons, the King went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons attending, ſir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure to them, that they ſhould proceed immediately to the choice of a ſpeaker, and preſent him the next morning. The choice falling on ſir John Trevor, he was preſented and approved, the next day, accordingly, when his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he was reſolved to leave nothing unat- "tempted, on his part, which might contribute to "the peace and proſperity of this nation; and find- "ing his preſenſe in Ireland would be abſolutely "neceſſary, for the more ſpeedy reducing of that "kingdom, he continued his reſolution of going "thither as ſoon as might be, and he had now "call'd them together, for their aſſiſtance, to ina- "ble him to proſecute the war, with ſpeed and "vigor; in which he aſſured himſelf of their "chearful concurrence, being a work ſo neceſſary "for their own ſafeties.

"That, in order to this, he deſired they would "forthwith make a ſettlement of the revenue, and "he could not doubt, but they would, therein, "have as much regard for the honor and dignity "of the Monarchy in his hands, as had been lately "ſhewn to others. That he had ſo great a confi- "dence in them, that if no quicker or more con- "venient way could be found for the raiſing of "ready mony (without which the ſervice could not "be perform'd) he ſhould be very well content, "for the preſent, to have it made ſuch a fund of "credit, as might be uſeful to them, as well as "himſelf, in this conjuncture; not having the leaſt "apprehenſions, but that they would provide for "the taking off all ſuch anticipations, as it ſhould "happen to fall under."

In the next place, he told them; "that it was "ſufficiently known, how earneſtly he had indea- "vor'd to extinguiſh (at leaſt to compoſe) all "differences amongſt his ſubjects, and, to that "end,

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" end, how often he had recommended an act of " indemnity to the laſt parliament. But ſince that " part of it which related to the preventing of pri- " vate ſuits was already inacted, and becauſe de- " bates of that nature muſt take up more of their " time, than could be now ſpared, from the diſ- " patch of other things, which were abſolutely ne- " ceſſary for the common ſafety, he intended to " ſend them an act of grace, with exceptions of " ſome few perſons only, but ſuch as might be ſuf- " ficient to ſhew his diſlike of their crimes, and, at " the ſame time, his readineſs to extend protection " to all his other ſubjects, who would thereby ſee, " that they could be recommended to him by no other " methods, than what the laws preſcrib'd, which " ſhould always be the only rules of his go- " vernment.

" That a farther reaſon which induced him to " ſend this act, at this time, was, becauſe he was " deſirous to leave no color of excuſe to any of " his ſubjects, for the raiſing of diſturbances in " the government, and eſpecially in the time " of his abſenſe; and that this he ſaid, both " to inform them, and to let ſome ill-affected men " ſee, that he was not unacquainted, how buſy " they were in their preſent indeavors to alter it.

" That amongſt other incouragements, which " his Majeſty found the diſaffected gave themſelves, " one of the ways by which they hoped to com- " paſs their deſigns was, by creating differences " and diſagreements in the counſels of both houſes, " which he hoped, they would be very careful to " prevent, ſince his and their greateſt enemies could " have no better inſtruments for their purpoſes, " than thoſe who ſhould any way indeavor, to " diſturb or delay their ſpeedy and unanimous pro- " ceeding, upon theſe neceſſary matters.

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viſcount Lumley was created earl of Scarborough; Henry lord Delamere, earl of Warrington, and Henry lord Grey, of Ruthyn, viſcount de Longueville; and the lord Willoughby of Ereſby was, by his Majeſty's writ, introduced into the houſe of lords. About the ſame time his Majeſty appointed admiral Torrington, ſir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, and mr. Rook, rear-admiral of the red; and mr. Ruſſel, admiral, ſir John Aſhby, vice-admiral, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of the fleet. The third of June, the day before the King's departure, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint, ſir John Trevor (ſpeaker of the houſe of commons) ſir William Rawlinſon, and ſir George Hutchins, commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England: and Richard Pyne, eſq; ſir Richard Reeves, and Robert Rochford, eſq; were nominated commiſſioners of the great ſeal in Ireland. A few days before, a proclamation was publiſhed for apprehending ſeveral diſaffected perſons; and the deputy-lieutenants were impowered to raiſe the militia, upon any exigency.

Affairs of Ireland.

I come now to the affairs of Ireland; but before I give an account of what paſſed in that kingdom under the immediate direction of the King in perſon, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſtate of it before his Majeſty's arrival. We have already ſeen the poor ſtate duke Schomberg's army was reduced to by ſickneſs: however, thoſe who ſurvived, being refreſhed by the good proviſions his grace had taken care to provide for them, about the begining of February, they began to take the field. The general had information, that the enemy were drawing ſome forces towards Dundalk, in order to diſturb his frontier-gariſons, he therefore ſent a conſiderable body of troops that way, and marched himſelf, the 11th of that month, towards Drummore: but their deſign was to fall upon Belturbat, a town which colonel Woolſey had taken from them not long before. The colonel having intelligence of their deſign, marched with 700 foot and 300 horſe from Belturbat, intending to ſurprize them; but he was himſelf ſurprized to find 9000 men, in a poſture to receive him. He was advanced too far to retreat, therefore, after having made a ſhort ſpeech to his men, to incourage them, they fell upon the enemy with great intrepedity, and had the good fortune to rout them, to their conſiderable loſs. They purſued them as far as Cavan, which they ſet on fire, and in their return, took the caſtle of Killiſhandry; with a great booty of cattle. In the mean time, ſir John Lanier, with 1000 horſe, foot and dragoons, made an attempt on Dundalk, and took Bedloe-caſtle, with about 1500 cows and oxen. But King James, ſoon after, ſuſtained a more ſenſible loſs, I mean that of the caſtle of Charlemont, which was obliged to capitulate the 13th of May (1); and ſurrendered the 14th. The ſame day, colonel Woolſey, who had been re-inforced by a party of Danes, took the ſtrong caſtle of Balingargy near Cavan; upon which the Iriſh quited and burnt ſeveral caſtles, on that ſide; and prepared to abandon Dundalk, Ardee-caſtle Blaney, and Carrickmarch-croſs. Thus ſtood affairs in Ireland, at the time of the King's departure from England.

State of that kingdom before King William's arrival.

The Iriſh routed at Belturbat.

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His Majeſty departed from London the 4th of June, and dined that day at Tring in Hertfordſhire, the ſeat of Henry Guy, eſq; (2). He lay that night at Northampton, the next at Litchfield, the third at Whitchurch, and the fourth at colonel Whitley's between Cheſter and Highlake. The next day, the King went to Gayton, the houſe of mr. Gleg, where ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and the reſt of the ſea commanders met him. The 11th his Majeſty imbarked at Highlake, and ſet ſail, about noon, with a fair wind (3); and arrived in the bay of Carrickfergus, the 14th early. He landed immediately, and went the ſame evening, in duke Schomberg's coach, to Belfaſt, where he was met by his grace, with the Prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other general officers. His Majeſty, who upon a certain occaſion, was heard to ſay; "he was "not to come to Ireland to let graſs grow under his feet;" ordered the whole army, (4) to march immediately into the field. Two or three days after, the army marched to Liſburn, where the general kept his quarters; from thence to Hillſborough, where he publiſhed an order, ſtrictly forbiding any violence being commited on the country people. From thence his Majeſty ordered the whole army to march, and to incamp at Loughbritland, where he arrived himſelf the 22d. Here he took a particular view of the army, and finding it to be in good heart and condition, he marched to Newry, and from thence, the 27th, to Dundalk (5).

King William goes to Ireland.

His proceedings there.

The battle of the Boyne.

The 30th, the King being informed, that the enemy had repaſs'd the Boyne (6), His Majeſty order'd his whole army to move, by break of day, in three lines, towards that river, which was about three miles diſtant from them. While his Majeſty was viewing the enemy's army, he received a wound by a cannon-ball on the right ſhoulder (7); (the Iriſh having placed two field pieces, oppoſite to where they had diſcover'd the King, for that purpoſe) but this did not hinder him from conti-

(1) This place, which had been blocked up, for ſome time, by the French regiments of la Caillemote and Cambon, was reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. King James, being informed of their condition, ſent a ſtrong detachment, under Mackmahon, with proviſions to relieve it: Upon which duke Schomberg, who had intelligence of the deſign, gave the blockade orders to let Machmahon paſs, with his convoy, after a ſlender reſiſtance, but not to ſuffer any to return from the caſtle. By this means the garriſon ſuffered by the relief intended them: for being obliged to feed their new gueſts, they were ſoon more ſtreightned than before.

(2) His Majeſty was accompanied by his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Mancheſter, the honorable Mr. Boyle, and many other perſons of diſtinction.

(3) The fleet conſiſted of ſix men of war, ſix yachts, and as many tranſport veſſels, as made together about three hundred ſail, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 633.

(4) The army then conſiſted of 36000 men, Engliſh, Dutch, French-refugees, Danes and Germans.

(5) The country pleas'd his Majeſty ſo well, as he rode along, that he was heard to ſay, it was worth fighting for.

(6) The late King James was no ſooner informed of King William's landing, but he begun to move likewiſe, and on the 16th of June ſet out from Dublin, with about 6000 French-foot, old ſoldiers, lately arived from France, leaving that city to the care of 6000 country-militia, under the command of colonel Lutterel. Having joined the reſt of his forces, which were now almoſt equal in number with thoſe of King William, beſide 15000 which remained in gariſons, he reſolved to repaſs the Boyne, and to weary out the Engliſh by marches and countermarches, along that river, thinking it impoſſible for them to paſs it, while he had ſuch an army on the oppoſite banks. However, as he knew, there was nothing but what King William was capable of attempting, he miſtruſted the event, and gave orders for ſhips to be prepared at Waterford, that in caſe he was worſted, he might ſecure his retreat into France.

(7) The ball firſt graz'd on the bank of the River, and in its riſing ſlant upon the King's right ſhoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and tore the skin and fleſh. This accident ſtruck all who were about the King with an inexpreſſible conſternation, while his Majeſty remained calm and unmoved. The enemy ſeing ſome diſorder among thoſe who were about the King, immediately concluded he was kill'd, which falſe report flew preſently to Dublin, and from thence to Paris, where the unthinking vulgar expreſs'd their ungenerous ſatisfaction by bonfires and illuminations: But count Buſſy de Rabutin, as famous for his pen as his ſword, expreſs'd himſelf in a more polite manner on this occaſion. He was at that time in Holland, whither he had

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continuing to perform every part of a brave commander. He remained on horſe-back till four in the afterooon, tho' he had been up from one in the morning. He then dined in the field, and mounted again in the evening: at twelve at night, he rode thro' the whole army, and then retired to his tent, in eager expectation of the glorious approaching day, which was to decide his and King James's deſtiny: it having been reſolv'd in a council of war, held that evening at nine, to try the event of a battle.

The next day, the army paſs'd the Boyne, and our brave and glorious Monarch fought the memorable battle call'd by that name, where he gave inimitable proofs of his courage and conduct, at the great hazard of his royal perſon, having part of his boot ſhot away by a cannon-ball, and obtain'd a compleat victory, which determined King James's fate, and oblig'd him to return to France. But to give ſome particulars of this memorable battle:

Battle of the Boyne.

The two armies being thus in ſight of each other, continued cannonading till the cloſe of the evening, and then ceas'd. King William had given orders, that every ſoldier ſhould have a good ſtock of ammunition deliver'd him, and be ready to march by break of day, each with a green bough or ſprig in his hat, to diſtinguiſh them from the enemy, who wore pieces of white paper. (1)

The expected day being come, about ſix in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas march'd towards the right with ſome foot, as did count Schomberg (the general's ſon) with the horſe, which being obſerv'd by the enemy, they drew out their army towards the left to oppoſe them. King William's right wing was order'd to paſs, ſome regiments at Slane, and others at different fords, between that place and the camp. A regiment of the enemy's dragoons made a ſhew of oppoſing the paſſage of the horſe, but being ſoon oblig'd to retire with loſs, the Engliſh got over, and advanc'd towards their main body, which they ſaw drawn up in two lines. Douglas's detachment conſiſted but of ſix battalions of foot, and twenty four ſquadrons of horſe; he therefore ſent for a re-inforcement of the former, and, in the mean time, drew up his troops in two lines, horſe and foot intermix'd, for their better ſecurity. More foot being come up, he drew all the horſe to the right, whilſt the foot mov'd towards a bog on the left, which lay between them and the enemy, and which it would have been impoſſible for the horſe to paſs. The Iriſh obſerving their motion, retreated in ſome confuſion towards Duleck, and were vigorouſly purſued by count Schomberg, with the horſe,

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King William, in the mean time, ſuppoſing this detachment to be got over the river, tho' he had no certain account what had paſs'd, order'd three attacks to be made. The firſt was at a good ford, before a ſmall village, where the Iriſh were advantageouſly placed. The Dutch foot-guards took the river firſt at old bridge, wading to the middle, and being got over, without halting, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire, drew up into two files, and then fir'd upon the Iriſh, who immediately abandon'd their intrenchments: but before the third battalion of that regiment had paſs'd the ford, five battalions of the enemy advanced within piſtol-ſhot of the Dutch, who received them ſo warmly, that they retreated with the loſs of colors, and ſome men: upon which the Dutch march'd beyond the village, and repuls'd a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe: ſir John Hanmore's and count Naſſau's regiments being, at the ſame time, paſſing the river, were oppos'd by lieutenant-general Hamilton's horſe; who, tho' they did not ſucceed in that attempt, part of them obtain'd ſome advantage over La Caillemote's and Cambon's regiments: but the Iriſh wheeling about thro' the village, to recover their own men, were intercepted by the Dutch and Iniſkillin foot, and moſt of them, after a valiant reſiſtance, cut in pieces.

The Dutch guards being, by this time, advanced as far as the hedges, into the open field, the Iriſh came down upon them again, in greater numbers, and with redoubled fury: but the Dutch withſtood them, with ſo much firmneſs, till other regiments came to their aſſiſtance, that the Iriſh were oblig'd to retreat; and tho' a freſh ſquadron of horſe advanced to ſupport them, they were vigorouſly repuls'd by the French Proteſtants, and the Iniſkillin men (2).

The Danes, in the mean time, came up to the left, as did the brigades of Hanmore and La Melloniere on the right. The firſt were ſo valiantly attack'd, in the front, by Hamilton's horſe,

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had been oblig'd to retire, on account of ſome ſatyrical pieces he had written on the gallantries of the French court. In a letter from thence, to the abbot de Choiſy, dated Auguſt, 17, 1690, he expreſſes himſelf in the follow manner: "The "Gazets aſſure us, that the Prince of Orange is not dead; if ſo, that Prince is at the height of glory, in having gain'd a "battle, in having been wounded, and in having known, by the extraordinary joys, at the report of his death, how much "his enemies fear'd him."

In anſwer to this, the abbot ſent him the following lines:

Qu'il ſoit mort, on qu'il ſoit en vie,
Il eſt toujours digne d'envie;
S'il eſt mort, il eſt glorieux,
S'il eſt vivant, il eſt heureux.

Engliſhed thus;

Be either life or death his fate,
Our envy will his worth expreſs:
If dead, his glory's now compleat,
If living, crown'd with happineſs.

(1) The importance of this battle was equally great, whether we conſider the quality of the leaders, or the ſubject of their quarrel. We behold here two Monarchs, nearly allied in blood, and nearer yet by marriage, going to contend for no leſs a prize than the Imperial crown of Great Britain, on the ſucceſs of whoſe arms, the fate of their reſpective allies, and in them of all Europe, ſeem'd in a great meaſure to depend: If we caſt an eye upon the two armies, we ſee them both animated by the preſenſe of their ſovereign, and both fighting for their religion; and thus far the advantages ſeem to be equal; but they will be no longer ſo if we look farther, either into the motives, or the circumſtances on both ſides. The Engliſh, beſide their religion, had their laws and liberties to contend for; whereas their adverſaries had nothing to hope for, by a victory, but to remain the ſame abject ſlaves they were before. The Iriſh had ſome advantage in the ſituation of their army; but the Engliſh were ſupported by Dutch and Daniſh veteran troops, ſtrangers to fear, familiar with victory, and fluſh'd with plenty; whereas, ſeting aſide the French auxiliaries I have mention'd above, King James's army conſiſted chiefly of an undiſciplined mob, diſheartened by ſeveral defeats, and depreſs'd by want. The difference between the chief officers on both ſides was much the ſame; ſo that notwithſtanding the advantage of ſituation was againſt him, and the number of troops pretty equal, King William was certainly in the right to attempt the paſſage of the Boyne.

(2) At the firſt of theſe Onſets, the brave monſieur La Caillemote, a conſtant companion of duke Schomberg's, in all his fortunes, receiv'd his death's wound; who when he was carrying off, by four ſoldiers, to the Engliſh camp, with his laſt breath, incourag'd thoſe who were croſſing the river, with theſe words, "à la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire; (to glory, my dear children, "to glory.)

that

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that they gave ground, and were oblig'd to croſs the river. Duke Schomberg, perceiving this diſorder, and ſeing the French Proteſtants were likewiſe left expoſed, without a commander, immediately paſs'd the river, in order to head them, nor would he be perſuaded to put on his armor, tho' mr. Foubert, one of his aids de camp, very much urged him to it. He was no ſooner on the other ſide, than he incourag'd the French Proteſtants, by this ſhort harangue: "Allons, meſſieurs, "voila vos perſecuteurs; (come on, gentlemen, ſee "there are your perſecutors,") pointing to the French Papiſts, in the enemy's army. Theſe words were hardly out of his mouth, when fifteen or ſixteen of King James's guards, who were returning full ſpeed to their main body, after the ſlaughter of their companions, and whom the French refugees had ſuffer'd to paſs, thinking them to be of their ſide, fell furiouſly on the duke, and gave him two wounds on the head, which however were not mortal.

Duke Schomberg kill'd.

This error was committed by the regiment of Cambon, and to amend it, they were guilty of a much greater; for firing raſhly on the enemy, they unfortunately ſhot the duke thro' the neck, of which wound he died immediately (1); and mr. Foubert, who alighted to relieve him, was ſhot in the arm.

And dr. Walker.

Not long before, the gallant dr. Walker, who had ſo bravely defended Londonderry, being near the King, received a wound in the belly, of which he died, quickly after, at Drogheda, whither he was carried.

During all theſe actions, King William might very well be ſaid to be every where, ſince every thing was carried on under his direction; but at length, his courage too had a ſhare in the honor of the day. His Majeſty, with the Prince of Denmark, croſſed the river, with the left wing of the horſe, not without ſome difficulty. As ſoon as the men had reached the other bank, and were put in order, the King drew his ſword, and marched at the head of them towards the enemy, who were coming on again in good order towards the Engliſh foot, which had now got over the paſs, and were advancing bravely towards the Iriſh, tho' twice their number. When theſe two bodies were got almoſt within muſket-ſhot of one another, the enemy ſaw the left wing of the Engliſh horſe marching towards them, upon which they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retreated up the hill again to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs. There the Engliſh came up with them in very good order, when reſuming courage, they faced about, and made the Engliſh horſe give way in their turn, tho' the King was at their head. His Majeſty thereupon rode up to the Inniſkilliners, and aſked them what they would do for him? Excited by this invitation, they came boldly forwards, and at the head of them, the King received the enemy's fire, and then wheeling to the left, to fetch up his own men again, the Inniſkilliners, thro' a miſtake, retired after him above a hundred yards. This made the King move to the left, to put himſelf at the head of ſuch Dutch troops as were advancing; while the Inniſkilliners, ſeeing their error, went on again ſucceſsfully to the charge.

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In this place, duke Schomberg's regiment of horſe, being all French Proteſtants, and ſtrengthned by treble the uſual number of officers, behaved with undaunted reſolution. At the ſame time, another party commanded by lieutenant-general Ginckel, charged in a lane to the left, but was ſoon over-powered by the Iriſh, and forced to give way. This being obſerved by a party of ſir Albert Cunningham's dragoons, and another of colonel Leviſon's, the officers ordered the men to alight and line a hedge, and a ruined houſe, which flanked the lane, from whence they poured in their fire upon the enemy. General Ginckel continued in the rear of his men, indeavoring to make them ſtand their ground, not without being in danger from the Engliſh dragoons; for the enemy being cloſe upon him they could not well diſtinguiſh. The dragoons did however a very ſingular piece of ſervice by ſtoping the enemy, who came up very boldly, and the Dutch horſe having an opportunity to rally here, as they did likewiſe to the right, after half an hours ſharp diſpute, the enemy were beat back again, with a conſiderable loſs.

Lieut. Gen. Hamilton

On the other hand, lieutenant-general Hamilton finding that his foot did not anſwer his expectation, put himſelf at the head of the horſe, which was likewiſe routed, and himſelf taken priſoner (2). While theſe things were doing on this ſide, count Schomberg, who was informed of his father's death, purſued the enemy, with that fury, which a noble and juſt reſentment inſpires, and drove them ſeveral miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground, wherever he came, with ſlaughtered foes. Nor did he deſiſt, till the lord Portland, by his Majeſty's command, obliged him to return to a place where the foot halted, and remained on their arms all night.

K. William obtains the victory.

The battle was now at an end, and the victory obtained by King William's army: for no ſooner was general Hamilton taken, than the fight ceaſed on that ſide: and the count de Lauzun, making up to King James (who ſtood with ſome ſquadrons of horſe, upon the hill called Dunmore, during the whole action) told him how near he was being hemmed in by his enemies, adding, that he had nothing left to think off but a retreat, which he doubted not but to make good, with the many brave officers he had then about him, and the remains of his French and Swiſs troops. This advice was too wholeſome not to be followed: King James, therefore, being attended by the regiment of Sarsfied, marched off to Duleck, and from thence in great haſte, to Dublin, while the count de Lauzun, Sheldon, and ſome other officers made a tolerable good retreat. The Engliſh horſe purſued the fugi-

(1) Thus died the renown'd duke of Schomberg, one of the beſt generals France ever bred, a marſhal of that kingdom, and a grandee of Portugal, tho' by birth a Palatine. He was an officer of a firm and compos'd courage; had a great experience of the world, and as great a knowledge of men and things as ever man of his profeſſion had; he was equally great in council, or at the head of an army; and his judgment remain'd ſound to the laſt. To the laurels he gather'd in Catalonia and Flanders, he added the glory of having fixed the King of Portugal on his throne, and of having been inſtrumental to the ſettlement of King William. Never general ſerved under ſo many Kings, nor attained to the higheſt honors, in ſo many different places. He was upright, courteous, and affable to every body, and withal had an air of grandeur that commanded reſpect from all. He was of a middle ſtature, fair complexion, a hearty man of his age (which was 82 when he was killed) and ſat a horſe incomparably. He carried an air of youth and gaiety, as well in his addreſs as in his converſation, of which latter, the repartee I am going to mention is a pregnant inſtance: Being walking in St. James's park, ſome time before he went for Ireland, amidſt crouds of the young and gay, he was aſked, What a man of his age had to do with ſuch company? to which he anſwered; "A good general makes "his retreat as late as he can." He was not long ſurvived by his friend and companion, la Caillemote, who died of his wounds ſoon after.

(2) When Hamilton was brought to the King, his Majeſty aſked him; "whether the Iriſh would fight any more? Yes, "ſir "replied he, upon my honor I believe they will?" when he mentioned the word honor, the King looked ſtedfaſtly at him, and then turned about, repeating the words, "your honor", once or twice, intimating, that there was not much dependence on what he aſſured upon his honor, ſince he had forfeited that before, by his taking part with Tyrconnel, contrary to his promiſed allegiance to King William; and this was all the reproof his Majeſty gave him for his breach of truſt.

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tives, and fired upon them from five ſmall field-pieces. The dragoons, ſupported by the horſe, attacked their rear. The foot purſued them four miles to Duleck, and the horſe four miles farther: but as the Iriſh are light of foot, and they moſtly leving their arms behind them, the ſlaughter was not great. King James's loſs in this battle is generally computed at 1500 men, among whom were the lords Dongan, and Carlingford, ſir Neal ONeal, the marquis d'Hocquincourt, and ſeveral priſoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton. The loſs, on King William's ſide, was reckoned not to be above 500, a very inconſiderable number for a victory of this importance, and hardly worth naming had not the brave duke Schomberg been of the number (1).

Loſs on both ſides.

As for the King himſelf, he received no manner of hurt in the action, tho' he was in the heart of it, and expoſed to as much or more danger than any one perſon of the army, doing all that the greateſt general could do on this occaſion (2).

King James leaves Ireland.

King James, being arrived at Dublin, aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, to whom he made a ſpeech, in which he complained, "that his "Engliſh army had deſerted him traiterouſly, and "his Iriſh army had baſely fled the field; ſo that "henceforward he never more determined to head "an Iriſh army, but did now reſolve to ſhift for "himſelf, as they muſt likewiſe do. That it had, "indeed, been often debated, whether upon de-"ſerting the city of Dublin, it might not be ſet "fire to: but that he charged them upon their "allegiance, that they neither ſhould rifle it by "plunder, nor deſtroy it by fire, &c." He ſtaid at Dublin but one night, and the next morning, being attended by the dukes of Berwick and Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis, he poſted away for Waterford, where he arrived the ſame day. He there went on board a veſſel called the count de Lauzun, which lay ready to receive him, but meeting with a French ſquadron, commanded by the ſieur de Foran, at ſea, for greater expedition, he went on board a frigat, and by that means got once more into France. where, he fixed his abode at St. Germains. King James, was no ſooner gone, than all Roman Catholicks of note fled from Dublin, and the Proteſtants who were confined, being releaſed, poſſeſſed themſelves of the militia-arms. With the aſſiſtance of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, they formed a committee to take care of affairs, and acquainted King William with what had paſſed, humbly praying his Majeſty to honor that city with his preſenſe (3).

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I ſhall now leave his Majeſty for a while in Ireland, and return to England, where we ſhall find the Queen ſuſtaining the weight of affairs, and having a greater burden to labor under, than the King expected ſhe would have had: for tho' he was not unacquainted with the deſigns of his enemies in England, in concert with thoſe in France, yet he had reaſon to hope there would be a ſufficient ſtrength at ſea to prevent the execution of them. As ſoon as her Majeſty had news that the King was landed in Ireland, ſhe began to exerciſe the power veſted in her by parliament, and iſſued two proclamations; "one commanding all Papiſts, "and reputed Papiſts, forthwith to depart the cities "of London and Weſtminſter: the other for "confining them within five miles of their reſpective "dwellings." In the mean time, King James's adherents, who began now to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Jacobites, laying hold of the opportunity of the King's abſenſe, to do ſomething in favor of the abdicated Monarch, had concerted timely meaſures with France to put their deſigns in execution. Their projects (4) ſeem to have been founded upon a preſumption, of the Engliſh fleet being firſt beaten by the French; of which, whether they had any foreſight, otherwiſe than from the inequality of ſtrength, which, at this time, was conſiderably to the advantage of France (5), we are yet in the dark. However it was, the con-

Affairs of England.

Deſigns of the Jacobites.

(1) The deſcription which father Orleans gives of this battle is ſhamefully partial. He makes King William's army to conſiſt of 45000 men, which is 9000 more than he had, and makes King James army 15,000 leſs than it was, by pretending it conſiſted but of 20,000 men, many of them half armed, and without artillery, excepting twelve field-pieces which were carried out of France, whereas King William, he ſays, had ſixty pieces of heavy cannon, which is equally falſe, and concludes, that their retreat was in good order, and very honorable, becauſe of the enemy's confuſion. (Very probable indeed, that victory, ſhould throw a ſuperior army into confuſion!) Echard's tranſlation of P. d' Orleans, p. 326. 327.

(2) The King, in this battle, choſe the field, diſpoſed the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy ſeveral times, ſupported his forces when they began to ſhrink, and in ſhort behaved himſelf the whole day with that conduct, gallantry, reſolution, and preſenſe of mind, and was ſuch a poize for the inclining victory to his own ſide, that the Iriſh themſelves confeſſed, That if the Engliſh changed Kings with them, they would fight the battle over again. Kennet.

Both Kings, however, have been equally blamed for not improving, one the advantage of his victory, and the other that of his retreat. Thoſe who have writ in favor of King James ſay, King William might have marched directly to Dublin, a place open and unfortified on every ſide; this might have prevented the Iriſh aſſembling any more, and ſecured Limerick, Galway, and ſeveral other important places; which protracted the war after King James had left the kingdom. On the contrary, thoſe who have written on King William's ſide blame as well King James, for leaving Ireland, with ſo much precipitation, as thoſe he left behind for not having carefully collected the remains of a defeat, that had coſt them but few men. Echard's tranſlation of P. d' Orleans, p. 327 and 328.

To the former of theſe charges, Oldmixon anſwers, in defenſe of King William, that beſide his certain information of an attempt intended from the French fleet, he had the war in Flanders at heart, and wanted to be in England, to have it nearer at hand, his Majeſty not doubting, but the buſineſs in Ireland, after King James's rout at the Boyne, might be as well done by his generals, as by himſelf in perſon. p. 45.

(3) How great the deliverance of the Proteſtants of Dublin was, by the victory at the Boyne, we cannot better conceive, than by remembring, that on the 18th of June, being four days after King William landed in Ireland, colonel Lutterel, governor of Dublin, iſſued out his order, "commanding all Proteſtants who were not houſe-keepers, to deliver up their arms, both "offenſive and defenſive, and likewiſe forbiding above five Proteſtants to meet any where, upon pain of death, or ſuch other "puniſhment as a court martial ſhould think fit." The governor being aſked, whether this was deſign'd to hinder meeting in churches? he anſwer'd, This was intended to prevent their aſſembling there, as well as in other places, and accordingly all the Proteſtant churches were ſhut up, throughout the whole kingdom. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 76.

(4) It was agreed, that while part of the French fleet ſhould bear up the Thames to countenance the Jacobites in London, they ſhould make an inſurrection in ſeveral places at once. Certain perſons were to have taken upon them the adminiſtration of affairs, till the return of King James, who was to leave the command of his army in Ireland to his generals, and to haſten with all ſpeed into England. The other part of the French fleet, having joined their gallies, was to have landed 8000 men, at Torbay, with arms for a greater number, after which the gallies, and men of war, were to cruize in the Iriſh ſea, to hinder the return of King William and his forces: And the diſcontented Scots were to have revolted, at the ſame time, in ſeveral parts of that kingdom. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 192.

(5) The Engliſh fleet was, this year, far inferior to the French, both in number of ſhips and forces. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 634.——This monſ. de Forbin, who was himſelf in the action, of which I ſhall preſently give an account, frankly allows, and aſſerts, that the number of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips was but 58 of the line of battle, whereas, according to him, the French were 80. Memoires de Forbin: And with this, monſ. de Larrey (in his hiſtoire de France, ſous Louis XIV.) perfectly agrees. The marquis de Quincy, who (in his hiſtoire, mil de Louis XIV.) mentions every ſhip, and commander, by, name, makes them to be 78 men of war, from 100 to 40 guns, and 22 fire-ſhips, carrying together 4702 guns: and the ſame author allows the Engliſh and Dutch had but 57 men of war, great and ſmall, with about 30 ſmall veſſels, frigats and fireſhips.

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ſpiracy being timely diſcovered, it prov'd abortive; tho' the grounds, upon which, as I have obſerved above, it ſeem'd to depend, were attended with ſucceſs, as I ſhall preſently ſhew. In the mean time, a report having been induſtriouſly ſpread, that a good number of the officers and ſeamen in the fleet, were diſaffected to the government, while they yet lay in the Downs, they thought the pereſt teſt they could give of their loyalty, would be an humble addreſs to their Majeſties, acknowledging their juſt and lawful title to the crown, and promiſing, with their lives, to defend them, againſt the late King James, his adherents, and all their enemies (1).

Addreſs of the officers of the fleet.

The French fleet comes into the channel.

The French fleet enter'd the channel, according to agreement, and hovered ſometime about the Engliſh coaſt, waiting the event of the conſpiracy, which was to have broken out the 18th of June. Queen Mary, who was ever vigilant for the ſafety of the kingdom, no ſooner got intelligence of it, than ſhe ſent orders to admiral Torrington to fight the enemy, wherever he ſhould meet them. The admiral, who, at that time, was, with the fleet, at St. Hellen's, was very much ſurpriz'd to hear the fleet was entered into our channel. For ſo little did he expect them, to be in ſuch a forwardneſs, that there were not, at that time, any ſcouts out weſtward, to obſerve, and bring an account of their motions (2). Upon this advice therefore, he got together what ſhips were within reach, both Engliſh and Dutch, and ſet ſail with them the 24th of June to meet the enemy's fleet, which had been diſcover'd, the day before, off of Freſh-water gate, on the back of the iſle of Wight: But the wind taking him ſhort, he came to an anchor, near Dungeneſs, within five leagues of the enemy. The next day, and the two following, his fleet being re-inforc'd by ſeveral, not only Engliſh but Dutch ſhips, under the command of admiral Evertzen,, and another flag-officer, and the two fleets being now pretty near, they remained in that poſture, looking at one another, till the 30th. In the mean time, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy (3), the admiral received poſitive orders (4) from court to give them battle: upon which, that morning, as ſoon as day-light appear'd, the ſignal was diſplay'd for the ſhips to draw into a line; and this being done, the whole fleet bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind, with their heads northward, off of Beachy.

Sea-fight off of Beachy.

About eight in the morning, another ſignal was given, which was for the battle, and then the French, bracing the head-ſails to the maſt, lay by. About an hour after this, the Dutch ſquadron, which led the van, under admiral Evertzen, begun the ingagement, with part of the van of the French, and half an hour after that, our blue ſquadron incounter'd their rear. The greateſt part of our red ſquadron, which was in the center, could not come up to the fight 'till it was near ten: and as they were at a conſiderable diſtance from the enemy, ſo was there a great opening between them and the Dutch (5).

It was remarkable, that as the Engliſh ſhips bore down upon the French, they laſked away; but that might probably be only to cloſe their line. After this, ſeveral of their ſhips towed round with their boats, till they were got out of ſhot, which gave the Engliſh reaſon to hope the advantage would have been on their ſide; but it was not long before they perceiv'd the Dutch had ſuffered very much, chiefly by their being (for want of a neceſſary precaution) weathered and ſurrounded by thoſe French ſhips, which they left a-head of them; when they began to ingage. The Engliſh admiral was no ſooner apprized of their condition, than he ſent them orders to come to an anchor, where they lay, at ſome diſtance from the French, without any ſail, and ranged in order of battle; (the only expedient, ſays monſ. Forbin, which could bring them off.) With his own ſhip, and ſeveral others, he drove between them and the enemy, and anchored about five in the afternoon, it being then calm, and the French fleet driving away with the tide. However, judging it not ſafe to renew the fight, at ſo great a diſadvantage, he weighed anchor, at nine in the evening, and retreated to the eaſtward, taking advantage of the flood-tide.

The confederate fleet retreats.

The firſt of July, in the afternoon, the admiral thought it neceſſary to call a council of war, in which it was reſolved: "To indeavor to preſerve "the fleet, by retreating, and rather to deſtroy "the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſs'd by "the enemy, than to hazard another ingagement, "by protecting them" (6). The French purſued

(1) The addreſs of the fleet to their Majeſties was as follows:

"We, the flag-officers, captains, and other officers of your Majeſty's navy, being now ready to enter upon action, "for the ſervice of your Majeſties, and the defenſe of our country, do moſt humbly beg leave to declare to God, your Ma- "jeſties, and the whole World, that we do acknowledge your Majeſties to be the undoubted rightful King and Queen of Eng- "land, and all the dominions thereto belonging: and we do hereby ſolemnly renounce all allegiance and obedience to the late "King James; and do faithfully promiſe, that we will, with our lives, defend and aſſiſt your Majeſties, againſt the late King "James, his adherents, and all your enemies whatſoever.

(2) The earl of Torrington, who had the chief command of the fleet, was a man of pleaſure, and did not make the haſte that was neceſſary, to join it; nor did the Dutch fleet come over ſo ſoon as was promiſed; ſo our main fleet lay long at Spithead. The French underſtood that our fleets lay thus divided, and ſaw the advantage of geting between them: ſo they came into the channel, with ſo fair a wind, that they were near the iſle of Wight, before our fleet had any advice of their being within the channel. The earl of Torrington had no advice-boat out to bring him news; and tho' notice thereof was ſent poſt over land, as ſoon as the French came within the channel, yet their fleet ſailed as faſt as the poſt could ride; but then the wind turned upon them; otherwiſe they would, in all probability, have ſurprized us. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. There was a probability, that this would have been the caſe, if, as Oldmixon tells us, we had not then 20 ſhips together. It would have been very eaſy for them, to have deſtroy'd our diſpers'd ſquadrons one after another, and that done, it would have been as eaſy to have executed the reſt of their ſcheme.

(3) This ſuperiority was, according to the leaſt computation I have ſeen, upwards of ſeventy againſt fifty. But Kennet ſays the French fleet conſiſted of 82 ſail, and that their ſhips were generally larger than ours.

(4) If we may believe biſhop Burnet, theſe orders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was left to a council of war. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I.

(5) In this manner, thoſe who would ſpeak favorably of the admiral's conduct, relate the matter: but Kennet, and the author of the hiſtory of King William, who ſpeak plainer, ſay; "The Dutch began the fight, as did alſo ſome of the Engliſh, "but not being ſeconded by the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, which unexpectedly ſtood away, ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips (after "they had fought moſt gallantly) were either burnt, ſunk or diſabled, and the Engliſh that ingaged were very much ſhattered.

Be this as it will, we ſee the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips began the attack, notwithſtanding their inferiority, and this monſ. de Forbin himſelf allows, in his memoirs: but F. Daniel and the marquis de Quincy, go yet farther, and to the honor of the Engliſh and Dutch, ſays, the French had the advantage both of wind and tide.

(6) On this occaſion, the French were guilty of too very great overſights; firſt, in neglecting to come to an anchor, when the Engliſh did, to prevent their driving at two great a diſtance, and thereby to improve the advantage they had obtain'd; and ſecondly by purſuing in a line of battle, whereas, if they had left every ſhip at their liberty to have done their utmoſt, they would undoubtedly have obtain'd a far greater advantage, eſpecially over thoſe ſhips, which were damaged in fight. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 636.

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the condederate fleet as far as Rye-bay, but with no great ſucceſs, and an Engliſh ſhip call'd the Ann, of 70 guns, commanded by captain Tyrrel, was run a ſhore near Winchelſea, after having loſt all her maſts. Two French ſhips attempted to burn her there; but the captain ſaved them the trouble, by precipitately ſeting fire to her himſelf (1).

The Engliſh and Dutch fleet being thus retreated, the greateſt part of the French ſtood in and out, off of Bourne and Pemſey, in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips lay at anchor, near the ſhoar. Two of their men of war and a fire-ſhip, commanded by meſſieurs de Ribaret and de Forbin, attempted to deſtroy a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which, at low water, lay dry in Pemſey-bay; but in vain; after a brave defenſe ſhe got off, and in ſafety to Holland. Three other Dutch ſhips were burnt, by the French, on that coaſt; ſo that, with three they had before deſtroy'd in the action, the States loſt ſix ſhips of the line of battle (2). The eighth of July, the French fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but the 27th they were ſeen off the Berry-head, to the eaſtward of Dartmouth, and they continued on our coaſts, to the number of ſixty or ſeventy ſhips, 'till the fifth of Auguſt, when they ſtood weſtward, and were ſeen no more in the channel this ſeaſon (3).

The Engliſh ſhips return to the Thames.

The Engliſh fleet, in the mean time, retreated towards the Thames, where the admiral, going on ſhoar, left the command to ſir John Aſhby, with neceſſary orders how to behave himſelf, and to diſpoſe of his ſhips, in caſe the French ſhould attempt to come up the river; but upon their going over to their own coaſts theſe apprehenſions ceas'd, as we ſhall ſee below; and the main care was now how to put the fleet into a condition to put to ſea again. Various were the opinions of people concerning the earl's conduct, ſome excuſing and others condemning him: but the Dutch ſhewed a great uneaſineſs on account of the loſs they had ſuſtain'd: upon which the Queen, willing to give ſatisfaction to every one, ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to Sheerneſs, to examine into all the circumſtances of the matter upon oath. The earl of Torrington, after having been confin'd ſome months in the Tower, was at length, on the 10th of December, brought to a trial, before a court-martial at Sheerneſs (ſir Ralph Delaval, who acted as vice-admiral of the blue, in this ingagement, being preſident) where, pleading the inequality of force, and the diſadvantage of the wind, he was unanimouſly acquitted (4).

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Apprehenſions of an invation.

No ſooner had the news of this misfortune at ſea reach'd London, than it cauſed a general conſternation, which quickly ſpread itſelf throughout the whole kingdom, and nothing leſs than an invaſion was apprehended. The Queen did all that a wiſe Princeſs could do, as well to remove theſe fears as the object of them. She cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued for apprehending ſeveral perſons who were known to be diſaffected. The army and the militia were put in condition to oppoſe the enemy, and all proper incouragement was given to ſea men, as well as to the officers who were to command them. The city of London gave, upon this occaſion, evident marks of their loyalty, not only by keeping their militia compleat, well arm'd and appointed, but by reſolving to raiſe ſix regiments of auxiliaries

The Queen's prudent conduct.

(1) Monſ. de Forbin, (in his memoirs) ſays two of the Engliſh ſhips run a-ground on their own coaſt, and were obliged to burn one another. He, likewiſe ſays, that the Engliſh loſt another ſhip, which having no anchors drove upon the French ſhips and was taken.

F. Daniel is not ſo modeſt, but, being reſolved to crown his countrymen with victory, at the expenſe of truth, ſays, ſeven, teen of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which were unmaſted, run aſhore upon the coaſt, and were burnt, to which he adds, "this was one of the ſea-fights, which left no room to doubt of the victory:" and monſ. de Larrey ſays much the ſame with regard to the certainty of the victory. But the marquis de Quincy, tho' he gives the French the victory, allows the Engliſh had but three ſhips diſabled: and, in ſeveral parts of his relation gives broad hints of the Engliſh admiral's cowardice, in not daring to incounter with his maſter's ſhips, which (ſays he) was the occaſion they ſuffer'd ſo little.

A Dutch author of the hiſtory of King William, ſays, "in this action, the French gain'd the victory, the Dutch the ho- "nor, and the Engliſh the ſhame." So eaſily can the miſconduct (whether real or pretended) of one commanding officer bring a blemiſh on a whole nation. Biſhop Burnet thinks the two admirals equally deſerved blame: "If (ſays he) the French "had not loſt the night's tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have deſtroyed many of our ſhips: both the admirals "were almoſt equally blamed, ours for not fighting, and the French for not purſuing the victory."

(2) F. Daniel mentions one of the chief of the Dutch veſſels being taken by the marquis de Neſmond; but of this our hiſtorians are ſilent. De Larrey reckons eight ſhips burnt or ſunk.

Among other officers whom they loſt in this unequal battle, were rear-admiral Jan Dick, rear-admiral Brackel, admirals of the Maeſe and North-Holland, and captain Norde: on the Engliſh ſide were loſt captain Botham, captain Pomroy, with two captains of the marine regiments. Monſieur de Larrey, ſpeaking of the two former, ſays, whatever was the behavior of the lord Torrington, it could not depreſs the valor of ſome of the Engliſh commanders. Among theſe were the captains Botham and Pomroy, who ſeconding the bravery of the duke of Grafton, and, with him, breaking looſe from the main body of the fleet, commanded by the motionleſs admiral, went to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch.

(3) During all this time, tho' they had ſo conſiderable a fleet at ſea, and we none to oppoſe them, they attempted nothing of moment: they, indeed rowed their gallies to Torbay, and then ſent their boats aſhoar at Tinmouth, and ſet the village, with two or three ſmall defenſeleſs colliers or coaſters, in that harbor, on fire. But at the approach of the militia, commanded by the lord Lanſdowne, lord lieutenant of Devon and Cornwall, they retired into their ſhips again, carrying off ſome ſheep, with other inconſiderable booty, and then returned to Breſt. And thus were the great deſigns both of the French, and of the diſcontented party intirely baffled by the vigilance of the Queen. It appeared, in the mean time, very ſtrange, in the eyes of all Chriſtendom, that the French were maſters at ſea, and the Engliſh obliged to turn their backs to that very enemy whom they had ſo often, and almoſt always beaten, and upon that very element which nature, and the poſſeſſion of many ages, has made properly their own: But their reign was ſhort, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel; F. Daniel adds to his narrative of this action, That, to leave no doubt of the greatneſs of this victory, monſieur de Tourville, returning to ſea, ſent a detachment of ſhips and gallies, with about fifteen hundred men on board, under the command of the count de Eſtrees, to make a deſcent upon England, and to burn twelve ſhips in Timmouth-Bay. Theſe troops (continues he) being landed, forced an intrenchment defended by three pieces of cannon, plundered ſeveral houſes, and burnt the veſſels in the bay, four of which were men of war, and the reſt merchant-men richly laden. This done, the troops were re-imbark'd without the loſs of a man, and carried off three pieces of cannon, with other booty. By comparing theſe two accounts, the reader will find with what allowance the French hiſtorians are to be read. To make of three ſmall veſſels, four men of war, and eight richly laden merchant-men, is taking a pretty large ſcope of liberty. The long and pompous account we have of this inconſiderable action, by the marquis de Quincy, amounts to much the ſame as that of F. Daniel, tho' of the two he carries the matter to a more ridiculous length than his brother hiſtorian.

(4) A Dutch author of a life of King William ſays, however, that the court-martial was far from being unanimous in their opinions, ſome thinking him guilty of treachery, and others of cowardice, tho' they all, at length agreed to acquit him. He adds, that the King was extreamly diſſatisfied with this ſentenſe, and for that reaſon diſcarded ſome of the members of that court from his ſervice, together with 42 officers of the navy, who were ſuſpected to have been influenc'd by the earl. Biſhop Burnet goes ſo far as to charge the court-martial with ſo groſs a partiality, as reflected much on the juſtice of the nation. Be it as it will, the action was in general thought to be ſo inglorious, that the earl ſuffered extreamly in his reputation among the people, who accuſed him of being but a bare ſpectator. His greateſt ſuffering was however in the opinion of his royal maſter, if we may be allowed to judge by his ſeting him aſide, than which there could be no more evident mark of his diſpleaſure.

Notwithſtanding

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auxiliaries for the ſervice, and the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council unanimouſly ingaged, by their own voluntary contribution, and that of other citizens, forthwith to ſet out a large regiment of horſe, and 1000 dragoons, for the ſervice of their Majeſties, and to maintain them at their own charge for a month, or longer, if there ſhould be occaſion. This loyal and generous conduct of the city of London, contributed not a little to put an end to all farther apprehenſions, and ſtopt all attempts of the malecontents.

Her Majeſty's generoſity to

Theſe neceſſary precautions being taken, the Queen with her uſual vigilance, gave the neceſſary orders for the refiting of her fleet, with all poſſible expedition: nor was her care confined within her own dominions. She ſent mr. Harbord to the States-general, to let them know how much ſhe was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their ſquadron: that ſhe had given orders for refiting the Dutch ſhips that were diſabled, at her own charge, had commanded all poſſible care to be taken of the ſick and wounded, and rewards to be given to the widows of thoſe who were killed. Mr. Harbord told the States, that her Majeſty had ordered twelve great ſhips to be forthwith fited out, and that ſhe hoped they would likewiſe do their utmoſt, to re-inforce their fleet, in this conjuncture: and laſtly he acquainted them with the King's happy ſucceſs in Ireland. The States expreſſed a great ſatisfaction at the receit of this meſſage, and unanimouſly reſolv'd to fit out immediately thirteen capital ſhips, and ſix frigats, to which reſolution probably nothing was more conducive, than the Queen's generous offer on her ſide.

Continuation of the affairs of Ireland.

But to return to Ireland, where we left King William going to reap the fruits of his ſucceſs at the Boyne: the very next day he ſent brigadier general La Meloniere with five battalions of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe to inveſt Drogheda, in which there was a great magazine of ſtores. The governor at firſt received his ſummons with contempt; but upon the King's ſending him word, "that if "he oblig'd him to bring cannon before the place, "he muſt expect no quarter," he accepted the conditions offer'd him, and march'd out with the garriſon, conſiſting of ſomething more than three regiments, leaving their arms and ſtores behind their baggage only being allowed them.

Drogheda ſurrendered.

The third of July, the duke of Ormond and monſ. d' Auverquerque were detached with nine troops of horſe to ſecure Dublin; and the next day his Majeſty marched with the whole army, the ſame way, and incamped the fifth at Finglas, within two miles of that city (1).

King William enters Dublin.

The ſixth, being ſunday, his Majeſty made his public entry into Dublin, and going directly to St. Patrick's church, attended by the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, heard a ſermon preached by dr. King, late archbiſhop of that ſee. In the afternoon, he returned to the camp, where, the next day, he iſſued a proclamation, "in which he aſ- William & Mary. An' 1690.
"ſured all ſuch of the Iriſh as ſubmited, and either
"remained in their abode, or if already fled ſhould
"return to them by the firſt of Auguſt, of his
"protection, and threatning condign puniſhment,
"to all who perſiſted in their rebellion."

The 9th the King decamped from Finglas, and divided his army into two parts; with the greater he marched to Crumlin, three miles on the South of Dublin, and the other conſiſting of four regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and ten of foot, was ſent, under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, towards Athlone. The next day his Majeſty iſſued out a proclamation, "reducing the "braſs and other baſe mony to the ſtandard of the "like mony formerly current in Ireland". This done, his Majeſty, having left brigadier Trelawny, with five regiments of foot, and one of horſe, to command in Dublin, advanced in his way to Kilkenny, as far as Inchiquin, twenty-two miles beyond Dublin.

A fruitleſs attempt on Athlone.

The 17th lieutenant-general Douglas ſummoned Athlone; but the governor, colonel Grace, fired a piſtol at the drummer, and told him, "theſe were "the only terms he was for." Douglas, hereupon reſolved to attack the place in form, and had made ſome progreſs towards it, when he received advice, that Sarsfield, having gathered together a body of 15000 men, was marching to the relief of it, and his cavalry ſuffering very much for want of forrage, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to abandon the deſign, which he did the 25th, after having loſt near 400 men, chiefly by ſickneſs, before the town.

Kilkenny taken.

The King's army, continuing to march Weſtward, arrived the 11th of July, at Kill-bullen bridge, and thence continued his march to Commalin, Caſtledurmont and Carlow, from which latter his Majeſty detached the duke of Ormond, with a party of horſe, to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, where his grace entertained his Majeſty ſplendidly, on the 19th, in his own caſtle (2). The 21ſt the army marched to Carrick, from whence, major-general Kirk, with his own regiment, and that of colonel Brewer, as alſo a party of horſe, was ſent to Waterford, where two regiments who were in garriſon, ſurrendered on honorable terms, as did likewiſe the fort of Duncannon, which commands Waterford river. The 25th his Majeſty went to view the town, where he granted his particular protection to the lord Dover, who had before fought it by major-general Kirk, when the King was at Hilſborough, deſiring a paſs for himſelf and family, to go to Flanders. Here likewiſe the lord George Howard accepted of his Majeſty's mercy.

Waterford and Duncannon-caſtle ſurrender.

King William leaves the army;

The 27th the King left the camp at Carrick, and went for Dublin, in order to imbark for England:

Notwithſtanding all this (ſays Kennet) in the year 1697, ſeveral French officers, who had been in the ingagement, coming over into England, after the peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of partiality, openly juſtified and commended the earl's conduct, and ſaid: "he deſerved rather to be rewarded than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the beſt part of the fleet from being totally deſtroyed:" and indeed, if we conſider how large a ſhare this nobleman had in the revolution, and the affection he always profeſs'd to thoſe principles which happily brought it about, and that even after his diſgrace, which he outlived above twenty years: if, I ſay, we conſider theſe things, it is hard to believe, he can any ways have been influenced treacherouſly to deſert a cauſe he had been ſo heartily and ſo deeply ingag'd in. In ſhort, there are ſome circumſtances in this action, that cannot well be accounted for, among which one is, that of ſeveral Engliſh captains ſtanding away at the begining of the battle; and tho' it has been ſaid, that a calm took them, and hinder'd their keeping up with the Dutch, who ingag'd with too much precipitancy, yet the fact of the calm was very much queſtion'd, and the precipitancy of the Dutch, thought only to be founded on the tardineſs of the Engliſh. On the other hand, it is not eaſy to conceive that this negligence was a conſequence of any order from the admiral, and yet, had it been otherwiſe, it is reaſonable to believe the earl would have puniſh'd them, if it had but been to throw the odium from himſelf.

(1) Here his Majeſty had information, that the late King was imbarked at Waterford; that ſome French ſhips being arived at Kingſale, many that had fled from the battle poſted thither to get imbarkations: that the greateſt body of the Iriſh was gone towards Athlone; that there was none of the enemy in arms within twenty-ſix miles of Dublin; that there could not be any where above 5000 together; that the French might be ſuppoſed to be about 3500: That 300 of the Swiſs or Germans had deſerted the enemy; that the town of Wexford had declared for his Majeſty, and that Sligo was abandoned by the Iriſh. Hiſtory of King William III. Vol. 2. p. 202.

(2) This caſtle had been preſerved, with all the goods and furniture in it, and a cellar plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of wine, by the count de Lauzun, who had deſigned it for his own reſidence.

(1) but

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(1) but, having ſoon after altered his mind, returned, and found the army, the 4th of Auguſt, incamped at Golden-bridge, whence by the 7th he reached Carrickeliſh, within five miles of Limerick, where lieutenant-general Douglas, joined him. The next morning, the earl of Portland, and brigadier Stewart, were detached with 900 horſe, and 1200 foot, towards the town, who advanced within cannon ſhot, with very little oppoſition. The ſame evening, the King himſelf, attended by Prince George, monſ. d'Auverquerque, lieutenant-general Ginckel, and ſeveral other general-officers, together with about 200 horſe, went to view the ſituation of the town, and the poſture of the enemy. The 9th the whole army decamped, at five in the morning, and approached the town, in exceeding good order, 200 horſe and dragoons, with 1000 choſen foot, leading the van, they drove the enemy before them, till they came to a narrow paſs between two bogs, within half a mile of the town, where the Iriſh horſe made a ſtand, and the hedges were lined with muſketeers: but colonel Erle led on his foot with incredible bravery, and preſſed the Iriſh ſo cloſe for two hours together, that he at length drove them to the very walls of the town, and made himſelf maſter of two advantageous poſts called Cromwell's-fort, and the Old-chappel. The army being thus poſted, the King ſent a ſummons to the town. A good part of the gariſon was for capitulating; but the French governor, monſ. Boiſſeleau, the duke of Berwick, and colonel Sarſfield ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alleging; "that there "was by this time an actual inſurrection in England, "where the Dauphin was landed with a great army, "and that the Prince of Orange would be quickly "obliged to withdraw his forces." After which the trumpeter was ſent back with a letter, directed to ſir Robert Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate (to avoid giving the King his titles) importing, "that "he was ſurprized at the ſummons, but thought "the beſt way to gain the Prince of Orange's "good opinion would be, by a vigorous defenſe of "the town, which his maſter had intruſted him "with." The ſame evening about eight the King went to the camp, which was about a mile from the town, tho' he had been on horſeback from five that morning, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark.

Bravery of colonel Erle.

The ſiege of Limerick.

Sarsfield ſurpriſes and blows up the Engliſh train.

A misfortune which happened the 12th retarded the opening of the trenches: for colonel Sarsfield having intelligence by deſerters, that the Engliſh train, with a large quantity of powder, was on the road from Kilkenny, under a ſmall guard, he found means to paſs the Shannon undiſcovered, with 5 or 600 men, and falling upon the convoy, unexpected, cut the guard in pieces, and blew up the train (2).

The trenches open'd.

Some cannon being, however, brought from Waterford, the trenches were opened the 17th, and a battery was raiſed below the fort, to the right of the trenches, which diſmounted ſome of the enemy's cannon. The Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant general, with the major-generals Kirk and Tetteau, brigadier Stewart, and ſeven battalions, entered the trenches that day, advanced 300 paces, and made themſelves maſters of two redoubts. They were relieved the next day, by lieutenant general Douglas, the lord Sidney, and count Naſſau, major-generals, and brigadier Stewart; and this day the King was near being killed by a cannon-ball. Thus were the trenches alternatively relieved, daily advanced, and ſeveral out-works taken or demoliſhed, till the 26th.

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The King in great danger.

Unſucceſsful attempt on the counterſcarp.

The ingineers having this day aſſured the King that the breach was wide enough, and beſide if it had not that it could be made no wider for want of bullets, that the trenches were advanced within thirty paces of the ditch, and that part of the paliſadoes on the counterſcarp were beaten down, his Majeſty commanded the covered way or counterſcarp, and two towers or forts which were on each ſide the breach, contiguous to the wall, to be attacked the next day, and that the men ſhould lodge themſelves there but go no farther. Accordingly lieutenant-general Douglas detached monſ. de la Barthe, an experienced French lieutenant colonel, with nine companies of grenadiers, ſtrengthned by 100 French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack, which was performed with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that the enemy were ſoon diſlodged from the covered way, and the two forts. The aſſailants, purſuing their good fortune, entered the breach pell-mell, with the fugitives, and monſ. de la Barthe, with ſome bold adventurers, and above half the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, were actually on the rampart, and others ſtill more eager than the reſt, were got within the place. Captain Carliſle, who commanded the earl of Drogheda's grenadiers, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a very particular manner at this attack. He received two wounds between the trenches and the counterſcarp, but this did not hinder him from puſhing on, till he came thither, and there received his death's wound (3): and his lieutenant behaved as bravely after he was killed. If the ingineers had made a lodgment in time; or if count Solmes and count Naſſau, would have ſuffered the detachment that was to ſecond the grenadiers, to go farther than the counterſcarp, this action would have put an end to the ſiege: for the Iriſh were all runing from the walls, quite over the bridge, into the Engliſh town; but perceiving that not many of the Engliſh had entered the town, they rallied, and plied them ſo warmly, that ſeveral were killed, and many mortally wounded. Incouraged by this ſucceſs, they ventured upon the breach again, and the reſolution even of their women was ſo great, that they continually pelted the Engliſh with ſtones, broken bottles, and all ſuch other inſtruments of deſtruction as came to their hands. The men could not for ſhame do leſs, inſomuch that after three hours unequal fighting, the Engliſh were forced to retire to their trenches. During the heat of this action, a Brandenburg regiment being got, with great bravery, upon the enemy's black battery, the powder happened to take fire, which blew up a great many of them: and beſide this, tho' colonel Cutts, who was commanded by the duke of Wirtemberg to march towards the ſpur at the South-gate, beat in the Iriſh who appeared on that ſide, yet he loſt ſeveral of his men, and was himſelf wounded; for he advancing boldly, within half muſket-ſhot of

(1) The news of the defeat of our fleet in the channel by the French, and an apprehenſion of what might be the conſequence of it, were probably the reaſons that the King took this ſtep; and a farther account from England, that the deſigns of the malecontents were diſcovered and prevented, as probably induced his Majeſty to return. During this ſhort abſenſe, his Majeſty ſpent ſome time at Chappel-izzard, where he heard and redreſſed ſeveral grievances, gave orders for a weekly faſt, and iſſued a ſecond proclamation, much of the ſame tenor as the former.

(2) Timely notice was brought to the camp, of Sarsfield being out with a party on ſome deſign, by one Manus O Brian, an honeſt country gentleman; but little heed was given to his report: and tho' at length, he obtained the King's ear, and orders were thereupon given for a detachment to march time enough to prevent it, yet either thro' treachery or neglect it was ſo long delayed that they came too late.

(3) This brave officer had been a player, and had likewiſe written ſucceſsfully for the ſtage; but he was for nothing more known than for a ballad he wrote and ſet to muſick, which in thoſe times, was in the mouth of every one, begining: "King "James with his raſcally rabble of rogues, &c."

the gate, his men were all expoſed to the ſhot of their enemies, who lay ſecure within the ſpur and the walls. This whole action, which laſted from three till ſeven, was very briſk every where; the French Proteſtants, the Dutch and the Danes behaved all gallantly in their reſpective poſts; but the loſs of the beſiegers amounted to at leaſt 600 men killed on the ſpot, and as many mortally wounded.

The ſiege raiſed.

This diſappointment, and the approaching bad weather, made King William, who ſtood himſelf near Cromwel's-fort and ſaw the whole action (1), think of raiſing the ſiege. Accordingly, the 30th of Auguſt, the heavy baggage and cannon were ſent away, and the next day, the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. The King, having conſtituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby eſq; (afterwards made a lord) lords juſtices of Ireland, and having intruſted count Solmes with the command of the army (which he ſoon after conſigned into the hands of lieutenant-general Ginckel) his Majeſty imbarked at Duncannon-fort, with

King William returns to England.

Prince George of Denmark, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, on the 5th of September, and arrived the next day, in King's road near Briſtol, with three yachts, two men of war, and ſome tenders. He came the 9th to Windſor, and the 10th to Kenſington, where he was received by the Queen, with inexpreſſible joy (2).

Notwithſtanding King William's ſucceſs, there were ſeveral towns, beſide Limerick, and particularly Cork and Kingſale, yet in poſſeſſion of the French and Iriſh, and their forces were ſtill very

The earl of Marlborough arrives at Cork.

numerous. This gave the friends of King James ſome hopes of reducing that kingdom to his obedience; but they were not a little ſurprized to hear, that the Engliſh fleet arriv'd before Cork-harbour, the 21ſt of September, with ſome forces, under the command of the earl of Marlborough.

His lordſhip, being to act, in this expedition, in concert with ſome other troops, which were ſent before, towards that part of Ireland, immediately acquainted the Duke of Wirtemberg, and major general Scravenmore with his arrival.

The 23d, the greateſt part of the land-forces were ſent up the paſſages, ſix miles from Cork,

Lays ſiege to the town.

headed by the duke of Grafton; and being come, the next day, within a mile of the town, they began to mount their cannon, and to begin a formal ſiege, having near 600 ſea-men, gunners, and carpenters, who were of great ſervice to them. Two troops of dragoons and a body of foot appeared without the town, in order to moleſt them in their works; but the Engliſh firing ſome field-pieces, they immediately retir'd.

A report being ſpread, that the duke of Berwick deſign'd to attempt raiſing the ſiege, major-general Scravenmore ſent a meſſenger to the duke of Wirtemberg, to preſs him to haſten his march, and on the 25th he order'd out a party of horſe, to cover the duke's foot.

The new forts, and Shannon caſtle taken.

Major-general Tetteau, with a detachment of 1000 men, having drawn ſome cannon to the Fair Hill, deſign'd, the ſame afternoon, to attack one or both of the new forts, and Shannon-caſtle: but the Iriſh no ſooner perceived, that he had poſted his men for that deſign, than they ſet fire to the ſuburbs, that were between them, quited both the forts and caſtle, and retired with great precipitation into the town: whereupon he poſſeſſed himſelf of Shannon-caſtle, and placed ſome guns there, with which he play'd briſkly on the town. Major-general Scravenmore came, about the ſame time, with 1200 horſe and dragoons, and took up his quarters at Kil-abby. The 26th, the duke of Wirtemberg, with the German and Daniſh forces under their command, and brigadier la Meloniere, with ſome French and Dutch foot, joined them, according to the orders they had received.

Diſpute between the duke of Wirtemberg and the earl of Marlboro'.

The duke of Wirtemberg, and the earl of Marlborough, being both lieutenant-generals, a warm diſpute aroſe between them, concerning the chief command. The duke laid claim to it, with ſome heat, as a Prince; but the earl, with his uſual gentleman-like temper, inſiſted upon its being his right, not only as he was the elder officer, but as he commanded the troops of his own nation, which were principals in the quarrel, whereas the duke only commanded auxiliaries.

By the earl's prudence made up.

The prudent monſieur la Meloniere interpoſing, the earl of Marlborough, leſt this untimely diſpute ſhould retard the operations of the campain, was induced, among other inſtances of his wiſe and happy conduct, to ſhare the command with him, and, for the ſervice of his country, deſiſted from a part of his juſt right. Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough commanded the firſt day, and gave the word Wirtemberg; and the duke of that name, commanding, the next day, gave the word Marlborough.

The town of Cork capitulates.

This difference being thus adjuſted, and the enemy having, on the 27th, abandon'd their works at the Cat-fort, without a blow ſtruck, the beſiegers took poſſeſſion of it, and having rais'd a battery there, they threw their bombs into the city, and play'd their cannon on the fort, from Friar's garden, from two batteries, at the ſame time. Being, likewiſe, maſters of a church, Scravenmore order'd a party of men into it, who from thence galled the Iriſh within the fort: all which, together with another battery, erected by Red Abby, ſoon made a breach in the city-wall: and thus, by the united conduct and bravery of the commanders in chief, the beſieged were ſoon obliged to demand a parly, and to give hoſtages for a truce; but they not accepting of the terms offered them, the beſiegers began to play again, with their cannon, very furiouſly, and a conſiderable breach in the walls being made, they were ready to ſtorm the town. The Danes from the North, and four regiments of Engliſh, from the South, under brigadier Churchill, paſſed the river up to their armpits. The grenadiers, under the lord Colcheſter, afterwards earl of Rivers, led the van, and marched forward with incredible bravery, tho' expoſed, all the while, to the enemy's fire. They were greatly incouraged by the gallant behavior of the duke of Grafton, the lord Obrian, colonel Granville, and ſome other reſolute volunteers. In this approach,

The duke of Grafton receives his death's wound.

however, the duke of Grafton received a wound with a ſhot, in the ſhoulder, which likewiſe broke two of his ribs, and of which he died about ten days after.

The van immediately poſted themſelves, under the bank of the marſh, which was, as it were, a counterſcarp to the city wall; and, at the ſame time, the Salamander, and another veſſel came up with the tide, and lay at the end of the marſh, directly before the city wall, play'd their cannon at the breach, and likewiſe, threw bombs into the city.

Cork ſurrenders.

All things being being now ready for a general aſſault, the beſieged thought fit to prevent it, by

(1) As this diſappointment was undoubtedly owing to the unhappy orders his Majeſty gave, that the aſſailants ſhould not advance beyond the counterſcarp, it was a wonder, that ſo wiſe a Prince, and ſo great a general, being himſelf an eye-witneſs of his miſtake, had not remedied it in time, by giving other orders.

(2) His Majeſty immediately ordered a commiſſion to be prepared for proroguing the parliament to the ſecond of October, and a proclamation to give notice, that on that day he expected a full attendance of the lords and commons.

beating

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beating a second parly; and, at last, the earl of Tyrone, and colonel Rycaut, being sent from colonel Macullicut, governor of the place, agreed to the earl of Marlborough's conditions, which, being sign'd, the 28th of September, were as follows:

Articles of capitulation.

"That the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, "should be all prisoners of war, both officers and "soldiers.

"That no prejudice should be done to them or "the inhabitants.

"That the general would use his indeavors to "obtain his Majesty's clemency towards them.

"That all the arms, as well of the inhabitants, "as of the garrison, should be secured.

"That all the Protestant prisoners should be set "at liberty.

"That the old fort should be deliver'd up with- "in an hour, and the two gates of the city the next "morning.

"And that an exact account should be given "of the warlike ammunition and provisions in the "magazines."

The prisoners of note taken at Cork; were the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone, the governor of the place, colonel Ricaut, and several others.

This good success gave such incouragement, that the earl immediately sent away a detachment of horse and dragoons, under the command of brigadier Villiers, to summon the town and forts of Kingsale; and his lordship seting out himself, from Cork, the 1st of October, arrived the same day at Five-mile-bridge, and, the next, before the town; which the Irish, upon his approach had set fire to, and were retired into the old fort. He form'd his camp, the same evening, and gave directions to make his approaches towards the new-fort, while major-general Tetteau was ordered to attack the old-fort.

The earl prepares to besiege Kingsale.

He found these two forts, which commanded the port, to be much stronger than the plans had represented them to be; and it was reported, that his lordship himself was heard to say, if he had known their true strength, he had never undertaken the expedition, in a season so far advanced. Being, however, there, this did not discourage him; he resolv'd to push for it.

The old fort taken by a stratagem.

General Tetteau having pass'd the river, with the troops appointed for that service, in boats, the next morning, made a feint, according to the orders given him, of storming the fort, in the weakest place, where most of the besieged were got together, and in a readiness to receive him. In the mean time, another detachment, made a bold assault, in another place, where they were least expected, and, by that means, soon became masters of a bastion. While this was doing, several barrels of powder, accidentally taking fire, blew up near forty of the Irish; upon which the rest retired into an old castle, in the midst of the fort, and immediately submited to be prisoners of war.

The new fort besieged.

The earl of Marlborough, resolv'd to improve this advantage; and the weather being now grown very bad, and provisions scarce, the men withal begining to be sickly, he sent, hereupon, to summon the new-fort, which was much the stronger of the two; but the governor, sir Edward Scot, haughtily answered, "it would be time enough to talk of that a month afterwards." Upon this, the trenches were open'd, the 5th of October, and, by the ninth, were advanced to the counterscarp; but bad weather hinder'd the coming up of the cannon till the 11th, when part of it arrived. The 12th, in the morning, six pieces were mounted at the Danish attack, and two mortars at the English, which fired all that day. The 13th, two twenty-four pounders were placed on the same battery. The 14th, the rest of the cannon arriv'd, three of which were mounted on the English battery: and the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Wirtemberg, having made a considerable breach, the night following, to disturb the enemy, they made a false attack. The 15th, the cannon continued to play all the morning, and all things were prepar'd for a storm, when the enemy beat a parly, and hostages being exchanged, the articles were agreed on, and sign'd about midnight, by which the middle bastion was to be deliver'd up the next morning, and the garrison, consisting of about 1100 men, was to march out, the day after, with arms and baggage, and be conducted to Limerick. The loss of the English, before this place was little less than 300 men kill'd or wounded, which yet was not worth notice, especially considering the great advantage obtain'd by it (1). The Irish never attempted to raise the siege; they drew, indeed, their forces together, and, as they durst not venture on raising it, in some measure to divert it, they put the country, the best built of any in Ireland, all around in a flame.

And taken by capitulation.

The earl of Marlborough having perform'd this glorious expedition, with an inconsiderable loss, and almost in as short a time, as seem'd necessary, considering the season of the year, for the voyage alone, imbark'd again for England, and arrived at Kensington, the 28th of October, where he received such a welcome from their Majesties as his great services required. He return'd soon after to Ireland, where, during the course of the whole winter, he prevented the excursions of the Irish rebels, who attempted to commit great ravages in the conquer'd provinces; and raised several forts to put a stop to them (2).

The earl of Marlborough returns to England,

And goes back again to Ireland.

It may not be improper now to take a view what our maritime forces did farther this year. As soon as the fleet was tolerably refited, after the unfortunate action of Beachy, admiral Torrington being set aside, it was put under the joint command of sir Richard Haddock, Henry Killegrew, esq; and sir John Ashby: but vice-admiral Killegrew, having been before on an expedition to the Mediterranean, order requires, that I first take notice what was done with the squadron under his command.

Maritime affairs.

Vice-admiral Killegrew had been appointed commander in chief of a squadron (3) design'd for the Mediterranean, the 28th of December of the foregoing year. Having receiv'd his instructions, which consisted in the manner he was to dispose of the merchant-ships under his convoy, and how he was afterwards, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron, to watch the motions of the French fleet in those parts, he set sail from Torbay, the 7th of March, but meeting with bad weather, did not arrive at Cadiz, till the 8th of the next month, in a shatter'd condition. While he was refiting there, he received

Vice-admiral Killegrew's expedition to the Mediterranean.

(1) This sea-port is called the key of Ireland, and by the subduing of this and that of Cork, a stop was put to the bringing of any farther supplies from France (at least on this side of Ireland) and the Irish were almost wholly confined to the province of Ulster, where they found it very difficult to subsist. Beside, another advantage which accrued from this expedition was, that, upon the first news of the English fleet sailing towards that kingdom, the count de Lauzun, fearing he should be besieged in Galloway, went off from thence, with several officers of distinction, and the miserable remains of his French troops, leaving the general command of the Irish forces to the duke of Berwick, who soon afterwards gave it to monsr. St. Ruth.

(2) Ireland seem'd now to be as good as reduc'd to the obedience of King William, and, therefore, at the begining of December, his Majesty establish'd a privy council in that kingdom, appointed judges in the several courts of justice, and named several bishops.

(3) This squadron was compos'd of one second-rate, four third-rates, seven fourth-rates, one fifth-rate, and two fire-ships. Lediard's naval history, Vol. II. p. 630.

advice,

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advice, from ſeveral parts, on the 9th of May, that the Toulon ſquadron, commanded by monſ. Chateau-Renaud, conſiſting of ten ſail, three of which were of eighty guns, had been ſeen off of Malaga, Alicant and Gibraltar. Upon which, it was reſolved in a council of war, to ſail, with as many ſhips as were in a condition, to join captain Shelton, who was, with ſome others, at Gibraltar. Being arrived there the 11th, he receiv'd advice from Ceuta, that fourteen ſhips had anchor'd the night before, in the bay of Tetuan. He therefore ſet ſail immediately, with the whole ſquadron (1) for Ceuta-point, and there lay by all night. The next morning he ſteer'd for the bay of Tetuan, where he found only two ſhips, one of which, being a French ſhip, bound for Antegoa, was taken by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. Standing, therefore, over again for the Spaniſh ſhore, they ſaw from their top-maſt-head, ten ſhips to the north of them, lying with their heads eaſtward. About 11 o' clock, the whole fleet being then ſtretching over for Gibraltar, the Montague, which had been ſent a-head to obſerve the motions of the enemy, diſcover'd four ſhips under her lee. Upon which all poſſible diligence was uſed to come up with them, and about one, they were not above two miles off, when, it being obſerved, that they ran for it, the Engliſh ſet their top gallant-ſails, and crowded after them: but they proved to have the better heels, being but juſt clean'd, whereas ſeveral of the Engliſh had been ſeventeen months from the ground (2). The chaſe was continued all night, but, in the morning, it appear'd that the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch with ſome of the Engliſh ſhips near hull to a-ſtern. As there was now no proſpect of coming up with them, the chaſe was given over, only one merchant-ſhip being run aſhore, and monſ. Chateau-Renaud, tho' he had thirteen ſhips under his command, kept on his way. The vice-admiral lay by till three, to give the reſt of the ſhips time to come up with him, and then bore away for Cadiz, which he did not, however, reach till the 21ſt. The Toulon ſquadron having thus paſs'd the Streights, the vice-admiral, purſuant to his inſtructions, made the beſt of his way for England, and arrived, in thirty five days at Plymouth, where he was oblig'd to remain till farther orders, the French fleet riding then triumphant on our coaſts.

Proceedings of the main fleet.

I return now to the main fleet. Two of the three joint admirals, viz. ſir Richard Haddock and ſir John Aſhby, came into the Downs, the 21ſt of Auguſt, and ſailing from thence again the 25th were join'd off of Dover, by vice-admiral Killigrew, with the ſhips he had brought from the Streights. The fleet arrived at Spithead, the 28th, where the admirals received their orders and inſtructions. The whole fleet, without the Dutch, conſiſted then of forty-three ſhips great and ſmall (3), having the earl of Marlborough, with upwards of 5000 ſoldiers, deſign'd for Ireland, on board. Winter, however, approaching, they ſoon after, received orders to ſend their firſt and ſecond-rates to Chatham, and, at the ſame time, not only proviſions fell ſhort, but they were in great want of good ſeamen. Amidſt all theſe difficulties, the admirals, having received poſitive orders from the King for that purpoſe, put to ſea, and arrived before Cork-harbor, as I have ſaid above, the 21ſt of September, where they anchor'd; for, the tide of flood being done, the pilots would not venture in. The next day, they weigh'd, and, in a calm, towed in towards the harbor-mouth. Some ſhot were fired at them from a battery of eight guns, on the ſhoar; upon which the admirals ſent three boats, with ſome ſtout fellows in them, who drove the Iriſh from their guns, and diſmounting them, threw the carriages into the ſea, after which the fleet got in without any farther interruption.

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Cork being ſurrender'd, as we have ſeen above, the admirals, by orders from the King, return'd for the Downs (leaving only ſuch ſhips in Ireland as were needful for the ſervice) and arrived there the 8th of October (4). Part of the fleet was order'd to the Nore with ſir Ralph Delaval, another part to Portſmouth and Plymouth, and the reſt were left, with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, in the Downs, whether likewiſe came, the 27th of October, the ſquadron they left in Ireland, which, when the ſervice was over at Kingſale, brought over the earl of Marlborough with the ſoldiers and priſoners, being under the command of captain John Crofts, as commadore. I muſt now give ſome account of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's proceedings, with the ſquadron under his command, on the coaſt of Ireland.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's proceedings on the coaſt of Ireland.

Sir Cloudeſly who convoy'd his Majeſty from Highlake to Ireland, as we have ſeen above, was deſervedly honor'd with the commiſſion of rear-admiral of the blue. Returning from Ireland, the beginning of July, he was hinder'd from joining the main fleet, in like manner as vice-admiral Killegrew had been, by the French fleet, under monſ. de Tourville, being on our coaſt: he was, therefore, order'd to cruiſe off of Scilly, and in the ſoundings, to prevent a deſign the French had of burning our tranſports, in St. George's channel. Being cruiſing there the 21ſt, he was join'd by the Dover and the Experiment, coming from Ireland, with a ketch they had taken eſcaping with ſome paſſengers from Kingſale, bound for France (5). The ſame day, ſir Cloudeſly receiv'd orders to proceed himſelf with his fleet for Kingſale, to indeavor to intercept ſome French frigats, which were ſaid to be there; but before he could execute that commiſſion, he was imploy'd in aſſiſting major-general Kirk to take Duncannon-caſtle, in which they ſucceeded, the 27th of July. The remainder of the ſeaſon, the rear-admiral was employ'd ſome times on the coaſt of Ireland, and ſome times in the Soundings, but without any remarkable ſucceſs.

We had this year, likewiſe, a ſquadron in America, under the command of commodore Lawrence Wright, but like moſt of our Weſt-

(1) The ſquadron now conſiſted of one ſecond-rate, three third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, and two fire-ſhips of the Engliſh, and five ſhips belonging to the States-general. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p 632.

(2) French hiſtorians will by no means allow, that they run for it: and F. Daniel, in particular, in his uſual gaſconnading manner, tells us; that monſ. de Chateau-Renaud, being come out of the harbor of Toulon, with ſeven ſhips, to join monſ. de Tourville in the Ocean, met a ſquadron of 23 Engliſh and Dutch in the Streights of Gibraltar; that he immediately advanced towards them, and prepar'd to ingage, which piece of bravery and reſolution ſo aſtoniſh'd the Engliſh, that they would not attempt to intercept him; and that thus, having laid by, ſome time, for two ſhips, that were aſtern, he purſued his voyage to Breſt. His intrepidity and courage (continues my author) were ſo conſpicious on this occaſion, that they were the admiration even of the enemy: and yet theſe very enemies are ſo ill-natur'd to place all his mighty intrepidity and courage, in the virtue of a good pair of heels.

(3) One firſt-rate, eight ſecond-rates, twenty-eight third-rates, four fourth-rates, and two ſixth-rates, beſide ten fire-ſhips.

(4) They brought along with them, at the deſire of the earl of Marlborough, colonel Macullicot, who was governor of Cork, the earl of Tyrone and Clancarty, lord Carr, colonel Owen Macartney, lieutenant-colonel Rycaut, major Macartney, and captain Muffy, priſoners of war.

(5) On board this veſſel were colonel Hacket, captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, eſq; Anthony Thomſon eſq; captain Thomas Power, mr. William Sutton, and ſix ſervants, who were all following the late King James to France, in order to their attending him on his projected expedition to England. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 642.

Indian

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Indian expedition of thoſe times, this likewiſe came to little or nothing. Captain Wright left the ſquadron in Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes, and returned to England ſick, or, as others will have it, was recall'd for his negligence and cowardice (1). Sir William Phips took this year Port-royal, in Nova Scotia (or Acadia) from the French; but miſcarried in the attempt he afterwards made upon Quebeck, on the river of Canada. I come now to the affairs of the continent of Europe; which did not prove this year the moſt ſucceſsful for the allies, nor had we any conſiderable immediate concern with them, for which reaſon, I ſhall be ſhort.

Affairs of Italy

In Italy, indeed, they had this advantage, that the duke of Savoy, who till now had been neuter, and was very much preſs'd by France, when the French thought they had reduc'd him to that fatal dilemma, that he muſt accept of what terms they ſhould vouchſafe to offer him, boldly declar'd, "that he was "ingaged with the Emperor and could not go "from his word; however, in regard of the alliance "he had made with his Imperial Majeſty which ex "tended no farther than to oppoſe the unjuſt de"ſigns of France, if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty "would put Pignerol and Cazal into the hands of "the republic of Venice, till the end of the "war, he would lay down his arms, and for the "ſame purpoſe put into the Pope's hands one of his "own towns, as a pledge for the obſervation of "the neutrality." This was, at beſt, but a civil declaration of war, and a public avowal of the duke's treaties with the Emperor. And by a treaty he concluded, the 3d of June, with Spain, his Catholic Majeſty promis'd, to cauſe his royal highneſs, the duke of Savoy, to be comprehended, in the alliance with his Imperial Majeſty, his Britanic Majeſty King William, the States-general, and all his other allies. This advantage, I ſay, accrued to the allies; but the duke of Savoy made but a bad bargain of it, at leaſt, in the firſt campain of his new alliance; for being but faintly ſupported by the Emperor and Spain, he loſt the battle of Saluſſes, where the French general monſ. Catinat triumph'd, and as a conſequence thereof the towns of Sauſſes, Savillona, and Villa Franca, with ſeveral other places. Theſe loſſes were afterwards followed by that of the important town of Suza taken by monſ. Catinat, and of the whole duchy of Savoy, Montmelian only excepted, reduc'd by monſ. St. Ruth. Inſomuch that his royal highneſs ſeing himſelf, in a manner, depriv'd of his dominions, found it neceſſary to make his application to King William, for his powerful influence and aſſiſtance in the recovery of them, which he not only promis'd, but was in the ſequel as good as his word.

The campain in Flanders.

In Flanders, the grand action of this year was the battle of Flerus, fought between the duke of Luxemburg, general of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander in chief of the army of the States-general. In this famous battle, which was fought the firſt of July, the Dutch loſt the day, which was attributed, in part, to their being obliged to bear the ſhock alone, with about 25,000 men, the Spaniards and Brandenburghers, who ſhould have re-inforc'd them, not being yet come up, and partly to the cowardice of the Dutch horſe, who abandon'd their foot at the firſt charge. Be this as it will, never did infantry make a braver retreat, than theſe under Prince Waldeck; for tho' the battle was fought in a plain open country, and, after their horſe had forſaken them, they were attack'd by the enemy, in front and flank, they retreated in good order, and Luxemburg, with all his indeavors could not break them. This action was very bloody, on both ſides; the Dutch own'd the loſs of 4600 men, kill'd on the ſpot, with about 4000 priſoners, and almoſt all their artillery; yet ſeting aſide priſoners and the field of battle, the French had no great matter to boaſt of, for the number of their ſlain equal'd, if not exceeded that of the Dutch. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, Prince Waldeck was in a condition, before the end of the campain, his army being re-inforced to 55000 men, to offer the duke of Luxemburg battle again, but he declining it, and fortifying his camp, there was no farther action in Flanders (2).

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Affairs of Germany.

In Germany, as the campain produced little or nothing remarkable, the great event of this year, was the election of arch-duke Joſeph, the Emperor's eldeſt ſon (afterwards Emperor himſelf) but then King of Hungary, to the dignity of King of the Romans; he was choſen by the unanimous vote of the Electoral college, and crown'd accordingly at Augſburgh.

An inſurrection in Catalonia.

An inſurrection in Catalonia was, at firſt, of ſome advantage to the French; but it being ſoon ſuppreſs'd, and the conſequences of it not having been very material, I paſs by the circumſtances of this event, to return to England.

Congratulations on the ſucceſſes in Ireland.

King William, at his arrival at Kenſington, was congratulated upon his victory at the Boyne, and his other ſucceſſes in Ireland, by an addreſs from the city of London, which was followed by the like, from moſt of the towns and counties of England: and the nobility, clergy, Eaſt-India-company, and ſeveral other Corporations, were no leſs backward, on this occaſion.

Proceedings of parliament.

The parliament, having been prorogued, as I have ſaid above, by commiſſion, 'till the 2d of October, met accordingly that day, when his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That ſince he laſt met them, he had uſed his "beſt indeavors to reduce Ireland into ſuch a "condition, as that it might be no longer a charge "to England: and it had pleaſed GOD to bleſs his "indeavors with ſuch ſucceſs, that he doubted not "but he ſhould have been fully poſſeſs'd of "that kingdom, by this time, had he been "inabled to have gone into the field as ſoon as he "ſhould have done, and as was more eſpecially ne"ceſſary in Ireland, where the rains are ſo great, "and begin ſo early.

"That he thought himſelf oblig'd to take notice, "how well the army there had behav'd themſelves, "on all occaſions, and born great hardſhips with "little pay, and with ſo much patience and wil"lingneſs, as could not proceed but from an af"fectionate duty to his ſervice, and a zeal for the "Proteſtant religion.

"That he had already made it evident, how much "he had preferr'd the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, "before the ſolid advantages of the crown, by "parting with ſo conſiderable a branch of its in"heritance; and it was no leſs apparent, that he "had aſk'd no revenue for himſelf, but what he "had already ſubjected to be charged to the uſes of "the year.

"That he did, at his departure, give order for "all public accounts to be made ready againſt "his return, and he had commanded them to be

(1) Colonel Farmer and mr. Reid, two members of the council of Barbadoes, wrote, at leaſt, ſuch an account of his behavior to their correſpondents at London, that, if they are to be credited, recalling was the leaſt he deſerv'd. See Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 64.

(2) Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs of the French, Lewis XIV was already ſo ſick of the war, that he made private overtures of peace, and would then have forſaken King James.

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" laid before the houſe of commons; by which " they would ſee, that the real want of what was " neceſſary beyond the funds given, and the not " geting, in due time, that for which funds were " aſſign'd, had been the principal cauſes why the " army was in ſo much arrear for their pay, and " the ſtores, both for the navy and the ordnance, " not ſupplied as they ought to be.

" That now, as he had neither ſpar'd his perſon " nor his pains, to do them all the good he could; " ſo he doubted not, but if they would as chear- " fully do their parts, it was in their power to " make both him and themſelves happy, and the " nation great; and, on the other hand, it was " too plain, by what the French had let them ſee " ſo lately, that if the preſent war was not proſe- " cuted with vigor, no nation in this world was " expos'd to greater danger."

Then directing his ſpeech to the commons, in particular, he told them: " that he hoped there " would need no more upon that ſubject, than to " lay before them the ſtate of what would be ne- " ceſſary for the ſupport of the fleet and armies, " which could not poſſibly admit of being leſſen'd " in the year inſuing; and to recommend to their " care the clearing of his revenue, ſo as to inable " him to ſubſiſt, and to maintain the charge of the " civil liſt, the revenue being ſo ingag'd, that it " muſt be wholly applied, after the firſt of Novem- " ber, to pay off the debts already charged upon " it, and, therefore, a preſent conſideration muſt be " had of the arrears of the army, which ſhould be " laid before them, and for all which he deſir'd a " ſufficient and timely ſupply.

" That it was farther neceſſary to inform them, " that the whole ſupport of the confederacy abroad, " would abſolutely depend upon the ſpeed and vi- " gor of their proceedings in this ſeſſion.

" That here he muſt take notice, with great " ſatisfaction, of the readineſs which his ſubjects, " of all degrees had ſhewn, both in this city, and " in their ſeveral countries, by giving their aſſi- " ſtances ſo chearfully, as they did in his abſenſe, " while the French fleet was upon our coaſts; " and beſide this ſo convincing a mark of the " good inclination of his people, he had found, " through all the country where he paſs'd, both " at his going into Ireland, and his return from " thence, ſuch demonſtrations of their affections, " that he had not the leaſt doubt, but he ſhould find " the ſame from their repreſentatives in parliament.

" That he muſt take notice alſo, how much " the honor of the nation had been expoſed, by " the ill conduct of his fleet, in the laſt ſummer's " ingagement againſt the French, and he thought " himſelf ſo much concern'd to ſee it vindicated, " that he could not reſt ſatisfied, till an example " had been made of ſuch as ſhould be found faulty " on their examination and trial, which was not " practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, " but was now put into the proper way of being " done, as ſoon as might be.

Then addreſſing himſelf again to both houſes, he clos'd his ſpeech by telling them; " that he " look'd upon the well-being of this kingdom, " to depend upon the reſult of their counſels and " determinations at this time; and the benefit " would be double, by the ſpeed of their reſolution, " in ſo much that he hop'd they would agree with " him in this concluſion; that whoever went about " to obſtruct or divert their application to theſe mat- " ters preferable to all others, could neither be " his friend nor the kingdom's."

Both houſes preſented their addreſſes of thanks to both their Majeſties, full of expreſſions of duty and affection; that of the lords to the King, was repreſented the ſixth, and theirs to the Queen the day following. The commons preſented theirs, both to the King and Queen, the 9th; they concluded that to the King with the following words: William & Mary. An' 1690. Addreſſes of both houſes.

" In the name of all the commons of England " they aſſured his Majeſty, that they would be " ever ready to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of their " power, and, as the beſt and trueſt way of expreſ- " ſing their gratitude, would indeavor effectually " to ſupport his government againſt all his enemies." A ſupply voted.

The commons began, the very ſame day, to make good their aſſurances of affection to the government, by voting; " that a ſupply be given to " their Majeſties, for the intire reducing of Ire- " land, and ſecuring the peace of this kingdom, " and carrying on a vigorous war againſt France." The next day, they granted:

For the navy, and building new ſhips, 1,791,695 l.

And a few days afterwards;

For maintaining an army of 69,636 men, being the number his Majeſty thought neceſſary for the ſervice of the inſuing year, 2,294,560.

Together, 4,086,255 l.

To raiſe this vaſt ſum, the commons reſolved, the 16th of October, to charge an aſſeſſment of 137,641 l. by the month for one year, upon all lands; being three-pence in the pound. Ways and means.

The eighteenth, that an additional duty be laid upon all wrought and raw ſilks, and all foreign linen.

The twentieth, that a duty of ſix-pence per gallon be laid upon all low-wines of the firſt extraction.

The twenty-firſt, that an additional duty of ten per cent. be laid upon all foreign timber and wood, and the like duty above what was already charg'd, upon all wrought ſilks, callico, and Indian linen.

And that ſeveral duties be laid upon foreign ſeed, oil, hops, pepper, and all grocery ware, except ſugar and tobacco.

The twenty-third, that the exciſe upon all beer, ale, and other liquors be doubled: and,

The twenty-fifth, that an additonal duty be laid upon foreign iron, yarn of flax or hemp, and all manufactures of glaſs.

In the mean time, as the ſeveral funds propoſed were like to fall ſhort of the ſums granted, it was reſolved the 17th, that " the ſum of one million of " pounds be raiſed upon the credit, or by the ſale " of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland:"

And the twentieth, that an addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, " that he would be pleaſed to com- " mand the commiſſioners in Ireland, to make a " return to his Majeſty, of the names of perſons in " rebellion, in that kingdom, and of their eſtates, " and value thereof, and that the ſame might be " tranſmited to the houſe of commons;" but upon the queſtion, the 22d, after it was drawn up, it paſs'd in the negative. The ſame day it was reſolved, that " a bill be brought in for attainting of the perſons, " that were or had been in rebellion in England or " Ireland, and for confiſcating their eſtates, and for " applying the ſame to bear the charge of the war."

As alſo another bill, " for the better diſcovering " the eſtates and truſts belonging to all Popiſh ſe- " minaries or Popiſh uſes, and converting the ſame " to the uſe of the public." Near ſix weeks paſs'd before any progreſs was made in the firſt bill, and when, after many difficulties, it did paſs the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the lords, it was there laid by, notwithſtanding ſeveral meſſages from the commons to put them in mind of it (1). The 10th

(1) There were two reaſons which obſtructed the paſſing of this bill. One was that the court privily oppoſed it, becauſe they imagined the King deſign'd to recompenſe the ſervices of ſeveral perſons, with part of the forfeitures; the other, becauſe it was believed this fund would not raiſe the ſum that was propos'd by it.

of

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Acts passed.

of November, the King went to the houſe of lords, and the commons attending, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent, to "an act for granting an aid to "their Majeſties of 1,661,702 l." and the 18th he gave the royal ſanction to another "act concerning "the commiſſioners of the admiralty," and to ſeveral private bills.

Ways and means.

The 24th of November the commons reſolved; "that the ſeveral duties laid upon goods imported "and to be imported, be granted to their Majeſties "for the term of five years, to commence from the "10th of November, and no longer. That the "duties impoſed by an act made in the firſt year of "the reign of the late King James; intitled, an "act for granting his Majeſty an impoſition upon "all wines and vinegars imported, from the 24th "day of June, 1685, to the 24th day of June, "1693. And by another act, in the ſame year, intitled, "an act for granting an aid to his Majeſty "by an impoſition on all French linen, and on all "Eaſt-India-linen, and ſeveral other manufactures "of India, and on all French wrought ſilks, and "all ſtuffs, and on all other wrought-ſilks, and on "all brandies imported after the firſt day of July "1685, and before the firſt day of July 1690, be continued till the 24th day of June 1696. And that "the duty impoſed upon tobacco, by an act made "in the firſt year of King James II, intitled an "act for granting to his Majeſty an impoſition "upon all tobacco and ſugar, imported after the "firſt day of July, 1685, and before the firſt day "of July, 1690, be continued till the 24th day "of June, 1696, and no longer:" "at the ſame time, it was ordered, that a bill or bills be brought in for granting to their Majeſties the ſeveral duties or impoſitions upon the ſeveral heads reſolved upon by that houſe.

Exciſe-bill paſſed.

The next day, the King went to the houſe, and, after having paſſed the bill for doubling the exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he took this opportunity to aſſure them, "he was extreamly ſenſible of the zeal and chearfulneſs in all their proceedings, and of the readineſs which the commons had ſhewn in granting "ſuch large ſupplies, towards the preſſing occaſions of the navy and the army; and he farther "aſſured them, that he ſhould not be wanting, on "his part, to ſee them carefully applied to thoſe "uſes for which they intended them."

At the ſame time he obſerved to them; "that "the poſture of affairs abroad did neceſſarily require his preſenſe at the Hague, before the end "of this year, and conſequently, he deſired them "to loſe no time in diſpatching and perfecting ſuch "farther ſupplies as were ſtill neceſſary for the "navy and army; and not for them only, but it "was alſo high time to put them in mind of making "ſome proviſion for the expenſe of the civil government, which had no funds for its ſupport "ſince the exciſe, which was deſigned for that "ſervice, and alſo the other branches of the revenue, "had been applied to other public uſes, and therefore, he earneſtly recommended it to their ſpeedy "conſideration."

All the houſe of commons had hitherto done, falling yet ſhort of the ſupplies that had been voted before, it was reſolved, the 19th of December, "that the remainder of a ſum not exceeding "4,086,255 l. for the ſupplies to be granted to their "Majeſties, be raiſed by doubling the additional "duties of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors "mentioned in an act of the firſt year of their "Majeſties reign, intitled, an act for an additional "duty of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, "to begin from the time the act for doubling the "duty of exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, "during the ſpace of one year, did expire." And a bill was ordered to be prepared in purſuance to the ſaid reſolution.

William & Mary. An' 1690.

Acts paſſed.

The next day his Majeſty gave the royal ſanction to "an act for gtanting to their Majeſties certain "impoſitions upon all Eaſt-India goods and manufactures, and upon all wrought-ſilks, and ſeveral "other goods and merchandizes: to another act "for the continuance of ſeveral former acts therein mentioned; for the laying ſeveral duties upon "wines, vinegar, and tobacco; to another act "for puniſhing officers and ſoldiers, that ſhould "mutiny or deſert their Majeſties ſervice, and "for puniſhing falſe muſters;" together with ſeveral other public and private bills.

His Majeſty took this occaſion to repeat to both houſes:

His Majeſty's ſpeech on that occaſion.

"How ſenſible he was of their good affections "to him, and of their ſincere indeavors to promote "the true intereſt of their country, in continuing to "provide farther ſupplies towards defraying the "charges of the war, which he would take care to "ſee diligently and ſtrictly applied to the uſes for "which they gave them. He ſaid, he had lately acquainted them, that the poſture of affairs abroad "would not admit of defering his journey to the "Hague much beyond that time, and that he "put them in mind of it now, in hopes that conſideration would prevail with them to uſe all "poſſible diſpatch in what ſtill remained to be "done for the more vigorous proſecution of the "war:" and concluded, with mentioning to the houſe of commons; "that if ſome annual proviſion could be made for the augmenting of the "navy, and building of ſome new ſhips of war, "it would be a very neceſſary care at this time, "both for the honor and ſafety of the nation."

A ſupply granted for the building of ſhips.

The commons having taken his Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, particularly the latter part of it, unanimouſly reſolved, the 24th of December, "that "a ſupply be given to their Majeſties for the "building of ſhips of war, not exceeding the ſum "of 570,000 l. and that the ſaid ſupply ſo to be "given to their Majeſties, be for the building of "ſeventeen third-rate ſhips, of ſixty guns each, to "be added to the ſhips in the eſtimate already provided to be built." Three days after, it was reſolved, "that this ſupply ſhould be raiſed by the "additional duties, upon beer, ale, and other "liquors, and ordered that an inacting clauſe be "prepared in purſuance of the ſaid reſolution."

Commiſſioners appointed for taking the public accounts.

The commons having paſſed a bill for appointing and inabling commiſſioners to take the public accounts, and ordered the ſeveral members to put into glaſſes, at the table, the ſeveral liſts of nine perſons names, to be commiſſioners in the ſaid bill, it appeared, on the 26th, that the majority was fallen on ſir Robert Rich, ſir Thomas Clarges, Paul Foley, eſq; colonel Robert Auſten, ſir Matthew Andrews, ſir Benjamin Newland, ſir Samuel Barnadiſton, ſir Peter Colleton, and Robert Harley, eſq;

Acts paſs'd.

The fifth of January, the King went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being preſent, his Majeſty gave the royal ſanction to "an act for granting to "their Majeſties ſeveral additional duties of exciſe; "an act for preventing vexatious ſuits againſt ſuch "as had acted for their Majeſties ſervice in defenſe "of the kingdom; an act for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts "of the kingdom; an act for the moſt effectual "puting in execution, an act for prohibiting all "trade and commerce with France; an act for "raiſing the militia, in the year 1691; an act for "the relief of poor priſoners for debt or damages; "an act for incouraging the diſtiling of brandy "and ſpirits from corn, and for laying ſeveral duties "on low-wines; and to four private bills."

This

The King's speech to both houſes

This done, his Majeſty, addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them:

"He was very glad to find, that the ſucceſs of "their indeavors, to bring this ſeſſion to a happy "concluſion, had been ſuch, that he was now at "liberty to go into Holland: and he returned "them his hearty thanks for the great diſpatch "they had made in finiſhing the ſupplies they had "deſigned for carrying on the war, which it ſhould "be his care to ſee duly and punctually applied to "that ſervice for which they had given them. That "he ſhould not make any grant of the forfeited "lands, in England and Ireland, till there was "another opportunity of ſetling that matter in "parliament, in ſuch manner as ſhould be thought "moſt expedient (1)."

He told them farther; "that as he had reaſon "to be very well ſatisfied with the proofs they had "given him of their good affection in this ſeſſion "of parliament, ſo he promiſed himſelf the con-"tinuance of the ſame, at their return into their "ſeveral countries: and as every day produced ſtill "freſh inſtances of the reſtleſſneſs of his and their "enemies, both at home and abroad, in deſigning "againſt the proſperity of this nation, and the "government eſtabliſhed; ſo he did not doubt, "but that the union and good correſpondence be-"tween him and his parliament, and his earneſt "and conſtant indeavors for their preſervation, on "one hand, joined with the continuance of their "zeal and affection to ſupport him on the other, "would, by the bleſſing of God, be, at all times, "too ſtrong for the utmoſt malice and contrivance "of their common enemies."

The parliament adjourned.

The ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, thereupon, declared to both houſes his Majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn themſelves, 'till the 31ſt of March next inſuing (2).

I come now to give an account of ſome tranſactions which happened during this ſeſſion of parliament.

The 19th of October a thankſgiving was obſerved for the ſucceſſes in Ireland, and particular prayers were ordered to be uſed, on every Wedneſday and Friday, during the war with France.

The 15th the Princeſs of Denmark was delivered of a daughter, baptiſed by the name of Mary; but died ſoon after.

Titles and preferments.

The 15th of November, the King ordered a new commiſſion to paſs the great ſeal, conſtituting the lord Godolphin, ſir John Lowther, Richard Hampden, eſq; ſir Stephen Fox, and Thomas Pelham, eſq; commiſſioners of their Majeſties treaſury.

About the middle of December his Majeſty diſpoſed of the vacant biſhoprics in Ireland, and appointed ſir Charles Porter to be chancellor of that kingdom, and one of the lords-juſtices, in the room of the lord viſcount Sidney, who was recalled to be made one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate. Colonel Cutts was made baron Cutts of Gowran, in the kingdom of Ireland, and ſir John Trevor was admited into his Majeſty's moſt honorable privy council.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, happened likewiſe an incident, which made a great noiſe: captain James Campbell, brother to the earl of Argile, aſſiſted by Archibald Montgomery, and ſir John Johnſton, on the 14th of November, forcibly ſeized on mrs. Mary Wharton, daughter and heireſs of ſir George Wharton, a fortune, as it was ſaid of 50,000l. and about thirteen years of age. She was carried away from her relations in Great Queen-ſtreet, and married againſt her will. The next day his Majeſty iſſued out his royal proclamation for apprehending mr. Campbel, and the abettors of this unwarrantable action, and ſir John Johnſton being apprehended, was tried, condemned and executed for it at Tyburn, notwithſtanding great application was made to the King, and to the relations of the bride, to ſave his life: which was thought the harder, as it appeared upon his trial, miſs Wharton had given evident proofs, that the violence captain Campbel uſed was not ſo much againſt her will, as her lawyers indeavored to make it. Not long before, there was a bill brought into the houſe of commons to prevent clandeſtine marriages, which it was thought this incident would have accelerated, but it dropped. However, another bill was brought into the houſe of commons, the 4th of December, to render void the marriage between mrs. Wharton, and mr. Campbel, which, notwithſtanding the earl of Argile, petitioned againſt it, in behalf of his brother, paſſed both houſes, by the 13th of December.

Miſs Wharton an heireſs carried away.

Sir John Johnſton executed for it.

The duke of Zell elected knight of the garter.

The laſt day of the year, his highneſs George William Duke of Zell, eldeſt Prince of the moſt ſerene houſe of Brumſwick-Lunenburg, a Prince for whom King William always bore the greateſt love and eſteem, was elected a knight-companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, an honor, which juſt a year before, had been confered upon the duke of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Pruſſia.

The King goes for Holland.

The parliament being adjourned, the 5th of January, King William, of whom it may juſtly be ſaid, he never ceaſed from his labors, began the very next day his voyage for Holland, notwithſtanding the rigor of the ſeaſon: but when he came to Canterbury, finding the wind was ſet in eaſterly, with a hard froſt, he returned to Kenſington; where he ſtaid a week. His Majeſty went to Graveſend, on the 16th of January, and imbarked there, ſeveral of the nobility and other perſons of diſtinction, attending him, under a convoy of twelve men of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. When, after not the beſt paſſage, they arrived on the coaſt of Holland, they found the froſt had been ſo ſevere, and the ice near the ſhoar was ſo great, that they could not attempt to land without extream danger. The King, with whom the ſea did not agree, and whoſe buſineſs beſide, required haſte, being informed by a fiſherman, that they were within a league and a half, went into the ſhallop, and ordered the ſeamen to put off. The ſailors themſelves were apprehenſive of danger, and all the perſons of quality about him did what they could to diſſuade him from expoſing his royal perſon to ſo prodigious a hazard: But nothing being

Is in great danger.

(1) The occaſion of this aſſurance was, becauſe ſeveral members of the houſe of commons had ſhewed themſelves diſſatisfied, that the bill concerning forfeitures was laid aſide, fearing the King's favorites would have the largeſt ſhares of the rebels eſtates.

(2) Tho' the parliament was very expeditious, this ſeſſion, 'in voting and paſſing the bills for the ſupplies, yet the ſhortneſs of it was the occaſion of ſeveral bills being left unfiniſhed, beſide that relating to the forfeited eſtates, particularly "a bill to regulate trials in caſes of treaſon", which was much talked of in the houſe of commons, and yet put off from time to time; another "to oblige the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury to take the like oaths as the lord treaſurer"; another, "relating "to the African-trade"; another, "againſt robbers on the high-way"; another, "for the ſpeedier determining elections of "members of parliaments"; another, "to charge the eſtate of the late lord Jefferies, in Leiceſterſhire, with the ſum of "14,160 l. and intereſt, to Edmund Prideaux, eſq;" another, "for regulating and licenſing Hackney-coaches"; and another, "for the inabling chirurgeons to adminiſter inward medecines, in caſes of ſurgery"; which laſt was petitioned againſt by the "phyſicians and apothecaries. A bill was alſo brought in for reducing the intereſt of mony, from ſix to four per cent. but was "rejected at the ſecond reading.

able

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able to move his Majeſty's reſolution, they put away from the fleet, with two ſhallops more, in which were the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Portland, and Monmouth, and ſome others, and ſoon got out of ſight of it. Night came on, and the King remained for eighteen hours together, expoſed to the injuries of the air and cold, to the mercy of the ſea, where waves ran ſo high, that they daſhed him all over, and he having nothing to ſhelter him from them but his cloak, being at the ſame time in danger of being taken by privateers. At laſt, by brake of day, the ſhallop came near the iſland of Goree, where his Majeſty refreſhed himſelf a little in a fiſherman's cottage, and then going into his boat again, he happily landed at Orange-polder. From thence he went to his own palace of Hounſlaerdike, where he was met by the deputies of the States, who conducted him to the Hague by ſix that evening (1).

Arrives in ſafety.

Now began the moſt glorious congreſs that ever yet appeared of Chriſtian Princes, noblemen and miniſters, the great deſign of which was for all the confederate Princes and States to concert meaſures with King William, in order to preſerve the liberties of Europe. Lewis XIV, in all his glories and triumph, could never boaſt any thing like this. Such a congreſs as this, aſſembled in honor to him, as it was in honor to our Belgic and Brittanic hero, would have furniſhed his painters with a noble ſubject; they would have had no need to ranſack the ſeaſons or the elements for images to repreſent his greatneſs in the famous tapeſtry at Verſailles. They might have ſhewn their grand Monarch imployed in numberleſs heroic actions, and conſtantly attended by a train of Princes, each ſtriving how to give him the greateſt marks of their reſpect and eſteem (2).

Congreſs at the Hague.

At the firſt meeting of this illuſtrious congreſs, King William repreſented to them,

K. William's ſpeech to the congreſs.

"That the imminent dangers in which they "found themſelves, ſufficiently diſcover'd the er- "rors that had been committed; ſo that he had no "need to uſe many arguments, to ſhew them the "neceſſity of taking juſter and better meaſures; "that in the circumſtances they were in, it was "not a time to deliberate, but to act. That the "enemy was maſter of all the chief fortreſſes, "which were the barrier of the common liberty; "and that he would quickly poſſeſs himſelf of all "the reſt, if a ſpirit of diviſion, ſlowneſs, and "particular intereſt continued amongſt them. That "every one ought to remain perſuaded, that their "reſpective particular intereſts were compris'd in "the general one. That the enemy's forces were "very ſtrong, and would carry things like a tor- "rent before them; that it was in vain to oppoſe "with fruitleſs clamors and complaints, or unpro- "fitable proteſtations againſt injuſtices; that it was "neither the reſolution of a barren diet, nor "the hopes of ſome men of fortune, ariſing "from frivolous foundations; but ſoldiers, "ſtrong armies, and prompt and ſevere union "between all the forces of the allies, that muſt "do the work: and that theſe muſt be brought to "oppoſe the enemy without delay, if they would "put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and ſnatch out of his "hands the liberty of Europe, which he held already "under a heavy yoke; concluding, that as for "himſelf, he would neither ſpare his credit, forces, "nor perſon, to concur with them in ſo juſt and "neceſſary a deſign, and that he would come in the "ſpring, at the head of his troops, faithfully "to make good his royal word, which he had ſo "ſolemnly ingaged to them."

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This pathetic, as well as ſevere ſpeech, from a Prince to whom all the members that compoſed this illuſtrious body paid a reſpectful deference, and in whoſe judgment and experience they placed an intire confidence, could not but produce the deſired effect, in the end, tho' for a while particular intereſts continued to reign in the hearts of many, and obſtructed the ſalutary reſolutions the King had ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended to them. This occaſioned their ſiting till the middle of March, in which time they came at leaſt, to two weighty concluſions; viz. not to make peace with Lewis XIV till all their grievances were redreſſed, and to imploy 222,000 men againſt France (3); but it appeared afterwards, that this number would not do, and that the German Princes were always both backward and deficient in furniſhing their quota's.

Reſolutions taken thereupon.

(1) Beſide the deputies of the States, he was met there by count Berka, the Emperor's envoy extraordinary, count Colona the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the Prince of Naſſau, Stadtholder of Frieſland, the Prince of Naſſau Saarburg, and count Hara. The States-General, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, the other colleges, the congreſs of foreign miniſters, and all the perſons of diſtinction, at the Hague, made their compliments to his Majeſty upon his ſafe and happy arrival, and becauſe he was come ſo ſuddenly as to prevent the ſolemn reception that was intended by the magiſtrates of that place, his Majeſty was prevailed upon to make his public entry on the 26th, which was performed with great ſolemnity; ſeveral triumphal arches having been erected, to repreſent his Majeſty's atchievements, and all the burghers appearing in arms with unuſual magnificence; in the evening, the fire-works were played, the cannon diſcharged on the Viverberg, oppoſite to his Majeſty's palace, and bone-fires lighted thro' the whole town.

(2) At this illuſtrious congreſs were preſent: The electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria: the dukes of Lunenburg, Zell, Wolfenbuttel, Courland, adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg, Saxe-eyſenach, Sultſbach, and Holſtein: the Landgraves of Heſſe-Caſſel, Darmſtadt and Homburg: the Princes of Anhalt-Zerbſt, Birkenfield, Waldeck, Wirtemberg-Nieuſtadt, two of Anſpach, two of Wirtemberg, Chriſtian Lewis of Brandenburg, Naſſau-Frieſland, Naſſau-Dillemberg, Naſſau-Saerburg, Naſſau-Idſtein, three of Holſtein-beck, Philip of Palatine, Ferdinand of Courland, and the Prince of Commerci: Foreign miniſters; Embaſſadors from the Emperor, counts Windiſchgratz and Berka, and the chevalier de Campecht. Embaſſador from Spain, Don Emanuel de Colonna. From the King of Denmark, count Reventklau and monſ. Centhe. From the King of Sweden, count Oxenſtiern. From the King of Poland, monſ. Moreau. From the elector of Bavaria, the baron of Boomgarten and monſ. Prielmeyer. From the elector of Brandenburg, baron Schmettau and monſ. Von Dieſt. From the elector of Saxony, monſ. Hachſhauſen. From the elector of Triers, the baron de Leyen and monſ. Champagne. From the elector of Mentz, meſſ. Talberg and Meyers. From the elector of Cologne, general Beruſau and monſ. Soelmacher. From the elector Palatine, monſ. Hertermann. From the duke of Savoy, the counts Pielat and de la Tour. From the duke of Zell, monſ. Zieger. From the biſhop of Munſter, monſ de Nort. From the landgrave of Heſſe, baron Goertz and monſ. Keppelaer. From the duke of Wolfembuttel, baron Groſſeck. From the duke of Hannoyer, monſ. Klekk. From the duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, monſ. Tourken; and from the Prince of Liege, chancellor Mean. Other illuſtrious perſons, not public miniſters; the marquis de Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands; the marquis de Caſtlemonlayo; the counts of Horn, Erbach, Tirimont, de Brouay, Gryal, d' Arco, de Carelſon, de Rivera, de Sanfra, de Lippe, d' Eſpenſe, de Fugger, de Denhof and Palfi; the barons of Pallant and Spaem. The Rhingrave and his brother: the generals Chauert, Elwycht, Barfuſz and d'Antel. Subjects of the King of Great Britain, attending his Majeſty; the dukes of Norfolk, Ormond and Schomberg; the earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Eſſex, Nottingham, Scarborough, Selkirk, Portland and Monmouth, count Meinard Schomberg: the biſhop of London; the lords Durſley and Dramlanrig; mr. comptroller Wharton; and mr. baron Bradbury. There were, likewiſe, at that time, at the Hague, the Princeſſes of Naſſau-Frieſland, Radzevil and Saxe-Eyſenach, and the counteſs of Soiſſons.

(3) Of theſe troops the Emperor was to furniſh 20,000; the King of Spain, in Flanders, 20,000; the King of England 20,000; the States General 35,000; the duke of Savoy and the troops of Milan 20,000; the elector of Bavaria, 18,000; the elector of Saxony 12,000; the Landgrave of Heſſe, 8,000; the circles of Suabia and Franconia 10,000; the duke of Wirtemberg 6,000; the elector of Brandenburg 20,000; the Prince of Liege 6,000; the biſhop of Munſter 7000; the elector Palatine 4,000; the Prince of Lunenburg, 16,000.

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The French King was, in the mean time, preparing to be early in the field, and to open the campain with the ſiege of Mons, at which he was in perſon preſent, accompanied by the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Chartres, his ſon: King William, perceiving it would be in vain to attempt the relief of that place (which, as he apprehended was obliged to ſurrender, tho' on honorable terms) and there being as yet no farther operations in the field, returned to England, and arrived at Whitehall the 13th of April.

K. William returns to England.

Lord Preſton's plot.

The French King, and the Jacobites in England, were, in the mean time, deceiving one another, the latter by falſe accounts of their numbers and ſtrength, and the former by promiſes of aſſiſtance, which, tho' he never performed, ſerved however to keep up a ſpirit of diſaffection towards their Majeſties perſons and government, and as an incouragement to form plots and lay ſchemes for the deſtruction and ſubverſion of both. Towards the latter end of the year 1689, King James and his Popiſh council in Ireland, laid the foundation of the Lancaſhire plot, having ſent over commiſſions into that and other Northern counties, to raiſe an army, which he ingaged to head himſelf in perſon, in Auguſt 1690. But the plot being diſcovered, by ſome of the confederates, and ſoon after effectually baffled by that Monarch's defeat at the Boyne, another project was ſet on foot by the Jacobites in England for his Majeſty's reſtoration; and that was to gain aſſiſtance from France to invade England. To compaſs this end, the leading men of the party, in all counties, immediately repaired to London, and there conſulted what new meaſures were to be taken after this fatal and unexpected diſappointment by King William's victory in Ireland: and becauſe the conſpirators were then, generally ſpeaking, but of one faction, it was reſolved that the plot to reſtore the abdicated King ſhould be laid wider, extended farther, and more intereſts be united in private cabals of their moſt conſiderable friends, lords and gentlemen, both Whigs and Tories, and that, at every meeting, they ſhould propoſe and debate the moſt effectual ways to bring their deſign about; and, when come to a reſolution, they ſhould tranſmit their ſentiments to the royal club (as they called it) in Covent-garden, and they ſelect the moſt rational, among the various opinions, and digeſt them into ſuch methods for practiſe, as ſhould govern the whole party. The reſult of their ſeveral conſultations was, firſt; that the Jacobites being unable to re-inthrone the late King by their own ſtrength, they ſhould indeavor to obtain aſſiſtance from the King of France, who had formerly made them ſuch promiſes; and, ſecondly, ſince delays were dangerous, ſending letters into France hazardous, the court at St. Germain's factious and treacherous, that ſome men of quality and known ability ſhould go over into France, to tranſact that matter for the whole party. This project having the approbation of the leading club, in December 1690, the lord Preſton, mr. Aſhton, and mr. Elliot were pitched upon as proper perſons to be ſent into France. Some would have had their number increaſed; but they were over-ruled by this ſtanding maxim among them; Chuſe well, but have to do but with a few; for a multitude may give, but can never keep council.

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Theſe gentlemen, thus appointed by the party, having hired a veſſel of mrs. Jane Prat of Barking, in Eſſex, for their tranſportation into France, went on board her near Battle-bridge; but the whole plot being diſcovered, the government ordered captain Billop to attend their motion, who accordingly ſuffered them to ſail below Graveſend, and then boarded and took them. In mr. Aſhton's boſom was found a packet of letters and papers (1), whereby it appeared that they were going to France, to "promote the treaſonable deſigns of that party "againſt the King and Queen, to invade the realm, "ſubvert the government, and reſtore the late "King by the aſſiſtance of French forces."

Lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton condemn'd.

The 16th and 19th of January, of this year, the lord Preſton and mr. Aſhton were tried and found guilty of high-treaſon at the Old-Baily. They both received ſentenſe of death as traytors, and mr. Aſhton was executed the 28th of the ſame month (2); but the lord Preſton, having candidly confeſſed all he knew, and being ſupported by the interceſſion of his illuſtrious relations, obtained their Majeſties pardon. There being no poſitive proof againſt mr. Elliot he was not brought to his trial.

Lord Preſton pardon'd.

The 5th of February, the Queen cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued out for diſcovering and apprehending the late biſhop of Ely, William Penn, the famous quaker, and James Graham, eſq, as accomplices of the lord Preſton and John Aſhton, lately attainted for high-treaſon.

Preferments.

The 11th of March, the office of poſt-maſter-general was granted, by letters patent, to ſir Robert Cotton and Thomas Frankland, eſq; and the 25th of the ſame month, ſir Edward Villiers, maſter of the horſe to the Queen, was created baron and viſcount of England, by the ſtile of baron Villiers of Hoo, and viſcount Villiers of Hartford, in the county of Kent.

The parliament adjourned.

The parliament which had been adjourned to the 31ſt of March, then met, but were adjourned again from time to time, till the 22d of October (3).

The 11th of April, a fire happened at Whitehall at the end of the ſtone-gallery. It began at the lodgings of the Princeſs of Denmark's maids of honor, burnt for ſome time, with great violence, and conſumed the whole gallery, but did not reach the King's or Queen's apartments.

The firſt thing his Majeſty did after his arrival, was to give the neceſſary orders for the reduction of Ireland, and to equip and ſet out a numerous fleet, the chief command of which he conferr'd on admiral

(1) Theſe papers were, 1. The reſult of a conference between ſome lords and gentlemen, both Tories and Whigs, in which it was undertaken to prove the poſſibility and method of reſtoring King James by a French power, without indangering the Proteſtant religion, and civil adminiſtration, according to the laws of this kingdom. 2. Heads for a declaration to be prepared in order to be publiſhed, when the French have had ſucceſs at ſea. 3. A liſt of the Engliſh fleet. 4. A letter directed to mr. Reading. 5. A letter directed to mrs. Reading. 6. A letter directed to mrs. Charlton. 7. A letter directed to mrs. Jackſon. 8. Four letters without directions. 9. An alphabet of names for carrying on the correſpondence, to which was prefixed a general direction: for mrs. Ann Ruſſel, to be left with mrs. Richeſon; at the blue-boar, in Ryder-ſtreet, near St. James's.

(2) This mr. Aſhton had formerly been treaſurer to the late King James's Queen Mary. At his death, he delivered a traiterous libel to the ſheriff of London, of which, ſome few nights after his execution, printed copies were ſcattered about the ſtreets of London: about a fortnight after came out an anſwer to it, by an anonymous author, ſuppoſed however to be written by dr. Fowler, biſhop of Gloceſter.

(3) About this time, her Majeſty, reſolving, as much as in her lay, to ſtrike at the very root of vice and indigence, idleneſs, incouraged the ſeting up of a linen manufacture, in which many thouſands of poor people were imployed; and not contented with this, to ſet an example to thoſe, who might think themſelves born to live in a voluptuous (or rather ignominious) ſloth, her Majeſty did not diſdain to buſy her royal hands with making of fringes, or knoting, as it was then named. She was ſoon imitated, not only by her maids of honor, but by all ladies of diſtinction throughout the kingdom, and ſo faſhionable was labor, of a ſudden grown, that not only the aſſemblies, and viſiting-rooms, but the ſtreets, the roads, nay the very play-houſes were witneſſes of their pretty induſtry: and it was even the wonder of many that the churches eſcaped. It might have made as good an appearance as the more modern entertainments of the temple in ſome countries.

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miral Ruſſel. He then gave directions for the tranſportation of ſuch troops as he deſign'd ſhould ſerve the approaching campain in Flanders, where he reſolved to command the confederate army in perſon. The neceſſary preparations for war being thus diſpatch'd, his Majeſty beſtowed his royal care on filling the vacant eccleſiaſtical dignities: to this end, on the 25th of April, he was pleas'd to nominate dr. John Tillotſon, dean of St. Paul's, a divine, who, upon many occaſions, has been juſtly ſtiled one of the greateſt ornaments of the church of England, and was diſtinguiſhed as well by the purity of his morals, and his moderate principles, as his chaſte but maſculine eloquence, to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, in the room of the deprived dr. William Sancroft. Dr. Simon Patrick, biſhop of Chicheſter, a prelate of univerſal learning, and exemplary piety, was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Ely, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Francis Turner. Dr. Edward Fowler was made biſhop of Gloceſter, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Frampton. Dr. Richard Cumberland was promoted to the biſhopric of Peterborough, in the room of the deprived dr. Thomas White; and dr. John Moor, to the biſhopric of Norwich, in the room of the deprived dr. Lloyd. Dr. Gover was made biſhop of Chicheſter; dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's; dr. Comber, dean of Durham; mr. Talbot dean of Worceſter, and dr. Woodward, dean of Sarum. The 9th of the next inſuing month, upon the death of dr. Lampleugh, archbiſhop of York, their Majeſties nominated the famous dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, for that ſee, and on the 27th of the ſame month, dr. Ironſide, biſhop of Briſtol, was tranſlated to the biſhopric of Hereford, in the room of dr. Crofts, lately deceas'd, and the 13th of June, dr. John Hall ſucceeded him as biſhop of Briſtol. The ſame day, dr. Richard Kidder, dean of Peterborough, was promoted to the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of the depriv'd dr. Thomas Kenn (1).

Eccleſiaſtical preferments.

The King goes to Holland.

The King made but a ſhort ſtay in England; for ſeting out from Kenſington, the 30th of April, he arriv'd at Harwich, the 1ſt of May, and imbark'd on board the Mary yacht. The 2d, the wind being fair, he ſet ſail immediately, being attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Rook, and landed, the next day, near Maeſland-ſluis. He went from thence to Hounſlaerdyck, and arrived the ſame evening at the Hague. The 8th, he went to Loo, and from thence ſent the earl of Marlborough and the count de Solmes, before hand, to Flanders, to put all things in a readineſs for opening the campain, and to draw the army together againſt his arrival. The 31ſt of May N. S. his Majeſty left Loo, and, paſſing thro' Breda, headed the confederate-army, being accompanied by the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, and the earl of Eſſex (2). This campain prov'd a very inactive one, not worthy the preſenſe of ſo great a King, and ſo great a commander: but the backwardneſs of the allies, in furniſhing of their quota's, purſuant to their ſtipulations, made the French ſo far ſuperior in ſtrength, that it was impoſſible for him to attempt any thing of importance. All he could do was to diſappoint Bouflers in his attempt upon Liege, and to indeavour, tho' in vain, to bring the marſhal de Luxemburg to a battle, which he, on his part, by all poſſible means avoided: ſo that after ſeveral marches and countermarches, his Majeſty having taken and demoliſhed Beaumont, a town the French general had made himſelf maſter of, he left the command of the army, on the 17th of September, to the Prince of Waldeck, and went to Loo. Some days after the King left the army, Luxemburg, being informed of it, ventured to make an attempt on the rear of it, but with little ſucceſs, and thus ended the campain in Flanders. King William, after a month's ſtay at Loo and the Hague, imbarked the 18th of October on board the Mary yacht, and ſeting ſail from the Maeſe, under the convoy of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, arrived the next day in England, and came, the ſame night, to Kenſington. And here I ſhall leave his Majeſty, preparing for the opening of the parliament, and take a view of the affairs of Ireland.

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The King returns to England.

The campain in in Flanders.

The armies, on both ſides, in Ireland, having gone pretty late into winter-quarters, were not very early in the field. The Engliſh, had been not a little diſturbed, during the winter, by the Iriſh rapparees, or robbers, who when they had commited great cruelties and depredations, retreated into their bogs and holds, where no regular troops could reach them (3); they continued their maroding, till the Engliſh army took the field, about the middle of June, when they mixed themſelves, with the late King's troops. General Ginckel, commander in chief of King William's army, which was now conſiderably re-inforced, by the troops under Mackay, from Scotland, decamped, the 6th, of June, from Mullingar, and came the next day before Ballymore; the marquis de Ruſigny, major-general, being ſent before, with a detachment of horſe and dragoons, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs between that place and Athlone. As ſoon as the batteries were raiſed, general Ginckel ſent a meſſage to the governor, colonel Ulicke Bourke, "that if he and the gariſon ſurrendered within two "hours, he would ſpare their lives, and treat them "as priſoners of war, but otherwiſe that they had no "mercy to expect". The governor not readily accepting of this offer, the cannon and bombs began to play, the pontoons were put into the water, and every thing prepared for a ſtorm, the ſame evening; upon which he bethought himſelf, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The gariſon conſiſted of 780 men, beſide four field-officers, and 259 rapparees.

Affairs of Ireland.

Ballymore inveſted.

And taken.

The damage being repaired, and the place put into a better poſture of defenſe, the army marched from Ballym oe the 18th, and being joined, the next day, by the Prince of Wirtemberg, incamped at Balimory's paſs, a ſtrong detachment of horſe, advancing in the mean time to Athlone. The 19th early, the van-guard marched from Balimony, and beat the enemy from ſeveral out-works of the Engliſh town of Athlone, on this ſide the Shannon, where they made a lodgment. A battery of ten eighteen-pounders having demoliſhed a baſtion, near the water-ſide, an aſſault was ordered to be made. This was accordingly performed by the Engliſh with ſo much bravery, that they ſoon drove the Iriſh out of the place, ſome eſcaping over the bridge of Connaught, and the reſt leaping into the Shannon, of which latter many were drowned. Batteries being now placed againſt the Iriſh town,

Athlone beſieged.

(1) It was firſt offer'd to dr. Beveridge, rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, who declin'd accepting of it, for the ſame reaſon that the biſhop of London refuſed the offer of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, viz. becauſe the incumbent was living; but how to reconcile theſe ſcruples with their having taken the oaths themſelves is not very eaſy.

(2) Biſhop Kennet obſerves, upon this occaſion, "that it was no credit to our nation, to have the example of theſe noble "lords, and Engliſhmen follow'd by no more of their quality.

(3) The lords-juſtices uſed their utmoſt indeavors to ſuppreſs theſe Banditti, as well by offers of mercy, to ſuch as would ſubmit to their Majeſties obedience, as by propoſing a reward for every head of a rapparee; but all to no purpoſe.

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William by the twenty-ſecond both the cannon and mortars began to play briskly againſt the North-Eaſt-ſide of the caſtle. The 25th, ſeveral other batteries were raiſed, particularly againſt the bridge, and the 27th, the Engliſh burnt the wooden breaſt-work which the enemy had raiſed, on the other ſide of a broken arch of the bridge; but were unſucceſful in ſeveral attempts on the bridge, between that day and the 30th. A council of war being held that day, it was warmly debated, whether to hazard another attempt, or to draw off; and ſeveral reaſons were urged for the latter; but the principal officers arguing warmly for the former, they prevailed (1). The attack was made the ſame evening, at the uſual hour of relieving the guards (which prevented the enemy's ſuſpecting their deſign) and was begun by captain Sandys and two lieutenants, who led the firſt party of ſixty grenadiers, all in armor, twenty a-breaſt. They were ſeconded by another ſtrong detachment of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Guſtavus Hamilton, ſupported by ſix battalions of foot. Notwithſtanding the ſtream was very rapid, and the paſſage difficult, on account of ſome great ſtones that were in the river, they took the ford that was on the left of the bridge, againſt a baſtion of the enemy's, with unparallel'd reſolution, and with an amazing intrepidity ſurmounted all difficulties. They forced a paſſage, thro' the water, and, at the ſame time, thro' the enemy's bullets, fire and ſmoak, and gain'd the oppoſite bank; while ſome of the reſt laid planks over the broken part of the bridge, and others prepar'd the pontons. By theſe means, they paſs'd ſo faſt, that, in leſs than half an hour, they became maſters of the town, (the gariſon retreating with the utmoſt precipitation to the Iriſh camp) and immediately afterwards poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the works, that were on that ſide of it towards the enemy. The Engliſh had not above fifty men kill'd in this memorable action (2), the ſucceſs of which was, in a great meaſure owing to the conduct and bravery of the general officers, who animated the intrepid ſoldiers with their preſenſe and example (3).

And taken.

General Ginckel, having put Athlone into a poſture of defenſe, march'd with his army, the 10th of July, and, having reach'd Ballinaſloe, incamp'd along the river Suck, on the Roſcommon ſide, which was a very good paſs, and which the Iriſh, if they had not been blinded by their own fears, might likewiſe have ſecur'd, and thereby have given the Engliſh a great deal of trouble.

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But they ſoon retriev'd this error, by poſſeſſing themſelves of a far more advantageous poſt, on the other ſide of Aghrim-caſtle, three miles beyond Ballinaſloe, where they were extended from the church of Kilcomnodon, on their right, to a place call'd Gourtnapori, about two miles in length. On their left run a rivulet, having ſteep hills, and little bogs, on each ſide; next to which was a large red bog, almoſt a mile over, on the end whereof ſtood the caſtle of Aghrim, commanding the way that led to the camp, paſſable no where for horſe, but juſt at the caſtle, by reaſon of a ſmall river, which, running thro' a moiſt ground, made the whole a moraſs. This moraſs extended itſelf along to the right, where there was another paſs, at Urachree, having a riſing ground on either ſide thereof, and the Iriſh camp lay along the ridge of a hill, on the ſide of which ſtood two Daniſh forts, about half a mile's diſtance from the bog below, and this cut into many ſmall incloſures, which the Iriſh lined very thick with ſmall ſhot, and manag'd a communication between them. General Ginckel having view'd the enemy's camp, found it was very advantageous, but as he had advanc'd ſo far, that he muſt either fight his way thro', or ſhamefully retreat, he order'd the army to march towards the enemy the next day: and St. Ruth, on his ſide, perceiving, by the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh, that they were reſolved to attack him, made a ſolemn ſpeech to the Iriſh, to rouſe their courage (4).

The battle of Aghrim.

The 12th of July, being ſunday, the Engliſh army prepar'd, early in the morning, to advance towards the enemy; but the weather proving foggy, they did not move 'till about twelve o'clock, when they did it with all the order the ground would allow of.

The general having, at the ſame time, view'd the poſture of the Iriſh, and perceiving it would be neceſſary for him to be maſter of the paſs of Urachree, ſent a Daniſh captain, with ſome horſe, to force it; but they not ſucceeding, he order'd 200 of Cunningham's dragoons to march to certain ditches near the ford, to keep the enemy from coming over, and, in the mean time, the Engliſh army march'd forward. It being, by this time, two o' clock, and the general, ſeing himſelf under a neceſſity to gain that ford, and the other ways which

(1) They urged, "that no brave action could be performed without hazard; that the attempt was like to be ended with "ſucceſs, and proffered themſelves to be the firſt that ſhould paſs the river, and attack the enemy.

(2) This enterpriſe may juſtly be ſaid to be the moſt glorious as well as the moſt hazardous of this whole war; an enterpriſe ſo brave as can hardly be match'd in hiſtory; a place, proudly thought inacceſſible, reſolutely taken in leſs than an hour's time; a fortified town attack'd croſs a deep and wide river, by 3000 men only, in the face of a conſiderable army, who were maſters of all the fords, by the retrenchments they had caſt before them.

It is remarkable, that as ſoon as the Engliſh enter'd the river, advice being ſent of it to monſ. St. Ruth, who commanded the French anxiliaries, and the Iriſh army, he ſaid; "It is impoſſible for the Engliſh to pretend to take a town, while I am "ſo near, with an army to defend it; I would give a thouſand piſtols they durſt attempt it:" Colonel Sarsfield, who happen'd to be preſent, anſwer'd; "He knew the enterpriſe was not too difficult for Engliſh courage to attempt it:" and, therefore, preſs'd St. Ruth to ſend ſpeedy ſuccors to the town, but he ſtill perſiſted to turn the undertaking into a jeſt, upon which warm words paſs'd between them. St. Ruth was, however, ſoon convinc'd of his miſtake, and when he was inform'd, that the Engliſh were in actual poſſeſſion of the place, he order'd ſeveral detachments to beat them out again; but it was then too late, and he found he had been guilty of another overſight, in not levelling thoſe fortifications of Athlone, which were next his camp: for now the Engliſh us'd the enemy's own works againſt them, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the whole army of French and Iriſh, that they decamp'd that very night.

(3) General Ginckel gain'd ſo much honor by this enterpriſe, that the title of earl of Athlone was juſtly intail'd on his family, on that account.

(4) This ſpeech is too remarkable to be omited in hiſtory: he put them in mind; "how ſucceſsful he had been in ſuppreſſing "Hereſy in France, and bringing over a vaſt number of deluded ſouls into the boſom of the mother-church; that for this reaſon his maſter had choſen him, before others, to eſtabliſh the church in Ireland, on ſuch a foundation, that it ſhould not henceforward be in the power of hell or heretics to diſturb it; and that all good Roman Catholics depended on their courage to ſee theſe glorious things effected. He confeſs'd matters did not intirely anſwer his expectation ſince he came among them; but that ſtill all might be recover'd. That he was inform'd the Prince of Orange's heretical army was reſolv'd to give them battle: That now or never was the time for them to recover their loſt honors, and the privileges and eſtates of their anceſtors; urging to them, that they were no mercenary ſoldiers, there all being at ſtake, and their deſign to reſtore a pious King to his throne, to propogate the holy faith, and extirpate hereſy. And laſtly, to animate their courage more effectually, he aſſured them of King James's love and gratitude; of Lewis the great's protection; of himſelf to lead them on; of the church to pray for them, and of ſaints and angels to carry their ſouls into Heaven," concluding with an order, "to give "quarter to none, eſpecially not to ſpare any of the French heretics, in the Prince of Orange's army.

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led to the right of the Iriſh camp, as the moſt proper means to attack them, commanded Cunningham's dragoons, at the ditch, to advance towards a party of the enemy, who were poſted on the other ſide; but upon their approach, with another party that ſuſtained him, all retired behind a hill, nearer the camp, where a greater body were poſted. Theſe parties, being all continually re-inforced by others, obliged the Engliſh dragoons to retreat; upon which general Ginckel order'd Eppinger's dragoons to get between theſe bodies, and the enemy's camp. The enemy preſently diſcover'd this motion, and had the advantage in pouring ſo many men upon the Engliſh, that they would have been ſtill too hard for the dragoons, if the earl of Portland had not ſeconded them with his horſe, and behaved in the moſt courageous manner. This was at firſt a ſkirmiſh only, but a conſiderable body on both ſides were ſoon ingag'd; and the enemy quickly retiring, the generals took it into conſideration, whether it were not beſt to put off the continuation of the battle till the next morning.

This was at firſt reſolved on, and the tents were accordingly ordered to be ſent for; but afterwards, perceiving the enemy to be in ſome diſorder, by what had already happened, it was reſolved not to delay the attack, for fear they ſhould march off in the night, and they thereby loſe the opportunity of a deciſive battle. Major-general Mackay adviſed to begin the fight on the enemy's right, by which he propoſed to draw part of their force from Aghrim-caſtle, near which their main body was poſted, that ſo the right wing of the Engliſh might have the eaſier paſſage over to attack their left, and then the whole Engliſh army might ingage, which otherwiſe would be impoſſible. This advice was followed, and had its deſired effect.

Between four and five in the afternoon, theſe diſpoſitions being made, a party of the Engliſh left wing begun to move towards the enemy, and by five the battle was renew'd. The Iriſh muſkeeters had lined the ditches every where, and their horſe were advantageouſly poſted to ſuſtain them. They behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and defended their poſts with an incredible obſtinacy; they never offer'd to ſtir from one ſide, till the Engliſh put their pieces over at the other, and then having lines of communication from one ditch to the other, they could preſently poſt themſelves, and flank the Engliſh. This was the occaſion of a very hot fire, on both ſides, which continued, on the left, above an hour, before the center, and the right wing of the army, began to ingage. The main body of the Engliſh army advanced, in the mean time, and major-general Mackay, with other general officers, obſerving ſeveral bodies of the enemy's horſe and foot draw off from the left, and move towards their right, where they were preſs'd very hard by the Engliſh, they laid hold of that advantage, and made the foot march over the bog, which fronted the enemy's main battle. The regiments of Erle, Herbert, Creighton and Brewer, going over the narroweſt place, where the hedges on the enemy's ſide run fartheſt into the bog, they had orders to march to the loweſt of the ditches, adjoining to the ſide of the bog, and there to poſt themſelves, till the horſe could come about, by Aghrim-caſtle, and ſuſtain them, and 'till the other foot had march'd over the bog below, where it was broader, and were ſupported by Foulk's and brigadier Stewart's regiment.

Purſuant to theſe orders, the four regiments advanced over the bog, moſt of them to the middle in mud and water, and as they drew near the ditches, received the enemy's fire; notwithſtanding which they continued their march till they came to the loweſt hedge, from whence they beat the Iriſh, and purſued them from hedge to hedge, till they came pretty near their main body. William & Mary. An' 16[illegible].

The Iriſh, on the other hand, had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that they had an eaſy paſſage for their horſe, among all thoſe hedges and ditches, by which means they poured in a-freſh, in great numbers, both of horſe and foot, upon the Engliſh. Colonel Erle, obſerving this, incouraged his men, by telling them, "that now their ſafety lay wholly in "their courage". However, being both flanked and fronted, and expoſed beſide to the enemy's fire from the adjacent hedges, the Engliſh were forced to quit their ground, and retreat to the bog again, with a conſiderable loſs, the colonels Erle and Herbert being taken priſoners (1).

While theſe things paſſed on this ſide, the regiments of colonel St. John, colonel Tiffin, the lord George Hamilton, and the French Proteſtants in Engliſh ſervice, with ſeveral other regiments, were marching over the bog below, while the Iriſh lay ſo cloſe in their ditches, that it was queſtioned by many, whether they had any men there or no; but no ſooner were the French Proteſtants, and the reſt of the troops, advanced within twenty yards of the ditches, than the enemy fired moſt furiouſly upon them, which the other ſuſtained with intrepidity, ſtill preſſing forwards, tho' they could hardly ſee one another for ſmoak, the wind blowing directly upon them. For ſome time the battle had remained doubtful, but now the victory ſeemed to incline on the ſide of the Iriſh; for they had driven the foot in the center ſo far back, that they were got almoſt into a line with the cannon that were planted near the bog, of which the Engliſh had then no benefit, the Iriſh being intermixed with their men.

While the infantry was thus ingaged, major-general Ruvigny's regiment of French horſe (which had before been duke Schomberg's) and ſir John Laniers, being both poſted on the right, the latter was afterwards drawn to the left, where they were ſerviceable, and the right wing of the Engliſh horſe were, in the mean time, making the beſt of their way to ſuccor the foot, ſeing in what danger they were in, and that all was at ſtake. This cavalry was obliged to preſs and tumble over a very dangerous paſs, and, at the ſame time, ſuſtain ſhowers of the enemy's bullets, from a body of their dragoons and foot, which were conveniently poſted under covert; but having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, they at length lodged themſelves in a dry ditch, in the hotteſt of the enemy's fire from Aghrim-caſtle, and ſome old walls and hedges that were near it. In the center, the Engliſh infantry labored, all this while, under great diſadvantages, which major-general Talmaſh obſerving, he haſtened to their relief, with ſome freſh men, and gave orders to the broken regiments to halt and face about, which they immediately did, and bravely charged the Iriſh, who had advanced upon them to the center of the bog, killed above 300 of them, before they could retreat out of it, and then marched up boldly to their old ground again, from whence they had been juſt before beaten. In the mean time, major-general Mackay had fallen upon the enemy with a good body of horſe on their left, and among the reſt the French regiment of horſe had forc'd a regiment of Iriſh dragoons from an advantageous poſt, and put Tyrconnel's horſe to flight. Upon which, major-general Ruvigny, at the head of the Oxford

(1) The former, after having been twice taken and retaken, eſcap'd at laſt; but the latter, as it was ſaid, was barbarouſly murder'd by the Iriſh, after quarter given, when they ſaw he was like to be reſcued.

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regiment of horſe, ſupported by his own, went along the ſide of the bog, and bore all down before him. And now the horſe and foot of the Engliſh right, and the Iriſh left, being mixed, there was nothing but a continued fire, and a very warm diſpute all along the line, the Iriſh, with great reſolution, indeavoring to maintain their ditches, and the Engliſh, with no leſs bravery, to beat them out of them.

St. Ruth, when he ſaw the Engliſh foot in the centure repuls'd, told thoſe about him, in a bravado, that he would beat the Engliſh army to the gates of Dublin; yet ſeing, with great ſurprize, the regiments of Oxford, Ruvigny, Langſton and Bierly, together with Levingſton's dragoons preſſing over towards the caſtle, he order'd a brigade of his own horſe from the right wing to march up to the left, then riding to one of his batteries, and giving orders to the gunners where to fire, and afterwards leading on ſome horſe towards the place, where he ſaw the Engliſh indeavor to go over, he was killed by a cannon ball, as he rode down the hill of Kilcommondon, the place where the main ſtreſs of the battle was fought, being juſt under the Iriſh camp. His troops were immediately put to a ſtand, and his guards drawing off with his corps, many others took that opportunity to draw off likewiſe (1). The Engliſh, who obſerved their diſorder, preſs'd boldly on, and ſoon drove the enemy to the top of Kilcommondon-hill, where their camp had lain. Upon this, they began to commit their ſafety to their flight, the foot running full ſpeed towards a great bog behind them on their left, and the horſe on the highway towards Loughbreagh.

The troops, which ingag'd firſt towards the left, maintain'd their ground, in the mean time, bravely, and tho' the Iriſh did, once or twice make themſelves maſter of the Chevaux de Friſe, that cover'd the French foot, yet the French regain'd them with great valor. Little happen'd, however, on that ſide, for near two hours, neither did the Daniſh horſe and foot, that were on the left of all, diſturb the enemy as yet, but kept ſeveral bodies of horſe and foot, that forc'd them, on the other ſide of the rivulet, in awe: but when they perceiv'd Mackay's battalions in the center, to drive the enemy before them, leſt thoſe bodies that fac'd them, ſhould fall back to the relief of the flying party, they ingag'd them very briſkly, and were, at firſt, oppos'd with great bravery; but victory begining to declare againſt the Iriſh, on every ſide, they all fled out of the field, their foot being miſerably ſlaughter'd by the Engliſh horſe and dragoons, and their horſe purſued them three miles. Night coming on, with a thick miſty rain, prevented the Engliſh from geting between the runaways, and a very advantageous paſs, near Loughbreagh, which gave many of them an opportunity to eſcape. However, it was computed, that there were no leſs than 4000 of the Iriſh kill'd on the ſpot, whereas the Engliſh had not above 700 kill'd, and about as many wounded (2). General Ginckel had always the modeſty to confeſs, that the honor of the day was principally owing to the conduct and bravery of monſ. Ruvigny (afterwards earl of Galway) and to the Oxford and French regiments of horſe (3).

The Iriſh routed.

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After ſome days refreſhment, general Ginckel, reſolving his victorious army ſhould purſue their good fortune, ordered them to march towards Galway, the only place of any importance, excepting Limerick, now left in the hands of the Iriſh, and having poſted his forces before it, he ſent a ſummons to the garriſon. The lord Dillon, who was governor of the place, anſwer'd, "that monſ. "D' Uſſon, who commanded in chief, as well as "himſelf and the reſt of the officers, were reſolved "to defend the place to the laſt." However, the Engliſh had no ſooner croſs'd the river, with part of their army, and had taken the fort, which the Iriſh were building, than theſe reſolute officers beat a parly, and hoſtages were immediately exchang'd. The Iriſh ſtarting ſome difficulties about the ſurrender, general Ginckel grew impatient, and ſent once or twice to them for a reſolution. At length, lieutenant-general Bourk, one of the Iriſh hoſtages, was permited to go in, to whom, major-general Talmaſh, who, as it was believed, was rather inclin'd to lay the treaty aſide, and to take the town by ſtorm, ſaid; "When you are ready to "begin again, give us a ſign by firing a gun into "the air;" but Bourk replied, "we will not "fire a gun from within, 'till we are provoked "from without." Soon after the articles were agreed on, and the town delivered into the hands of the Engliſh (4).

Galway ſurrender'd to the Engliſh.

The 25th of Auguſt, the Engliſh army came, a ſecond time, before Limerick, and immediately poſſeſs'd themſelves of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts (5). The 27th, caſtle Connel, and caſtle Carruck-a-gunnell, three miles below the town, on the Shannon, were taken, and the gariſons of both made priſoners of war. At the ſame time, ſome Engliſh ſhips came unexpectedly up the river, which very much terified the Iriſh. Notwithſtanding this, and ſeveral ſucceſſes the Engliſh had, in a council of war, held the 17th of September, it was warmly debated, whether to proſecute the ſiege, or march over the river, to deſtroy all the enemy's forage in the county of Clare, and then turn the ſiege into a blockade however, it was, at length, carried for the former. The 22d, general Ginckel paſs'd the Shannon over a bridge of boats, with ſtrong detachments of horſe and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon, leaving the Prince of Wirtemberg, Mackay and Talmaſh, to command on this ſide. The enemy fired that morning continually from ſeveral batteries, but did no great harm. The ſame afternoon, a party of colonel Matthew's dragoons was vigorouſly attack'd by a ſtronger detachment of the enemy, 'till the Engliſh foot coming up, the Iriſh retreated under their cannon. Upon this, all the Engliſh grenadiers, ſupported by four regiments of foot, were order'd to

Second ſiege of Limerick.

(1) Upon the death of monſ. St. Ruth, the command of the Iriſh army devolv'd upon colonel Sarsfield; but as, ſince the difference between him and monſ. St. Ruth, at Athlone, he had always been on the reſerve with him, he did not know the order of battle.

(2) This victory was as glorious, as it was conſiderable in its conſequences, and the more ſo, as beſide the vaſt advantages the Iriſh had in their ground, they exceeded the Engliſh in number of men, the latter having, at moſt, barely 18,000 men, whereas the former had 20,000 foot, and 5000 horſe and dragoons.

(3) Father Orleans, notwithſtanding he pretends his hiſtory was written under the inſpection of King James, is as evidently faulty in this part of it, as in many others. He pretends, "King William would never have made a conqueſt of Ireland had "not St. Ruth been kill'd by a cannon-ball, after he had broke all the enemy's foot, and as he was actually giving orders for pur- "ſuing that begining of victory, which was ſtopp'd by his death, and given to his enemy." Echard's tranſlation of F. Orleans, p. 328. The Jeſuit's relation is evidently falſe, becauſe the Engliſh had actually recovered the ground they had loſt, and were in purſuit of the Iriſh horſe and dragoons before St. Ruth was kill'd.

(4) The conſequence of this ſucceſs was the ſubmiſſion of Baldarick O Donnel, with a conſiderable number of men under his command; and it was thought to have been the death of Tyrconnel, who ended his days at Limerick, the fourteenth of Auguſt, as it was believed, with grief, to ſee his maſter's affairs in ſo bad a condition.

(5) They were afterwards call'd Mackay's and Naſſau's forts, becauſe they were taken by theſe two commanders.

attack

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attack the works which cover'd Thomond-bridge, conſiſting of two forts, one on each ſide of it, and ſeveral other fortifications, in which the enemy had poſted above 200 men. The diſpute was very obſtinate for ſome time, and the attack dangerous; becauſe the enemy plied the aſſailants very warmly, not only with their cannon, from the King's caſtle, and two or three other batteries, but with their ſmall ſhot from the wall. Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh grenadiers preſs'd the Iriſh ſo vigorouſly, that they abandon'd their poſts: a ſtrong detachment was, hereupon, ſent from the town to ſupport them; but the Engliſh purſued their advantage with ſo much fierceneſs, that they beat this detachment too, and purſued the enemy over the bridge, to the very gate of the town (1).

Limerick ſurrender'd.

Having gain'd this advantage, the Engliſh lodg'd themſelves within ten yards of the bridge, notwithſtanding a high tower, that ſtood near the end of the bridge, next to them. The Iriſh being now cut off from all communication with their horſe, and deſpairing of any ſuccor from the French, began to think of giving up the town; which, after ſeveral conferences between the principal officers on both ſides, and the lords-juſtices of Ireland, who came to the camp for that purpoſe, they, at length, did, by capitulation, ſign'd the 3d of October, not only for the city of Limerick, and the caſtles of Roſe and Clare, but all other places and caſtles which were ſtill in the hands of the Iriſh (2): and the ſame evening one of the gates was deliver'd up to the Engliſh. So many of the Iriſh as were willing to go were ſhip'd off for France, where, upon their arrival, King James welcom'd them with a letter, directed to lieutenant-general Sheldon, the chief officer then with them, in which he expreſs'd himſelf intirely ſatisfied, with their conduct (3). Thus, by the taking of Limerick, all Ireland was reduced to the obedience of their lawful ſovereigns, King William and Queen Mary; the town of Sligo having ſurrender'd to the earl of Granard ſome time before (4).

Ireland intirely reduced.

The affairs of *Scotland* were this year ſo inconſiderable, that they are hardly worth our notice. The Highlanders kept very quiet in their holds, and in civil affairs, there happened nothing remarkable. I ſhall, therefore, proceed to give a brief account of the tranſactions of our fleets, which were likewiſe not very conſiderable.

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Affairs of Scotland inconſiderable.

Maritime affairs.

I have already obſerved, that mr. Ruſſel was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the greateſt diligence was uſed in order to an early campaign. By his inſtructions he was, indeed, impowered to proceed from time to time, in ſuch manner as might beſt inable him to deſtroy the enemy, either by ſea or land, without expecting particular orders; it was however expreſly provided, that if bad weather rendered it unſafe for him to proceed to ſea, he ſhould repair to, and remain at Torbay, 'till farther orders, the conſequences of which reſtraint were not, perhaps, ſo thoroughly conſidered, as they might have been. With his inſtructions, the admiral likewiſe received a liſt of the ſhips of which the main fleet was appointed to conſiſt (5).

The admiral received orders to put to ſea, ſooner than he thought it proper to hazard the great ſhips, which he believed it neceſſary to remonſtrate, but withal declar'd his willingneſs to obey her Majeſty's commands. He was likewiſe againſt ſending any large fleet to Galloway; nor did he approve of leaving Dunkirk unguarded, 'till the uncertain arrival of other Dutch ſhips, both which had been propos'd. Her Majeſty, receiving, however, intelligence, from Holland, toward the latter end of April, that a fleet of men of war, with about 200 tranſports, were near upon ready to ſail from France for Ireland, gave the admiral poſitive orders, to ſail forthwith for the Soundings. Purſuant to which he appointed Cape Clear for the rendezvous; and the beſt part of the fleet, being got together, form'd them into a line of battle, to be ready for ſervice (6): but while he was doing this, he received orders, from her Majeſty, the 10th of May, to ſend the

(1) A French major, who commanded at the Thomond-gate, fearing the Engliſh might enter pell-mell with the fugitives, order'd the bridge of the gate to be drawn up, and thereby left the party expoſed to the fury of thoſe who purſued them, who kill'd 600 of them and made near 200 priſoners: and many of the Iriſh were beſide drowned.

(2) The articles conſiſted of two parts, civil and military: the firſt were ſign'd by the lords-juſtices as well as the generals; but the latter by the general only, on the Engliſh part. By the four firſt military articles, all the Iriſh who were willing to go to France, had liberty ſo to do: but, two days after they were ſign'd, the general received a letter, from a lieutenant-colonel in the Iriſh army, complaining, that he was under confinement for refuſing to go to France. This violence was ſo reſented by general Ginckel, that he immediately ordered four guns to be planted upon Boll's-bridge, and, with ſome warmth, ſaid he would teach the Iriſh to play tricks with him. Sarsfield came hereupon to the Engliſh camp, and ſeveral warm words paſs'd between him and the general, on this account: and Sarsfield ſaying, "that he was then in the general's power;" "not ſo (replied "Ginckel) but you ſhall go in again, and do the worſt you can." However, all things were, at length, accommodated, and the priſoners inlarg'd.

(3) The ſubſtance of this letter was as follows:

"That having been inform'd of the neceſſities, which forc'd the lords-juſtices, and the general-officers of his forces to ſurrender "Limerick and other places, that remain'd to him, in his kingdom of Ireland, he would not defer to let him, and the reſt of "the officers, come along with him, know, that he was extreamly ſatisfied with his and their conduct, and with the valor of the "ſoldiers, but moſt particularly with his and their declaration and reſolution to come and ſerve where he was; aſſuring both him, "and the other officers and ſoldiers, that he ſhould never forget this act of loyalty, nor fail, when in a capacity, to give them, "above others, particular marks of his favor. In the mean time, he charg'd Sheldon to inform them, that they were to ſerve under his Majeſty's command, and by his commiſſions; and that his brother, the King of France, had already given orders to "cloath them, to furniſh them with all neceſſaries, and to give them quarters of refreſhment.

(4) Thus ended this famous Iriſh war, to the immortal honor of general Ginckel, and with ſo much the more glory to the Engliſh, becauſe the rebels were ſo powerfully ſupported by the French King; who had reaſon to think it his intereſt, to divert their arms that way; and it is remarkable, that a fleet of men of war and ſtore-ſhips, which he had ſent to the relief of Limerick, arrived in Dingle-bay, but a day or two after the articles, for the ſurrender of that place, were ſign'd. Father Orleans pretends, "the ſecond ſiege of Limerick was ſuſtain'd with ſuch reputation, that it might have been a means to reſtore that "King:" but the Engliſh, probably to ſave the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, did not give them ſo great opportunity to exerciſe their valour as at Athlone and Aghrim, and the Iriſh were in the more haſte to capitulate, that they might obtain good terms, as they did: and, indeed, as many thought better than they had reaſon to expect.

(5) According to this liſt, his fleet conſiſted of five firſt-rates; eleven ſecond-rates; two and thirty third-rates; nine fourth-rates; four fifth-rates; three ſixth-rates; twenty fire-ſhips; four hoſpital-ſhips; one ſloop; one brigantine; and one yacht; in all ninety-one ſail, ſeventy of which were of the line of battle; beſide the Dutch, which came over in good time, and whoſe quota was generally five to eight, or, as biſhop Burnet ſays, was this time agreed to be, three to five, of equal rates and ſtrength.

(6) Conſiſting of five firſt-rates; eleven ſecond-rates; two and thirty third-rates; nine fourth-rates; one fifth-rate; four ſixth-rates; four frigats; fifteen fire-ſhips; four hoſpital-ſhips; one bomb veſſel; and one yacht; making together eighty-ſeven ſail, of which ſeven and fifty were of the line of battle, Engliſh: and of the Dutch, ſeventeen ſhips, from ninety-two to fifty guns, and four of leſſer burden, together one and twenty ſail; in all, Engliſh and Dutch, one hundred and eight ſail. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 649.

fleet

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fleet to St. Hellen's or Spithead, and himſelf to come immediately to court (1).

When he returned to the fleet, he had orders, to ſend ſome ſhips into the Iriſh channel, to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Scotland, without Cantire, to prevent the French tranſporting any forces from Ireland to that kingdom: but the ſhips, which were expected from Dunkirk, not being come, and the Dutch admiral refuſing to ſend ſhips of his ſquadron to ſupply, in part, their place, theſe orders could not be complied with. The Queen being informed of this delay, renewed her order, that the fleet ſhould ſail as ſoon as poſſible, according to her former inſtructions, without ſtaying for the return of the Dunkirk-ſquadron.

The 20th of May, the fleet was ready, and the admiral intended to ſail, the next morning, from the Downs to Torbay, and to leave orders for mr. Churchill, to follow him thither, with the ſquadron under his command, off of Dunkirk; but a S. W. wind preventing him, he received the Queen's orders, the twenty-ſecond, to proceed before Breſt.

The twenty-third, in the morning, the fleet ſet ſail; but, being got as far Weſtward as Dungeneſſe, was forced back into the Downs, with a hard gale at S. W. and, ſoon after, advice came, that the French were arrived, with 100 tranſports, in the river Shannon, and that their convoy was cruiſing between that river and Galloway; upon which her Majeſty ordered the admiral to proceed off of Breſt, but to ſend a frigat to Kingſale, for intelligence, and, if there was any probability of deſtroying thoſe ſhips, to detach a ſquadron for that purpoſe, with orders to return to the fleet, as ſoon as the ſervice was perform'd (2).

At length, the weather proving favorable, the fleet put to ſea, and, on the 14th of June, being ſix leagues S. E. from the iſle of Wight, it was reſolv'd, by a council of the flag-officers, to fix the ſtation eight leagues W. from Uſhant, and that ſhips ſhould be detach'd from thence, to look into Breſt. The 19th they got off of Plymouth, but were forc'd, by bad weather, back to Torbay (3). The 22d the admiral got under ſail again, and, when he was off of Dartmouth, received advice, by an expreſs, that the French were at ſea, with twenty-eight ſhips. The 28th it was confirmed by ſome fiſhermen, who ſaid they had lain four days becalmed, off of Uſhant, which then bore E. S. E. from them, about nine leagues; upon which it was reſolved, by the flag-officers, to ſtretch over to Cape-Clear; and, when the admiral came off of Kingſale, he found the Smirna-fleet in ſafe harbor there.

The admiral having convoy'd this fleet off of Scilly, parted with them there, the 13th of July, and ſhaped his courſe towards the French coaſt, in ſearch of the French fleet; and no ſooner was Uſhant diſcover'd from the maſt-head, than ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was ſent to look into Breſt, while the admiral followed at a convenient diſtance. When he was about a league from St. Matthew's-point, he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of Breſt-harbor, which proved to be coaſting veſſels from Bretagne, with three men of war, of about forty guns each. Sir Cloudeſly, to decoy theſe ſhips, ſtood in, with part of his ſquadron, under French colors, and the reſt without any; which made them believe it was ſome prizes ſent home with part of their own fleet; ſo that they were coming out to meet them; but finding their miſtake, every one ſhifted for himſelf, as well as he could.

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The ſeven and twentieth, the fleet being about thirty leagues from Uſhant, ſeveral veſſels were ſeen under convoy of a man of war, and two ſhips ſuppoſed to be fire-ſhips. The ſame ſtratagem was made uſe of as before, to deceive them, with white colors; but one of our captains being too forward in the chaſe, only three of the ſmall veſſels fell into our hands.

The admiral finding all methods for coming up with the enemy proved ineffectual (for as biſhop Burnet obſerves they had orders to avoid an ingagement) was deſirous of freſh orders, how to proceed with the fleet; when, on the nine and twentieth, the Queen ſent him directions, if the French fleet was not at ſea, or in ſuch a ſtation, that he could not prudently attack them, he ſhould forthwith repair to the coaſt of Ireland, for ſecurity of our merchant-ſhips; but left him at liberty to go to Kingſale, to refreſh his men, or to remain in ſuch ſtation, near that place, where he ſhould judge the fleet might be moſt ſafe, and in the greateſt readineſs to execute orders. He was, however, adviſed, not to leave the French coaſt immediately, becauſe he might probably ſoon, if it all, have an opportunity of fighting.

The 31ſt of July (the fleet having till then kept its ſtation, about ſixty leagues, W. S. W. from Uſhant) the admiral gave orders, once more, to ſtand for Uſhant; and three days after, the marquis of Carmarthen's ſloop, being upon the chaſe, off of Uſhant, ſaw upwards of a hundred ſail, in Broad-Sound, which, as they ſuppoſed, proved to be the French fleet going to Breſt. Upon this advice, it was reſolved, on the 5th of Auguſt, in a council of war, that it was neceſſary to return with the fleet to Torbay, to recruit. While the fleet was at Torbay, it was propos'd, from court, to attack the French fleet in Camaret-bay: but this project was diſapproved of in a council of war, and as it was only propoſed, and not abſolutely commanded, of courſe drop'd.

The 25th of Auguſt, the admiral received orders to put to ſea again, with the firſt fair wind, as well to meet the French fleet, ſhould they venture to come out again, as for ſecurity of the trade, and to intercept ſuccors from France to Ireland. Purſuant to theſe orders, he made the land of Uſhant the laſt of Auguſt; but nothing appearing there, that day or the next, he ſailed for the Lizard, from whence the appointed ſtation was ten leagues Weſt-South-Weſt (4).

The ſecond of September, our fleet being in the Soundings, ſo violent a ſtorm aroſe, that for their ſafety, they were obliged to bear up for ſo dangerous a part as Plymouth, where they arrived in a ſhattered condition, with the loſs of the Coronation,

(1) The occaſion of theſe orders was, becauſe there was reaſon to apprehend, that the French intended not only to ſend ammunition, and other inſtruments of war, to Ireland; but to tranſport a conſiderable number of Iriſh, from thence to Scotland: and, therefore, the Queen was deſirous to intercept them, in their paſſage, and to confer with him in perſon, that as well this, as all other affairs, relating to the expedition, might be mutually deliberated. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 649.

(2) The 1ſt of June, the admiral was acquainted, that the news of the duke of Berwick's being gone to Scotland was contradicted, and not many days after he received advice from court, that the French ſquadron was certainly gone back from Ireland, and the tranſports would probably be clear of that kingdom, before the fleet could arrive: his orders were therefore renewed, to ſail to Breſt, Belle-Iſle, or ſome ſtation thereabouts, to prevent the French from attempting our Smirna-fleet. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 650.

(3) There, the admiral received a letter from mr. Ailmer, dated off of Cape St. Vincent, by which he judg'd the Smirna-fleet was in Ireland, or, at leaſt, very near the Soundings. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. ib.

(4) If the French had been inclined to fight, they could not have wiſhed a fairer opportunity: for they might have had the weather-gage on their own coaſt; but they were ſatisfied to lie ſafe in port, rather than hazard blows tho' with this advantage. Lediard's naval hiſtory Vol. 2. p. 652.

a ſecond-

a ſecond-rate, which foundered off of the Ramhead, and the Harwich, a third-rate, which ran on ſhoar and was bulged. And thus ended the fruitleſs tranſactions of our fleet for this year: for tho' a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips was formed, and ordered, under the command of ſir Ralph Delaval to ſtation between twenty and thirty leagues South-weſt of Cape-Clear; yet he being four times beaten back by contrary winds, his expedition ended in as little as that of the great fleet.

Affairs in America.

We had this year, again, a ſquadron of men of war in America, under the command of captain Ralph Wren, as commadore. The only thing which happened remarkable in the expedition was, that on the 21ſt of February, he met a French ſquadron of eighteen men of war, from ſixty to forty guns; which the next morning, he bravely ingaged, tho' he had but ſeven men of war, under his command, and a fleet of merchant-ſhips to take care of. After a warm action of four hours, finding the French fleet too much his ſuperior, he made his retreat, with great conduct, and brought his whole ſquadron and convoy, without the loſs of a ſhip, into Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes (1). Commadore Wren dying ſoon after, captain Boteler, the ſenior commander, ſailed, with part of the ſquadron, from Barbadoes, in June (leaving the reſt to attend the plantations) and arrived in England, in Auguſt.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt hint at the affairs on the continent. Thoſe of Flanders, I have already diſpatched; I come now to Spain.

Affairs of Spain.

The Spaniards had met with a ſenſible mortification in Flanders, by the loſs of Mons: but they met with a greater near home by their ill ſucceſs in Catalonia, where the French took Urgell, fortified Belver, and advanced to attack Prato Melo, the Spaniards every where flying before them: nor were they more ſucceſsful at ſea, ſince they could not prevent the marſhal d' Etrees from terrifying the city of Barcelona with a bombardment.

Affairs of Italy.

The French were no leſs proſperous in Italy; for monſ. Catinat, taking the field early, made himſelf maſter of Villa-Franca, the forts of St. Auſpice and Montalban; and ſoon after of the city and caſtle of Nice; he likewiſe made great progreſs in Piedmont, took Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the marquis de Feuquieres, with a ſtrong body, to inveſt Coni, and tho' Prince Eugene had the good fortune to raiſe that ſiege, and to retake Carmagnola, and the French were obliged to abandon Foſſano, Savillana and Saluſſes, and to retreat towards Pignerol, yet the duke of Savoy was a great ſufferer, by the ill ſucceſs of the former part of the campain. Monſ. Catinat, likewiſe, concluded the campain ſucceſsfully, by taking the caſtle of Montmelan, by which means, the French became intire maſters of all the duchy of Savoy. On the 1ſt of February this year, died Pope Alexander VIII, who was ſucceeded by Pope Innocent XII, of the family of Pignatelli.

Affairs of Germany.

On the Rhine, the campain was, this year, very inconſiderable, tho' the French had rather the advantage on that ſide too. Their firſt attempt was on the city of Mentz, which was to have been delivered to them by treachery, but their deſign being prevented by a timely diſcovery, they took the town of Algeſheim, about five or ſix German miles from that city, after ſome reſiſtance, and then retreated to Creutznach. On the other hand, the Germans, under the command of the elector of Saxony, having the generals Caprara and Schoning under him, croſſed the Rhine near Manheim; but they were rather loſers than gainers by it; for the French croſſing the Rhine, in their turn, at Philipſburg obliged the Germans to follow them; but not time enough to hinder their taking of Pfortzheim, in the marquaſite of Baden Durlach. With the taking of this place, and another of leſs importance, the French, after having likewiſe ravaged that of Juliers, which belonged to the elector Palatine, finiſhed their campain, on that ſide; the death of the elector of Saxony, on the 22d of September, having in a great meaſure, put an end to that of the Germans.

King's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

But to return to England: (2) The parliament, which, as I have ſaid above, was prorogued to the 22d of October, being then met, the King opened the ſeſſion, as uſual, by a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them: "that he had appointed this "meeting as ſoon as ever the affairs abroad would "admit of his return to England that they might "have the more time to conſider of the beſt and "moſt effectual ways and means for the carrying on "the war againſt France. That he was willing to "hope, the good ſucceſs, with which it had pleaſed "God to bleſs his arms in Ireland that ſummer, "would not only be a great incouragement to them "to proceed the more chearfull in this work, but "would be looked upon by them as an earneſt of "future ſervice, which their timely aſſiſtance to "him might, by God's bleſſing, procure to them "all. And as he did not doubt, but they would take "care to pay the arrears of that army, which had "been ſo deſerving and ſo proſperous, in the reducing of Ireland, to a peaceable cnndition; ſo he "aſſured them, there ſhould be no care wanting on "his part, to keep that kingdom, as far as was "poſſible, from being burdenſome to England, for "the future. He, moreover, acquainted them with "the neceſſity both of having a ſtrong fleet early at "ſea, next year, and of maintaining a conſiderable army ready upon all occaſions, not only to "defend themſelves from any inſult, but alſo to "annoy the common enemy, where it might "be moſt ſenſible to them, which he did not ſee "could be done with leſs than 65,000 l. Adding, "that by the vigor and diſpatch of their counſels "and aſſiſtance to him, in this ſeſſion of parliament, they had now an opportunity in their "hands, which, if they neglected, they could never "reaſonably hope to ſee again, not only to eſtabliſh "the future quiet and proſperity in theſe kingdoms, but the peace and ſecurity of all "Europe."

Addreſſes of both Houſes.

Both houſes waited on his Majeſty with their congratulatory addreſſes "upon his ſafe and happy return, after ſo many hazards, to which his "Majeſty had expoſed his perſon; and upon the "ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms in reducing "Ireland; and at the ſame time, aſſured his Majeſty, that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of

(1) The author of the Britiſh empire, in America, reckons this the braveſt action which was performed in that part of the world, during the whole war; we had not, indeed, many brave actions to boaſt of there, and tho' this produced but a negative advantage, all circumſtances conſidered, it very well deſerves the name of a brave and commendable action.

(2) I gave an account above of the King's departure from the army in Flanders to Loo, and return from thence to England; but omited to mention, that his Majeſty's enemies, unwilling to wait any longer, the uncertain fate of war, had formed a project for aſſaſſinating the King. This was to be perpetrated by a French captain of dragoons called de Granvale, and one Dumont who had been formerly retained for the ſame purpoſe. Their deſign, at firſt, was to do to the wicked deed at Loo, before he opened the campain: but miſſing their opportunity there, they followed his Majeſty to Flanders. Granvale returned to the French army; but Dumont, to be nearer at hand to execute his deſign, entered into the ſervice of the confederate army, where his intent was to ſhoot the King, when he went to viſit the grand guard or the lines, and then to eſcape to a party of horſe with which Granvale, and colonel Parker, upon previous intimation given, were to be in a readineſs to reſcue him: but whether Dumont's courage failed him, or ſome other cauſe prevented it, after ſome weeks attendance, he left the army, and laid aſide the accurſed project, for this year at leaſt. If the deſign had ſucceeded, Granvale was to be made a duke, and to have an eſtate proportionable, and Dumont was to be a knight of St. Lazarus, with a penſion of 20,000 livers a year.

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" their power, in carrying on a vigorous war againſt " France, in order to procure an honorable and " laſting peace to his own dominions, and to ſecure " his neighbors from the injuries and invaſions of " the common oppreſſor; hoping, with his Majeſty, " that the victories of this laſt ſummer were hap- " py preſages of the proſperity of his future enter- " prizes."

Both houſes, likewiſe, preſented addreſſes to the Queen, to acknowledge her prudent care, in the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe.

Bill to appoint the oaths in Ireland.

The 28th of October, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, " to abrogate the former " oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance in Ireland, and " inſtead thereof, to eſtabliſh the oaths of fidelity " and allegiance taken to their Majeſty's in Eng- " land." This bill being ſent up to the houſe of peers, their lordſhips made ſome amendments to it, which occaſioned two or three conferences between the lords and commons, but the former deſiſting from their amendments, the 10th of December, it paſſed that houſe, likewiſe.

A ſupply granted.

The 30th of October, a motion was made, that a ſupply be granted to their Majeſties, but it was not taken into conſideration, till the 6th of November, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, " that a " ſupply be granted to their Majeſties for the car- " rying on a vigorous war againſt France;" it was, at the ſame time, ordered, that his Majeſty be deſired, to cauſe the ſtate of the war, for the inſuing year, as well with regard to the fleet as the land forces, to be laid before the houſe. The 9th the eſtimate of the charge of the navy, for the year 1692, as delivered in by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, having been examined, the commons voted the ſum of 1,515,898 l. for that article, including the ordnance, and the charge of building one dry dock, and two wet docks at Portſmouth. The 19th, the lord Ranelagh having before, by his Majeſty's orders, laid a liſt of the land-forces before the commons, it was reſolved, " that an army of 64,924 men, excluſive of offi- " cers, was neceſſary for the ſervice of the year " 1692, in order to the ſecuring the peace of the " kingdom, and the carrying on a vigorous war " againſt France." Much time was ſpent in ſtating and examining the eſtimate of the charge of the army, general officers, hoſpitals, train of artillery and their tranſport-ſhips; as alſo in conſidering, what ſhare the kingdom of Ireland ſhould contribute towards the charge of the troops there; ſo that it was the 4th of January before they came to any reſolution; but then it was agreed; " that a ſum not exceeding 1,935,787 l. together with the ſum of " 165,000 l. to be anſwered out of the revenue of " Ireland, be the ſum for the land-forces, for the " ſervice of the year 1692"; ſo that the ſums granted this year, for the fleet and army, amounted together to the ſum of 3,411,677 l.

Ways and means.

To raiſe theſe large ſums, it was reſolved, on the 12th of November, " that the duties of exciſe " for beer, ale, and other liquors, which were pay- " able for a year, from the 17th of November, be " continued for another year: and on the 12th of " December, that the ſum of 1,651,702 l. be " granted upon lands; and that the ſalaries, fees, " and perquiſites of all offices under the crown, " ſhould be to the uſe of the war, except 500 l. " to be allowed ſuch reſpective officers, except " the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the " judges, foreign miniſters, and to the commiſſion- " officers, ſerving in the fleet and army." As, after this, the farther conſideration of ways and means was poſtponed for near a month, it will not be amiſs to take a view of ſeveral other things, which were done in parliament, from the begining of the ſeſſion, to the time the conſideration of ways and means was reſumed.

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I ſhall begin with that of the Eaſt-India-company, which took up a great deal of time. The 28th of October, ſeveral merchants, their Majeſty's ſubjects, preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, containing complaints againſt the Eaſt-India-company, and the company at the ſame time, put in another petition, in behalf of themſelves; the conſideration of both which, was refered to a committee of the whole houſe. About a fortnight after, the heads of the complaints againſt the Eaſt-India-company, were delivered to their governor; to which, they having put in their anſwer, that was communicated to the petitioners, and the Eaſt-India-company, was ordered to make their defenſe, the 20th of November. That and ſeveral more days were ſpent in examining the accounts, which ſir Joſeph Herne, their governor, gave in, as a ſtate of their ſtock and debts, at home and abroad; and in conſidering ſeveral other petitions relating to the Eaſt-India-trade, 'till at length, the commons came to ſeveral reſolutions, by which the charter of their company was to be confirmed on the following conditions:

Regulations for the Eaſt-India-company.

1. " That a ſum not leſs than 1,500,000 l. and " not exceeding 2,000,000 l. was a fund neceſſary " to carry on the Eaſt-India-trade, in a joint ſtock.

2. " That no perſon ſhould have any ſhare in a " joint ſtock, for the Eaſt-India-trade, exceeding " 5000 l. either in his own name, or any other in " truſt for him.

3. " That no one perſon ſhould have above one " vote in the ſaid company, and that each perſon " who had 5,000 l. ſtock therein, ſhould have " one vote.

4. " That the company to trade to the Eaſt- " Indies, ſhould be obliged to export, every year, " in their trade, goods, being the growth and ma- " nufacture of this nation, to the value of 200, 000 l. " at leaſt.

5. " That no private contracts ſhould be made, " but all goods ſold at public ſales, by inch of " candle, except ſalt-petre for the uſe of the " crown.

6. " That the Eaſt-India-company be obliged to " ſell to the King early, ſalt-petre refined (the re- " fraction not exceeding four or five per cent, out " of 112) 500 tons, at the rate of 30 l. per ton.

" That no lot ſhould be put up at any ſales in the " Eaſt-India-company, at one time, exceeding " 500 l.

8. " That no perſon ſhould be governor or deputy- " governor of the company, to trade to the Eaſt- " Indies, who had leſs ſhare in the ſtock, than " 2000 l. or committee-man, that had leſs than " 1000 l.

9. " That the election of governor, deputy- " governor, and committee, for the company to " trade to the Eaſt-Indies, be made every year.

10. " That all dividends be made in mony.

11. That no dividends be made, without leaving " a ſufficient fund to pay all debts and carry on " the trade.

12. " That a valuation of the ſtock be made " every five years, by the accomptant of the com- " pany upon oath, to be ſeen by all ſuch as are " concerned therein.

13. " That no ſhips, either with permiſſion or " without, for the future, be allowed to go to the " Eaſt-Indies, except only ſuch as ſhould be of " the company, or be eſtabliſhed by act of par- " liament.

14. " That no by-laws ſhould be binding to the " company, but ſuch as were approved by a gene- " ral court of adventurers, and were not repug- " nant to the laws of the land.

15. " That

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15. "That the joint-ſtock of a company to trade "to the Eaſt-Indies, be for twenty-one years and "no longer."

The day after theſe reſolutions were made, the three following were added to them:

16. "That all perſons now having above the "ſum of 5,000 l. in the ſtock of the preſent Eaſt-"India-company, in their own, or other perſons "names, be obliged to ſell ſo much thereof, as "ſhould exceed the ſaid ſum of 5,000 l. at the rate "of 100 l. for every hundred.

17. "That the members of the committee of "the Eaſt-India-company, be obliged to give ſe-"curity to be approved of by the houſe, that the "ſtock and eſtate they now had ſhould be made "good 749,000 l. all debts paid: and

"18 That (ſecurity being firſt given) an humble "addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to incorpo-"rate the preſent Eaſt-India-company, by charter, "according to the regulations agreed upon by the "houſe, that the ſame might paſs into an act."

The 23d of December, ſir Thomas Cook, ſir Thomas Rawlinſon, and ſir William Langhorn, and other committee-men of the company, delivered in propoſals concerning the ſecurity to be given, which being diſapproved, the committee was ordered to produce the perſons then propoſed to be ſecurity, and an account of the ſums for which each perſon would be ſecurity, which being done accordingly, the 29th of December, the commons, after a long examination of the whole matter, approved of the ſecurity propoſed, and on the 8th of January appointed a committee to prepare and bring in "a bill "to eſtabliſh an Eaſt-India-company, according "to the regulations and reſolutions agreed upon by "the houſe (1).

Bill to eſtabliſh an Eaſt-India company ordered.

State of the nation conſidered.

The commons having, on the 3d of November, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, they reſolved "that the paying of the army any otherwiſe, "than by muſters of effective men, was a great "waſting of their Majeſties treaſure"; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, "for paying off the "army accordingly, and for better paying of quar-"ters, and likewiſe for preventing of falſe muſ-"ters, and puniſhing mutineers and deſerters." The commons reſolved, at the ſame time, "that "the miſcarriages of the fleet ſhould be inquired "into, by a committee of the whole houſe." The 10th, admiral Ruſſel and the lord Falkland preſented to the houſe, the inſtructions given by the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England; a liſt of the ſhips, and an extract of ſeveral letters and orders, touching the proceedings of the ſaid fleet, during the laſt ſummer's expedition, and a liſt of the ſhips that had been loſt and damaged ſince the year 1688, all which were examined into.

Proceedings of the fleet inquired into.

The 12th, the commons were acquainted, that mr. Bridges, a member of their houſe, could give an account of an information given him by a captain in their Majeſties fleet, that ſir Ralph Delavall had lately taken a French boat going for Ireland, with papers of dangerous conſequence to the government. Mr. Bridges was, thereupon, ordered to name the perſon, and he having named the lord Danby, ſon to the marquis of Caermarthen, a conference was deſired with the lords, upon matters relating to the ſafety of the kingdom: but this matter did not turn out as it was expected; for after a full and tedious examination of the whole matter, on the 2d of December, it was found, that there was not a copy of a letter from the earl of Nottingham to ſir Ralph Delaval, in the packet taken on board the ſaid French veſſel; but only a letter writen by his lordſhip to ſir Ralph, deſiring him to ſend up that packet; and ſo the ſtorm blew over (2).

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About the ſame time, mr. Welwood, a doctor of phyſic, noted afterwards for his memoirs, imployed his eloquent pen, in expoſing ſome ſiniſter deſigns of the enemies to their Majeſties government, in a weekly paper, intitled, Mercurius Reformatus, or the New Obſervator: but his zeal having carried him ſo far, as to caſt ſome reflections on the proceedings of the houſe of commons, they ordered both the author and printer to be ſent for in cuſtody of their ſerjeant at arms; from whence, after having been reprimanded by the ſpeaker, they were, at length, diſcharged, without any other puniſhment (3).

Dr. Welwood cenſured.

The 24th of December, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to "an "act for granting to their Majeſties certain impoſi-"tions upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for one "year, to another; for abrogating the oath of ſupre-"macy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths;" and to ſeveral private bills.

Bills paſſed.

The 31ſt, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and, in like manner, gave his aſſent to the land-tax-bill: after which he was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I muſt not loſe this occaſion of returning you "my hearty thanks, for the great proofs you con-"tinue to give me of your zeal, and reſolution to "ſupport and aſſiſt me, in the vigorous proſecution "of the war againſt France next year; and I aſſure "you, it ſhall be my greateſt care, that the aſſiſ-"tances you give me may be ſo applied, as to ren-"der them more effectual for the aids you deſigned "them: but I muſt take notice to you at the ſame "time, with ſome trouble, that the new year is "already come, while our preparations for it are "not only more backward, but thoſe of our ene-"mies, as we have reaſon to think, in greater "forwardneſs, than they were laſt year. I find "myſelf, therefore, neceſſitated, from this con-"ſideration, moſt earneſtly to recommend to you, "gentlemen, of the houſe of commons the haſten-"ing ſuch farther ſupplies, as you deſign for the "proſecution of the war."

His Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

(1) This matter came however to nothing; on the contrary ſeveral petitions being preſented againſt that bill, to which the Eaſt-India-company did not give ſatisfactory anſwers, the commons addreſſed the King to diſſolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. His Majeſty's anſwer was: "It is a motion of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom, I will "conſider of it, and in a ſhort time, give the commons a poſitive anſwer." And there it ſtuck: however his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer the order of knighthood on ſir John Goldſborough who was going to India, in the quality of the company's commiſſary-general. Oldmixon, p. 66.

(2) Upon this occaſion, the commons took into their conſideration, the confeſſions and examinations of the lord Preſton and mr. Crone, which, according to their deſire, the King ordered to be laid before them.

(3) Dr. Welwood, was, however, fully recompenſed for the trouble and expenſes he was put to on this account, being ſoon after made one of the phyſicians in ordinary to his Majeſty.

There were ſeveral other affairs, about this time, which amuſed the houſe of commons to little purpoſe: a bill was brought in "for regulating abuſes in elections and returns to parliament", which was rejected after a third reading. A bill "for the better "improvement of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom", which was alſo thrown out, before a ſecond reading. A bill "for "the better repair of the harbor of Dover;" which was alſo rejected. A bill to regulate Hackney-coaches; a bill to diſcou-"rage the exportation of bullion, and incourage the importation of it, and converting the ſame into the coin of this land; another "to incourage privateers, in which no progreſs was made.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, this preſent " ſeſſion cannot admit of a much longer continu- " ance, and therefore I muſt recommend to you, " the diſpatch of all ſuch other bills, that you ſhall " judge neceſſary for the public good."

Before I continue the proceedings of parliament, in the new year, I ſhall juſt mention two or three incidents out of parliament, which happened before the concluſion of the year.

Sundry tranſactions out of parliament.

The 10th of November, their Majeſties were near having a fatal accident, in their palace at Kenſington, which took fire and burnt down the ſtone-gallery, but was extinguiſhed before it reached their Majeſties appartment (1). The ſame day, William Harbord, eſq; one of their Majeſties privy-council, ſet out for Turkey, being appointed embaſſador-extraordinary, at the Ottoman-port, in the room of ſir William Huſſey deceaſed. The 25th, dr. Thomas Tenniſon was nominated biſhop of Lincoln, which ſee became vacant by the death of dr. Thomas Barlow. As it was neceſſary, after the intire reduction of Ireland, to tranſport many of the forces imploy'd in that ſervice to England, in order to be otherwiſe diſpos'd of; and leſt thoſe troops ſhould abandon themſelves to licentiouſneſs, the natural effect of victory, his Majeſty iſſued out a proclamation, " requiring all officers and ſoldiers, to obſerve " ſtrict diſcipline, and punctually to pay their quar- " ters."

Mr. Moleſworth complain'd of.

About the ſame time, the Daniſh miniſter made complaint of a book, intitled, An account of Denmark, written by mr. Moleſworth (afterwards lord viſcount Moleſworth) who had reſided there as envoy from England. The Dane, it ſeems, told the King, " If he had been a ſubject of Denmark, his " Majeſty would have ſtruck off his head for it:" But his Majeſty, who knew better, replied: " The " government of England is regulated by the laws, " which are the rule both for King and people to " go by: but, as for mr. Moleſworth, if you will " give yourſelf the trouble, to go and tell him " what you have ſaid, I do not doubt but he will " put your words into the next edition of his " book.

An' 1692. Bill to regulate trials, in caſes of high-treaſon.

But to return to parliamentary affairs: his Majeſty's ſpeech, as far as regarded the diſpatch of buſineſs, had not the greateſt effect; for both houſes were now ingaged in a warm debate, raiſed by the bill " for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon." This bill had been laid aſide by the lords, in the preceeding ſeſſion; but being now again ſet on foot, by the commons, paſs'd, and ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence, their lordſhips, beſide other amendments, added a clauſe to it, whereby it was inacted; " That upon the trial of any peer or

Clauſe added by the lords.

" peereſs, for any treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, " all the peers, who have a right to ſit and vote in " parliament, ſhould be duly ſummon'd twenty days, " at leaſt, before every ſuch trial, to appear at " every ſuch trial, and that every peer ſo ſummon'd, " and appearing at ſuch trials, ſhould vote in the " trial of ſuch peer and peereſs ſo to be tried, he " and they firſt taking the oaths mention'd in " an act of parliament, made in the firſt year of " King William and Queen Mary, intitled, an act " for abrogating the oaths of ſupremacy and alle- " giance, and appointing other oaths; and ſubſcrib- " ing and audibly repeating the declaration men- " tion'd in an act of parliament made in the thirtieth " year of King Charles II, intitled, an act for the " more effectual preſerving the King's perſon and " government, by diſabling Papiſts from ſitting in " either houſe of parliament.

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The commons diſagreeing to this clauſe, (2) it occaſion'd ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, in the firſt of which, Charles Montague, eſq; afterwards earl of Hallifax, one of the managers for the commons, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a particular manner. For the lords, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Mulgrave, the earl of Rocheſter, the earl of Nottingham, the earl of Monmouth, and the earl of Stamford. As this controverſy was of ſome importance, tho' it would take up too much of my time to relate the arguments made uſe of by both ſides, at large, I ſhall give a ſummary of them.

Diſagreed to by the commons.

Arguments of the commons againſt the clauſe.

The commons alledg'd, " they could not " conſent to ſo great an alteration in the conſtitu- " tion, as this would introduce; nor did they in- " tend to diſable the crown, in one of its moſt ne- " ceſſary prerogatives, or to place a judicature in " other hands, than in thoſe to whom the laws " of England, and the cuſtom of the realm, " had committed it. That the clauſe now in diſ- " pute ſtruck at no leſs than this, and conſequently " at the alteration of the government of England. " That the King has the power of conſtituting courts " and officers for the adminiſtation of juſtice: " That the judges are conſtituted by his commiſ- " ſion; the ſheriffs are of his nomination, who " are to return the pannels of jurors, that are to " paſs on the lives of commoners; and, in like " manner, it is the prerogative of the crown, to " conſtitute a lord-high-ſteward, who, by his ſer- " jeant at arms, does ſummon a competent number " of peers to be triers of their lordſhips: but this " clauſe took away theſe powers from the high- " ſteward; and therefore took away ſo much from " the regal authority, and would render their lord- " ſhips independent of the crown in capital caſes, " wherein, above all other things, the peace and ſafety " of the government was concern'd: by this clauſe, " the court would no longer be conſtituted by the " high-ſteward, who receives his commiſſion from " the crown; but the whole order of peers would " have a right to make up the court, and all " the friends, relations, and accomplices of the " perſon accuſed, were to be his triers. That " the commons look'd upon the method of trials, " which the lords would alter, to have been " as ancient as the conſtitution of the government. " That it appear'd in the year books, to have been " practiſed in the firſt year of Henry IV, and " to have been well known at that time; that the " reaſon no older proceedings before the lord-high- " ſteward were to be found, was, that this very " Henry IV, when duke of Lancaſter, was the " laſt high-ſteward who had any fixed intereſt in " that office, and the office having ſo long ceaſed, " all the records were loſt, and the very nature and " power of the office, except in this inſtance of " trying of peers, and determining claims at " coronations, were likewiſe loſt: but, ſince that " time, the high-ſteward being only pro hac vice, " the proceedings are commonly tranſmited into " other courts, where they are to be found.

" That if there were any objections to the pre- " ſent method of trying of peers, it muſt be foun- " ded on a ſuppoſition of partiality and unfairneſs " of conſtituting a high ſteward, or in the high- " ſteward himſelf, and the peers ſummoned by

(1) At the firſt noiſe of fire, his Majeſty is ſaid to have aſked for his ſword, ſuppoſing there was treachery in it.

(2) 'Till then, it had been the cuſtom, for the lord-ſteward, for the time being, to ſummon, by his ſerjeant at arms, a competent number only of peers, to be triers of peers, and the lord-ſteward being appointed by the King's-commiſſion, the commons thought that clauſe an alteration in the conſtitution, and as ſuch diſagreed to it.

" him

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" him: and that the commons were unwilling to " enter into any ſuch kind of ſuppoſals: but as " to the partial conſtituting an high-ſteward, if " that might be ſuppoſed, it was an objection " to the conſtitution, which intruſts the crown " with the adminiſtration of juſtice; and that ſup- " poſal might as well extend to the appoint- " ment of judges and ſheriffs, and every other " part of the adminiſtration: and if, upon ſuch " ſuppoſal or diſtruſt, the remedy muſt be to take " away that part of the adminiſtration out of the " crown (as was done in this clauſe) the reader muſt " carry the thing ſo far, that the nature of the go- " vernment would be alter'd: and as to the parti- " ality of the lord-high-ſteward and the peers, the " commons were unwilling to ſuppoſe, that it was " poſſible that twelve peers ſhould be ever found (for " that number muſt agree, or the perſon accuſed is " ſafe) who could ſo far forget their honors, and " the noble order they are of, as for revenge or in- " tereſt to ſacrifice an innocent perſon: and if the " lords could ſuppoſe this, the commons thought " themſelves excus'd, if they ſuppos'd, that other " paſſions and motives might alſo prevail on the " peers; ſuch as pity in friends, partiality in re- " lations, and the conſideration of their ſafety, in " caſe of accomplices; that moſt men, and eſpecially " Engliſhmen, enter unwillingly into matters of " blood: that the moſt indifferent peers would be " the likelieſt to abſent themſelves, either from con- " ſideration of diſſatisfying the crown, on the one " hand, or drawing on themſelves the miſchiefs of " a breach with the family of the perſon accuſed, " on the other: but the care of a friend would " not fail to bring friends to the trial; the concern " to preſerve the family from the ſtain of treaſon " would bring the relations; and if there were any " accomplices, they would be ready for their own " ſakes to acquit the accuſed, and probably " their number might be conſiderable in thoſe " caſes: and how far this alone might go towards " turning the ſcale of juſtice, eſpicially in times, " when there might be ſeveral titles ſet up to the " crown, and great parties formed, might deſerve " to be conſidered: that this was a law, that was " to have a perpetual continuance, and that the " ſame loyalty, wiſdom, and zeal, which appear'd " now in their lordſhips, ſhould be deriv'd down to " all to their poſterity, was a thing rather to be " wiſh'd than depended upon; if, therefore, this " clauſe had a tendency towards letting in an im- " punity for treaſon, the commons look'd upon " themſelves as juſtified in diſagreeing to it; for " they thought it obvious to every one, of what con- " ſequence it would be to the conſtitution, if ſuch " a body as the peers, who had already ſuch pri- " vileges, of all ſorts, ſhould have impunity for " treaſon added to them.

Arguments of the peers, in defenſe of their amend- ments.

" To this, the managers for the peers anſwered, " that the lords were ſorry to be of any opinion dif- " ferent from the commons, eſpecially in a clauſe of " ſo great importance, which did concern not only " their well-being, but their being; that they had not " diſagreed with the commons, in any thing they " had propoſed for their ſecurity, and hoped the " commons would have the ſame conſideration for " them: that tho' they were all ſecure, under their " preſent Majeſties, there might, hereafter, ariſe " Princes, who might indeavor to invade the li- " berties of the people, and then the commons " would be glad of the concurrence of the lords; " and deſir'd they would conſider, if in ſuch a caſe, " it would not be a great diſcouragement to the " lords to act, unleſs they were as ſecure, at leaſt, " as the commons. That if there might be ſuch " Princes, it was not proper that part of the govern- " ment, which was ſo neceſſary to their concur- " rence, ſhould be under ſuch terms for their lives, " that they dare not oppoſe them with vigor, nor act, becauſe they lie under ſhackles. That, in the caſe of impeachments, which are the groans of the people, and for the higheſt crimes, and carry with them a greater ſuppoſition of guilt than any other accuſation, there all the lords are judges; but here, in a proſecution which might proceed from the influence of particular men, the lord accuſed lies under the hardſhip of being tried by a few peers ſelected for that purpoſe: that this way of trial was not ancienter than Henry VIII, and was introduced by him to take off thoſe he did not like: that in his time, the duke of Bucks was taken off in this manner by cardinal Wolſey, and Ann of Bullen was condemn'd by her own father. That this clauſe did not alter the conſtitution any more, than as, in ſome ſenſe, every new law may be ſaid to alter the conſtitu- tion: and, if the commons ſaid it was alter'd, becauſe formerly the trial was by a ſelect num- ber, and now all muſt appear, that did not ſeem to alter the conſtitution: for the high-ſteward might ſummon them all already: that the lord- high-ſteward formerly ſummon'd the court, and was to ſummon it ſtill. The nature of the court was not alter'd by the magis or the minus, any more than the King's-bench ceas'd to be the ſame court, when there were more or fewer judges in it.

" That the commons were not ſatisfied when the commiſſions of the judges ran durante bene placi- to, and could it be thought reaſonable, that the lords, who were the ſupreme judicature, ſhould not remain judges, quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint: that tho' the King did now appoint ſheriffs, it was not always ſo; and, ſince the crown made them, the commons had this ſecurity, that they might challenge thirty-five of the pannel peremp- torily, and all the reſt for cauſe; but that the judges and ſheriffs are made before the crime com- mitted, ſo that it is impoſſible for the judges or ſheriffs to have prejudice againſt any man: but the lord-high-ſtewards are appointed after they know the priſoner. And in the trial of a peer, he could make no challenges, how partial or biaſs'd ſoever the high-ſteward, or the peers ſum- mon'd by him, might happen to be; and that ſeven were ſufficient to find him guilty: that ſince the trial of a peer in parliament muſt be by the whole houſe, where was the inconveniency, that they ſhould, at all times be tried, as in parliament; that it was implied in the commiſſion of the lord-high-ſteward, that all the peers ſhould be ſummon'd, all the peers in the realm being therein order'd to attend him; ſo that the King does not only grant liberty for this, but ſeems to command it.

The reply of the commons.

" The managers for the commons, in reply, ſaid, this clauſe would alter a very conſiderable part of the conſtitution, and that for the worſe, which could not be ſaid of other new laws, which were uſually made to ſtrengthen, or re- ſtore the conſtitution againſt abuſes, or to as certain things that were left to a reaſonable diſ- cretion; but the ſubſtance of the conſtitution re- main'd ſtill the ſame.

" That if a like clauſe was brought in, that a commoner ſhould be tried by all the free-holders that would appear, or thoſe they ſhould depute, this were to change the conſtitution. And that it might as well be ſaid, that it was not an alteration in the conſtitution to diveſt the crown of a power of making judges in the courts of law or equity: that tho' it was granted in par- liament, in the twenty-eighth of Edward I, that the people of every county ſhould chuſe their ſheriffs, this created ſuch factions and confu- ſions, that the people themſelves, in a parlia-

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" ment held the firſt of Edward the II, deſired, " that the power of making ſheriffs might be " lodg'd again in the crown: that the commons " were ſurpris'd to hear it alledg'd, that this courſe " of trial was firſt introduced in the time of Henry " VIII, by cardinal Wolſey, in the caſe of the " duke of Bucks, and that all trials of peers " before were in parliament; for the ſtatute of " the 15th of Edward III, manifeſtly prov'd the " contrary. It ordain'd that peers ſhould be tried " by the peers in parliament, but provides, that if " any peers ſhould chuſe to be tried elſewhere, " than in parliament, he might. That, indeed, " the ſtatute was repeal'd, the ſeventeenth of " Edward III (becauſe it was ſo injurious to the " prerogative) but yet it ſhews there was ſuch a " court and courſe of trial as this, out of parlia- " ment; for they could not, in Edward III's time, " divine, that there ſhould be ſuch a new court, and " manner of trial, erected in Henry VIII's time. " That the contrary was likewiſe evident, by the " trial of the earl of H——— in the reign of " Henry IV, reported in the year books. That " the very clauſe in queſtion did affirm the legality " of this way of trial, as it diſtinguiſh'd treaſons, " which corrupted the blood, from others, and " left all other treaſons and felonies, to be tried " by peers, ſummon'd by the high-ſteward as uſual. " That the commons did not admit that a peer " could be convicted by ſeven peers, there muſt be " twelve at leaſt to concur in the verdict, as was " reſolved in the lord Dacre's caſe, the twenty-ſixth " of Henry VIII, which is found in Moor's re- " ports; nor can it be ſhewn, that ever any peer " was convicted by fewer than twelve: and as to " that clauſe which requires all peers to be atten- " ding, it is of the ſame nature with that in every " commiſſion of oyer and terminer; and imports " no more, than that all perſons ſhall attend, that " are required to do ſo by law: and it can no more " be infer'd from theſe words, that the high-ſteward " is to ſummon all the peers, than from the like " words in other commiſſions, that all free-holders " are to be ſummon'd: that the commons have liberty " of challenging, becauſe fear or corruption, or other " cauſe of partiality, may be ſuppoſed among them; " but the lords have no challenges, becauſe all peers " are eſteem'd unexceptionable, nothing ſo mean and " diſhonorable is to be preſum'd among them; and " that, in reality, this court had continued the moſt " unblemiſhed, in point of juſtice, of any court " whatever.

" Laſtly, the commons did not find reaſon to " paſs this clauſe, from that conſideration men- " tion'd by their lordſhips, viz. That the clauſe " did provide ſuch a defenſe for the peers, as would " incourage them to adventure to join boldly with " the commons, in aſſerting the public liberties; " for the commons did not find, by the preſent " conſtitution, the lives and fortunes of innocent " peers were, as their lordſhips intimated, expoſed " to the will of a great and malicious miniſter: and, " if they were, they did not ſee they would be pro- " tected by this proviſion, ſince it extended but to " ſome treaſons and to no felonies; and they might " ſay it did not deſerve the name of adventure for " their lordſhips to act only upon terms of perfect " ſafety. On the other hand, the commons appre- " hended, it would afford too great a proſpect of " ſafety to guilty peers, and might imbolden them " to make attempts againſt the crown and public " liberties.

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" The commons acknowleged, that theſe were " good times, and if they were unquiet, or unſafe, " it was in relation to the crown, and not to the " peers, the peerage was in no danger; the peers " had power enough, and the crown had not too " much, nor ought not to be render'd leſs ſafe; " therefore the commons would inſiſt upon the " old ways, keep the ballance of the govern- " ment as they found it, and not change the laws " of England which had hitherto been uſed and " approved."

The bill dropped.

This conference occaſioned great debates in both houſes, and was followed by three other free conferences, the reſult of all which was, that the lords inſiſted upon their clauſe, and that the commons adhered to their diſagreement of it; ſo the bill was dropped (1).

Beſide this diſpute between the two houſes of parliament, ſeveral other affairs contributed to draw this ſeſſion into a length, and to divert the attention of the commons, from the ſupplies. Among which the conſideration of the monies due to the orphans of the city of London, and the bill brought in for their relief was not the leaſt (2).

Orphan's bill.

The commons give thanks to general Ginckel.

About this time, the commons ordered the lord Caſtleton, ſir Henry Goodric, and five more of their members, to attend upon general Ginckel, with the thanks of the houſe, both to him and the officers, who, under him, had contributed to the reduction of Ireland, for the great ſervices they had performed to their Majeſties and the kingdom. General Ginckel acknowleged this diſtinguiſh'd honor done him by the houſe of commons, " which (he " ſaid) he valued above a triumph," adding with as much modeſty as juſtice, " that the ſucceſs of their " Majeſties arms in Ireland, was owing chiefly to " the valor of the Engliſh, and that he would take " care to communicate the vote of that houſe, to " the officers that ſerved in Ireland; and always " indeavor the proſperity of their Majeſties and " the government."

His Anſwer.

Ways and means.

The houſe of commons, however, reſumed the conſideration of the ſupply, the 6th of January, and ordered that a particular ſtate of the revenue, and a computation of the civil liſt be laid before them. This being done accordingly the next day, by his Majeſty's vice-chamberlain, a committee was appointed, on the 12th, to receive propoſals for raiſing a ſum of mony, towards carrying on the war againſt France, upon a fund of perpetual intereſt, and the 15th it was reſolved; " that towards the making " good the ſums of mony intended to be given by " an act made in the ſecond year of their Majeſties " reign, for granting ſeveral additional duties of " exciſe, upon beer, ale and other liquors, for four " years, (from the time that an act for doubling " the exciſe for one year did expire) the additional " duties granted by the ſaid act be continued 'till " the 17th day of May 1697, for the uſes in the " ſaid act mentioned."

Having likewiſe examined the papers relating to the revenue and civil liſt, the commons repeated the reſolution they had taken, the 12th of December, concerning the ſalaries, fees and perquiſites of all offices under the crown; and the 19th of January, they reſolved farther; " that all penſions granted " by the crown, except penſions payable to the " Queen Dowager, and the Princeſs Ann of Den-

(1) It paſſed however, with the ſame clauſe, in the 7th of William III.

(2) Another affair, which took up a great deal of their time, was " the additional bill for appointing and inabling the " commiſſioners to examine, take and ſtate the public accounts of the kingdom"; which having paſſed the houſe of commons, was ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence: but the peers having made ſome amendments to it, which the commons did not reliſh, the bill was thereupon loſt.

" mark,

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" mark, and ſuch other penſions as ſhould be ex-
" cepted by the houſe, be applied towards carry-
" ing on the war, and that towards raiſing the ſup-
" plies for the ſame purpoſe, a tax by a quarterly
" poll, be granted to their Majeſties "(1).

Poll-tax granted.

Beſide the taxes already mentioned, the commons reſolved to veſt " the forfeited eſtates in England " and Ireland, in their Majeſties, to be applied to " the uſe of the war ; " but the two bills, which they paſſed for that purpoſe, the 12th of February, lay neglected in the houſe of lords, notwithſtanding the repeated meſſages ſent to their lordſhips to put them in mind of them.

Bill relating to the forfeitures,

Dropped.

The commons were, about this time, amuſed with William Fuller's pretended diſcoveries of a plot againſt the government, and the ſpurious birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, but failing to produce the perſons he named for witneſſes, viz. colonel Thomas Delaval, and mr. James Hayes, they voted him to be " a notorious impoſtor, a cheat, " a falſe accuſer, having ſcandalized their Majeſties, " and their government, abuſed the houſe, and " falſely accuſed ſeveral perſons of honor and qua- " lity : and reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented " to his Majeſty, to command his attorney-general " to proſecute the ſaid impoſtor." Fuller was, accordingly proſecuted, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, which he ſuffered with an audacious unconcernedneſs.

Fuller pilloried for an impoſtor.

French Proteſtants pray for relief.

About the middle of January, many of the French proteſtants preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, praying the conſideration of that houſe for their relief; but the multiplicity of affairs rendring their petition ineffectual, they applied themſelves to the King, with their caſe in print, to which they added their Majeſties declaration of the 25th of April, 1689, in their favor. Theſe his Majeſty ordered to be laid before the commons, the 17th of February. A week afterwards they took his Majeſty's meſſage into conſideration, and a motion was made for a ſupply to be given towards the relief of the petitioners; but before they came to a reſolution, they were ordered to attend the King in the houſe of lords; when his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent;

Acts paſſed.

" to an act for raiſing the militia of this kingdom " for the year 1692. To an act for the better or- " dering and collecting the duties upon low wines " and ſtrong waters; to an act againſt correſpond- " ing with their Majeſties enemies; an act for the " more effectual diſcovery and puniſhment of deer- " ſtealers: an act for the better repairing of the " high-ways: an act for the incouragement of the " breeding and feeding of cattle: an act for the " relief of creditors againſt fraudulent devices: an " act for the better explanation, and ſupplying the " defects of the former laws, for the ſettlement of " the poor: to an act to take away clergy from " ſome offenders, and to bring others to puniſh- " ment; and to the poll-act"; beſide thirty-four private acts: after which his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes in the following words.

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His Majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I return my hearty thanks to you all, for the " great demonſtrations you have given me of your " affections in this ſeſſion, and of your zeal for the " ſupport of the government.

" And I muſt thank you gentlemen of the houſe " of commons, in particular, for the great ſupplies " you have granted for the proſecution of the war. " I aſſure you, I ſhall take care ſo to diſpoſe of the " mony you have given me, for the public occa- " ſions, as that the whole nation may be intirely " ſatisfied with the application of it.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I think it proper to acquaint you with my in- " tentions of going beyond ſea very ſpeedily, " which I am afraid have been retarded more than " is convenient for the preſent poſture of affairs; " and, upon that account, I think it neceſſary to " put an end to this preſent meeting; the ſeaſon of " the year being now ſo very far advanced, that it " may prove of the laſt ill conſequence to continue " it any longer."

The parliament adjourned.

Which done, both houſes, purſuant to his Majeſty's pleaſure, immediately adjourn'd themſelves, till the 12th of April, next inſuing (2). I return now to ſome other matters which happen'd during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament.

A proclamation againſt vice and prophaneneſs.

The 21ſt of January, his Majeſty iſſued out his royal proclamation, wherein he declar'd: " that " he could not but be deeply ſenſible of the great " goodneſs and mercy of Almighty God, in " giving ſo happy ſucceſs to his indeavors for the " reſcuing theſe kingdoms from Popiſh tyranny and " ſuperſtition, and in preſerving his royal perſon, " ſupporting his government, and uniting the arms " of moſt of the Princes and States, in Chriſtendom, " againſt the common enemy; ſo he was no leſs " touch'd with a reſentment, that, notwithſtanding " thoſe deliverances, impiety and vice did ſtill a- " bound in theſe kingdoms; and that the execu- " tion of many good laws, which had been made " for the ſuppreſſing and puniſhing thereof, had been " groſly neglected, to the great diſhonor of God, " and his holy religion. Wherefore, and that he " could not expect increaſe or continuance of the " bleſſings he and his ſubjects injoy'd, without pro- " viding remedies to prevent the like evils for the " future, he judg'd himſelf bound, by the duty he " ow'd to God, and the care he had of the people " committed to his charge, to proceed in taking " ſome effectual courſe therein: and being there- " unto moved by the pious addreſs of the archbi- " ſhops and biſhops, he thought fit to declare his " intentions and reſolution to diſcountenance all " manner of vice and immorality, in all perſons, " from the higheſt to the loweſt degree, in this " realm. And, for that purpoſe, he ſtrictly

(1) By the bill which was brought in, according to this reſolution, all perſons (except ſuch as received alms of the pariſh, poor houſe-keepers and their children) were to pay twelve-pence quarterly for one year. All tradeſmen and artificers having an eſtate of the clear value of 300 l. and upwards, ten ſhillings; all genlemen, or reputed gentlemen, having an eſtate of 300 l. or more, as alſo all clergymen and teachers, who had any eccleſiaſtical benefice or contribution, to the value of 80 l. per annum or upwards, twenty ſhillings. Every lord of parliament, either ſpiritual or temporal, the ſum of 10 l. and all perſons who ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to their Majeſties, double the ſums charged, by the reſpective heads.

(2) This unexpected adjournment of the parliament was the occaſion that ſeveral bills which were depending did not paſs: " 1. a bill for leſſening the intereſt of mony," which the commons had paſs'd and ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence. " 2. For diſabling minors to marry without the conſent of their guardians, and for preventing clandeſtine marriages," which the lords had ſent down to the commons. " 3 For the paying of the army according to the muſters of the effective men, puniſhing mu- " tineers and deſerters, and preventing falſe muſters," to which the lords had made ſome amendments that occaſion'd great diſputes. " 4. For aſcertaining the commiſſions and ſalaries of the judges," which tho' it had paſs'd both houſes, was not confirm'd by the royal aſſent. " 5. Againſt the buying and ſelling of offices. 6. To apprehend highway-men. 7. To prevent " frauds by clandeſtine mortgages. 8. Againſt duelling." As for the " bill to impower the courts of chancery and exchequer to " accept of the ſolemn anſwer, in evidence, of any of the people called Quakers;" and another, " for confirming the charters of " the univerſity of Cambridge," the queſtion being put in the lower houſe, that they ſhould paſs, it was carried, for both, in the negative.

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" charg'd and commanded all his magiſtrates and " officers, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, to execute " the laws againſt blaſphemy, prophane ſwearing " and curſing, drunkenneſs, prophanation of the " lords-day, or any other diſſolute, immoral " practiſes."

The head of the Scotiſh rebels ſubmits.

The 19th, ſir Evan Cameron, of Locheal, one of the leaders of the male-contents in the highlands of Scotland, was permited to kiſs their Majeſties hands, at Kenſington; when he gave them all poſſible aſſurances of his, and the reſt of the Highlanders, ſincerity, in ſubmiting to their Majeſties government.

Knights of the garter elected.

The 2d of February, a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at Kenſington, in which the elector of Saxony, and the earl of Dorſet, were elected knight-companions.

General Ginckel created earl of Athlone:

The 20th, general Ginckel was created earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, in Ireland, as a reward for the memorable ſervices he had perform'd to their Majeſties, and this nation, in the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland, and particularly in the actions at thoſe two places. The 27th, that general, the duke of Wirtemberg, the lieutenant-generals Scravenmore, Lanier and Talmaſh, major-general Ruvigny, with other the general and field-officers in town, who had ſignaliz'd themſelves in Ireland,

And treated by the city.

were ſplendidly entertain'd at Merchant-taylors hall, by ſir Thomas Stamp the new lord-mayor, the aldermen, ſheriffs, and the moſt eminent merchants and citizens of London, who, on this occaſion, gave all poſſible demonſtrations of their affection and loyalty to the government, and of honor and reſpect to thoſe, whoſe courage and conduct had ſupported it.

Preferments.

The 1ſt of March, his Majeſty beſtowed ſome marks of his royal favor, on ſundry perſons. The earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh, the lord Cornwallis, and ſir Edward Seymour, were admited to their Majeſties privy-council. The earl of Bedford was made lord-lieutenant of the county of Middleſex, and the earl of Pembroke lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal, who was ſucceeded in his place of commiſſioner of the admiralty, by the lord Cornwallis. Sir John Lowther, vice-chancellor of his Majeſty's houſhold, and Thomas Pelham, eſq; having reſign'd their places as commiſſioners of the treaſury, they were diſpoſed of, one to ſir Edward Seymour, and the other to Charles Montague, eſq. The 3d the lord viſcount Sidney was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the ſame day his Majeſty confer'd the honor of knighthood on Godfrey Kneller, eſq; their Majeſties principal painter in ordinary. The 19th, Thomas Coningſby, eſq; one of the lords-juſtices of Ireland, was created a baron of that kingdom, by the ſtile of lord Coningſby: and, about a month after, ſir Henry Capell, was made baron Capell of Tewkſbury, in the county of Glouceſter. The 2d of May, ſir George Treby was advanced to the place of lord-chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, and his office of attorny-general given to ſir John Sommers (1). At the ſame time Thomas Trevor, eſq; was made ſollicitor-general.

The King goes to Holland.

In the mean time, the King, having ſettled his affairs in England, imbark'd the 5th of March for Holland, arrived the next morning in the Maeſe, landed at Orange-polder, went the ſame day to the Hague, and ſoon after to Loo; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty, taking the diverſions of that agreable place, to give ſome farther account of tranſactions at home. Towards the latter end of the ſame month of March, the Queen Dowager, who, in all junctures had behaved herſelf very prudently, went from Somerſet-houſe, imbark'd at Dover for Calais, from whence ſhe continu'd her journey, by land, to Liſbon, where ſhe afterwards reſided, 'till her death.

The Queen Dowager leaves England.

Sr Rowland Gwyn turned out.

The 7th of April, ſir Rowland Gwin, treaſurer of their Majeſties chamber, was removed from his place, for words ſpoken againſt the lord Sidney, the ſubſtance of which he could not prove, when required to do it by the council.

A Jacobite' conſpiracy unſucceſsful.

His Majeſty had ſcarce reached Holland, before the Jacobites again begun to feed themſelves with fond hopes of their maſter's reſtoration. One Lunt, who had been before imployed, in bringing over, and diſperſing King James's commiſſions, for which he was impriſoned, but was ſo fortunate to be diſcharged, was again imployed in 1691, by the Lancaſhire Papiſts, privately to raiſe men, and buy arms, that they might be ready for an inſurrection in England, as ſoon as the blow was given, if his Majeſty had been aſſaſſinated in Flanders, by Dumont, as they expected: (2) but the campain being ended, without any news either of the aſſaſſination, or an invaſion, Lunt was ſent to France, in November, to acquaint the abdicated Monarch, that they were in a condition to receive him, and therefore, deſired to be informed, when he propoſed to make a deſcent into this kingdom. Lunt returned in December following with advice, that the late King James would certainly be in England, the next ſpring, and that colonel Parker, and others, would be ſent over, in the mean time, with full inſtructions for their government.

Parker and Johnſton, and ſome few others, landed accordingly about the latter end of January, of this year. An aſſaſſination was their favorite ſcheme, being the only means, as they thought, to make the invaſion practicable, and their conqueſt of England eaſy. It was communicated to as many as they could truſt, in hopes to have perpetrated it before the King went to Holland; but they were ſo long in contriving, by whom, how, when and where it ſhould be done, that the time paſſed before their conſultations came to maturity. They were then aſſured, by Parker, that the deſign of an aſſaſſination would be reſumed in Flanders, by the ſame perſons who were to have performed it the laſt campain, and this kept up the hopes of the Jacobites, and incouraged them to make preparations, and wait for the intended invaſion with patience. The project of it was firſt laid in France, and colonel Parker, with ſome others, were ſent over hither to communicate it to the party, that they might do, on their ſide, what was neceſſary, and in their power, to facilitate the matter. This Parker did, by calling their principal officers and others together,

(1) This great man, who began firſt to be taken notice of at the trial of the biſhops, at which he gain'd great reputation, very much increas'd it, in the houſe of commons, after their Majeſties acceſſion to the crown. He ſhew'd, upon all occaſions, that he was a perſon of great parts, deep learning, a manly eloquence, eaſy addreſs, and a bold ſtickler for the liberty of the nation.

(2) Mr. Wilſon of Redland ſwore before mr. ſecretary Trenchard, that he ſaw Lunt deliver the following commiſſions from King James: to mr. Sherbun of Stonyhurſt, mr. Townley of Townley, ſir Thomas Stanley of Alderſly, mr. Chumley of Vale-royal, ſir Rowland Stanley, ſir Robert Throgmorton, ſir Henry Titchburn, ſir —— Gifford of Chillington, ſir James Symmons of Aſhton in Staffordſhire, Thomas Tildeſly, eſq; and the lord Brudenel, each for a regiment of horſe: to mr. Weſtby of Mobrick, and —— Dalton of Thurnbury, eſq; each for a regiment of dragoons: to mr. Girlington of Girlington, and mr. ——— each for a regiment of foot; to the lord Molyneux, to be governor of Liverpool; to ſir Charles Neal, to be lieutenant colonel; to William Fowler, eſq; of St. Thomas's near Stafford, a captain's commiſſion; and to mr. Auguſtine Gyfford, captain Goure, and Baſil Brooks, eſq; to be captains of horſe. Oldmixon, p. 70.

and

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and telling them, "That their abdicated ſovereign "had, at length, obtained of his moſt Chriſtian "Majeſty a ſuccor of 30,000 effective men, and "that when the ſpring was a little more advanced, "King James, who was already marching into "Normandy, would come over himſelf with them, "into England; with aſſurance, if that number was "not great enough to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, "France would ſpare them 30,000 more". He deſired, therefore, they would all be in readineſs, with the greateſt expedition and ſecrecy imaginable: and addreſſing himſelf, in particular to captain Blaire, (at the inſtance of Johnſton the prieſt) he told him, "he was going to command in Lancaſhire, but "intended to move ſouthward as ſoon as his Ma-"jeſty was landed, and therefore deſired the "captain to join him, in regard his own men were "raw, and the captain's, for the moſt part, were "all old officers and ſoldiers.

King James writes to his late council.

King James's Queen being, in this interval, big with child, and drawing near her time, the abdicated Monarch ſent a letter to ſeveral lords and others of his late privy-council, requiring them, or as many of them as poſſibly could, to attend him at St. Germains, and be witneſſes of his royal conſort's labor (1); but none of them anſwered the invitation. Soon after this, he ſent over a declaration, ſeting forth his right; inviting his ſubjects to join him at his landing; threatning thoſe who preſumed to oppoſe him, with the ſevereſt puniſhments, and promiſing his pardon to all perſons, how guilty ſoever they might have been, excepting thoſe therein named and deſcribed (2).

His declaration.

Preparations of the Jacobites in England.

Captain Parker took ſeveral good officers with him into Lancaſhire, ſome of whom ſtaid with him in that country, and others he diſpoſed of in Yorkſhire and the biſhopric of Durham. He himſelf had his head-quarters at mr. Walmſley's, at Dungan-hall, from whence he iſſued out his orders. He likewiſe cauſed their arms, which, for fear of a diſcovery, had been hid in woods and grounds, buried between walls, and concealed in cellars and out-houſes, to be taken out, and forthwith diſtributed among the officers and liſted men. In the mean time, mr. James Fountain, as lieutenant-colonel to the lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were each of them compleating a regiment of horſe in London, which were deſigned to join the late King (who, with his army of Engliſh, Scots, Iriſh, and French, was at la Hogue) when he ſhould land in England.

Intelligence ſent to France.

The Jacobites ſent, at the ſame time, captain Loyd, expreſs to the lord Melford, to acquaint him, that they had corrupted ſeveral of the Engliſh ſea-commanders, and particularly rear-admiral Carter (3). They likewiſe tranſmited to him a liſt of the number and rates of the Engliſh fleet, and how long it would be before it was poſſible they could be joined by the Dutch: this intelligence they deſired his lordſhip to lay before the French King, and procure his command to monſ. de Tourville, immediately to fight the Engliſh, before they could be re-inforced by the Dutch ſquadron. The lord Melford, upon the receit of this meſſage, made application accordingly to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who thereupon gave his poſitive commands to Tourville, to ingage the Engliſh fleet, without waiting for the Toulon ſquadron, under the command of monſ. d' Eſtrees.

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The Queen's vigilance.

The Queen, having intelligence of all theſe preparations for invading this kingdom, gave orders, with her uſual maſculine courage, and that noble preſenſe of mind which was conſpicuous in all her actions, that the fleet ſhould put to ſea, with all poſſible expedition, and the militia be in a readineſs to act, upon any imergency. She likewiſe ſent for three regiments of foot, from Holland, viz. Selwin's, Beveridge's, and Loyd's, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and with them, together with ſome other troops which were then in the kingdom, formed a camp at Portſmouth, ſoon after. Her Majeſty's next royal care was to iſſue three neceſſary proclamations; one on the 3d of May, "commanding all Papiſts to depart im-"mediately from the cities of London and "Weſtminſter, and from within ten miles of "the ſame." Another, on the 5th, requiring the "attendance of both houſes of parliament at "Weſtminſter, on the 24th of the ſame month, "for the diſpatch of ſuch important affairs, as the "ſafety of the kingdom might require": And a third, on the 9th of May, "for the apprehending "the earls of Scarſdale and Litchfield, Newburg, "Middleton and Dunmore, the lords Griffin and "Forbes, James Griffin, eſq; ſir John Fenwick, "ſir Theophilus Oglethorp, ſir Andrew Foreſter, "colonel Slingſby, James Grahme, eſq; mr. Orby, colonel Sackvile, Oliver St. George, eſq; major Soaper, Charles Adderley, David Lloyd, George Porter, and Samuel Stafford, eſqs;

The fleet ordered to ſea.

The main body of the fleet was under the command of mr. Ruſſel, who was conſtituted admiral, by commiſſion, bearing date the 3d of December of the preceding year (4); and all poſſible expedition was uſed to bring the fleet early to ſea. There were likewiſe two ſquadrons already at ſea; one under ſir Ralph Delaval, which arrived the begining of March from Cadiz, in the Downs, and was ordered out again; and another under rear-admiral Carter, who had both orders to join one another; as the admiral on his ſide, had orders to ſail with the body of the fleet, both Dutch and Engliſh, and to place himſelf between Cape la Hogue, and the iſle of Wight, in order to join thoſe two ſquadrons, which had orders to cruize thereabouts for that purpoſe.

The 8th of May, the admiral arrived off of Rye, and immediately paſſed thro' the Downs. In the

(1) Beſide theſe noblemen, ſeveral ladies were invited, as the ducheſſes of Sommerſet and Beaufort, the marchioneſs of Halliſax, the counteſſes of Darby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fritchvile, as likewiſe the following ladies of commoners, viz. ſir John Trevor's, the ſpeaker's lady, ſir Edward Seymour's lady, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave's lady, ſir Thomas Pope Blount's lady, ſir John Guiſe's lady, Thomas Foley's, eſq; lady, lady Stamp, the lady Mayoreſs, lady Aſhurſt, lady Levet, and the ladies of the two Sheriffs. The famous dr. Hugh Chamberlain was likewiſe called; but of all theſe none anſwered the ſummons.

(2) The perſons excepted were, the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchil, the biſhops of London and St. Aſaph, ſir Robert Howard, ſir John Worden, ſir Samuel Grimſton, ſir Stephen Fox, ſir George Treby, ſir Baſil Dixwell, ſir James Oxendon, dr. Tillotſon, dean of Canterbury, dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruſſel, Richard Leviſon, and John Trenchard, eſq; Charles Duncomb, citizen of London, ſuch as had offered perſonal indignities to him at Feverſham; thoſe who as judges, jury-men, or otherwiſe, had had a hand in the barbarous murder (as he called it) of Aſhton, Croſs, &c. And all ſpies, and ſuch as had betrayed his council, during his late abſenſe from England.

(3) There was a report that rear-admiral Carter had ten thouſand pounds given him to bring his diviſion over to the French. What ground there was for this rumor is uncertain. True it is, rear-admiral Carter was not rich, yet it is plain, he never received ſuch a bribe, becauſe he died poor, tho' it was in the bed of honor (as we ſhall ſee below) at the ſame time that he was ſaid to have been ſuſpected. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 657.

(4) Burnet obſerves (in his hiſtory of his own times) that this command was given him tho' he had put himſelf in ill terms with the King, by preſſing to know the grounds of the earl of Marlborough's diſgrace; he almoſt upbraided the King with the earl's ſervices, who as he ſaid, had ſet the crown on his head.

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evening, he ſent to the Dutch flag-officer, who was there at anchor, to weigh and make ſail after him. The ninth, in the evening, the Dutch ſhips, from the Downs, joined the fleet, and one of their rear-admirals, with the reſt of their ſhips, under three decks, was at anchor, off of Dungeneſſe. The eleventh, the fleet ſailed from Rye-bay, and, on the 13th, was joined, at St. Helens, by the ſquadrons under ſir Ralph Delaval, and rear-admiral Carter (1).

Malicious aſperſions caſt on the officers.

About this time, a malicious and dangerous report was ſpread abroad, grounded probably upon the intelligence ſent to France, of which I have made mention above, as if ſome of the officers of their Majeſties fleet had given aſſurance, to the diſaffected perſons on ſhoar, of their readineſs to adhere to them, and that the Queen had, thereupon, ordered many of them to be diſcharged the ſervice. Her Majeſty, who was ſenſible, that nothing could more effectually prevent any evil conſequences ariſing from this rumor, than to declare how much ſhe was convinced of the falſhood of it, commanded the lord Nottingham to acquaint admiral Ruſſel; "that ſhe was ſatisfied this report was in-
"duſtriouſly raiſed by the enemies of the govern-
"ment, and that ſhe repoſed ſo intire a confidence
"in their fidelity and zeal for their Majeſties ſer-
"vice, and the defenſe of their country, that ſhe
"had reſolved not to diſplace any one of them."

The Queen's politic meſſage.

This politic meſſage was immediately communicated, by the admiral, to the flag and other officers; who thereupon being touched with a lively ſenſe of honor, unanimouſly ſubſcribed an addreſs, expreſſing their ſteady zeal and loyalty; which the admiral, at their requeſt, tranſmited to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty (2).

Addreſs of the fleet.

The parliament prorogued.

The Queen, in the mean time, truſting to their fidelity and reſolution, and conſidering that her fleet was now join'd by that of her allies, and in a readineſs to repel the attempts of her enemies, her Majeſty, on the ſixteenth of May, thought fit to prorogue the parliament to the fourteenth of the inſuing month. I have already obſerv'd, that the French King had given poſitive orders to monſ. de Tourville to fight the Engliſh fleet, upon a ſuppoſition, that the Dutch ſquadron would not be able to join them ſo ſoon. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was, for ſome time, intoxicated with this pleaſing dream (3), till, at length, expreſs upon expreſs arriving, and confirming their junction, he diſpatch'd one meſſenger after another to Tourville, to order him to decline fighting; but theſe counter-orders came to late, as we ſhall now ſoon ſee.

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The 18th of May, the admiral ſail'd, with his whole fleet, towards the coaſt of France, and the next day, while both France and England were in a dubious expectation of the important event, about three in the morning, Cape Barfleur bearing then S. W. by S. at about ſeven leagues diſtance, the ſcouts which were weſtward of the fleet, fired ſeveral guns. Theſe ſhips coming, ſoon after, within ſight, made the ſignal of diſcovering the enemy, and lay with their heads northward: upon this, the admiral cauſed the fleet to draw into a line of battle, and notice was given for the rear to tack, that in caſe the French ſtood northward, they might the ſooner come up and ingage. It was then a fog, but the ſun having diſperſed it ſoon after four, the enemy was ſeen, ſtanding ſouthward, forming their line, with the ſame tack, which the confederate fleet had on board.

The French and confederate fleets meet.

Monſ. de Larrey (in his hiſtory of France, under Lewis XIV) ſays, when the fog diſſipated, monſ. de Tourville was ſurprized to find it was the whole Engliſh and Dutch united fleet he was going to ingage, whereas before he imagined it had been but part of it: but, however, conſidering a haſty retreat would bring his fleet into ſuch a confuſion, as might prove more hazardous than a battle it ſelf, he continued his orders for the ingagement.

Diſpoſition of the fleets.

Admiral Ruſſel, obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy, cauſed the ſignal for the rear-tack to be taken in, and bore away with his own ſhip ſo far to the leeward, that all the other ſhips might fetch his wake, and then bringing to lay by, with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, to give the better opportunity to the whole fleet to place themſelves, according to their orders. About eight, the line of the confederate fleet was pretty well formed, and ſtretched from S. S. W. to N. N. E. the Dutch in the van, the admiral in the center, and the blue in the rear. By nine, the enemy's van had ſtretch'd almoſt as far ſouthward as they, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue (who were in the rear) cloſing the line, and their vice-admiral of the ſame diviſion ſtanding towards the rear of the confederate fleet. Between ten and eleven, the French bore down upon them, with little wind, and admiral Ruſſel (who ſtill lay by with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt) obſerving that monſ. de Tourville had put out his ſignal for battle, commanded that his ſhould not be ſpread, until the French, who had the weather-gage, were advanc'd as far as they ſhould think fit (1).

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(1) They had met four days before, when the former was ſtanding over to the iſle of Wight, from Cape la Hogue, and the other from St. Helens's, in ſearch of him.

(2) Their addreſs was as follows:

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects and ſervants, flag-officers and captains in your Majeſty's fleet, out of "a deep and grateful ſenſe of your Majeſty's good and juſt opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right hono-"rable admiral Ruſſel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal ſecretary of ſtate, do, in behalf of ourſelves, "and all the other officers and ſeamen, humbly preſume to addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty, at this juncture, to undeceive the "world, as to thoſe falſe and malicious reports, which have been lately ſpread in prejudice of your Majeſty's ſervice, by people "diſaffected to the government, and who have an averſion to the quiet and good of their country, that there are ſome among "us who are not truly zealous for and intirely devoted to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment. We do, therefore, moſt humbly beg "leave to add to our repeated oaths, this aſſurance of our fidelity; that we will, with all imaginable alacrity and reſolution, "venture our lives in the defenſe of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, againſt all Popiſh inva-"dors whatſoever. And that God Almighty may preſerve your Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon, direct your councils, and proſper "your arms by ſea and land, againſt your enemies, may all people ſay Amen, with your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub-"jects. Dated on board the Britannia, at St. Helens, the 15th day of May, 1692."

This addreſs was ſigned by ſir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue; ſir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red; mr. Rook vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; mr. Carter, rear-admiral of the blue, and by the other commanders of the fleet. It was preſented the day after its date, by the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, and her Majeſty was not only pleaſed to accept it very graciouſly, but to anſwer; "that ſhe always had this opinion of the commanders "but was very glad this was come to ſatisfy others:" and indeed it was not long before they performed their promiſe. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 658.

(3) While the Jacobites were pleaſing themſelves with hopes of approaching ſucceſs, the firſt thing, which put a damp upon them, was the various reports about the joining of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets. Once they had notice they were joined; but this being contradicted the next day, leaſt that report ſhould have any influence upon the French, they ſent over ſir Adam Blaire, to aſſure them that the Dutch were not yet come up: yet ſo it happened, that before the gentleman could reach Dover, they had certain news that the fleets were joined indeed; and therefore one mr. Clark was diſpatched into France, to acquaint them with this fatal junction. But mr. Clark was ſo far from gaining credit to his report (ſir Adam Blaire avering the contrary) that he was impriſoned as a ſpreader of falſe news, 'till ſeveral other expreſſes confirmed his account.

(1) As

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(1) As this was the moſt memorable ſea-fight of this whole war, the reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee a liſt of the ſhips which compoſed, as well the French as the confedrate fleets.

A LIST of the Engliſh and Dutch Fleet.

The Red Squadron.

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.
1	The Royal William	780	100
5	1 London	730	100
5	1 Britannia	780	100
5	1 St. Andrew	730	100
5	1 Royal Sovereign	815	100
3	2 St. Michael	600	90
3	2 Sandwich	660	90
3	2 Royal Catherine	540	90
16	3 Cambridge	420	70
16	3 Plymouth	340	60
16	3 Breda		80
16	3 Kent	460	70
16	3 Swiftſure	420	70
16	3 Hampton Court	460	70
16	3 Graſton	460	70
16	3 Reſtauration	460	70
16	3 Eagle	460	70
16	3 Rupert	400	60
16	3 Elizabeth	460	70
16	3 Burford	460	70
16	3 Captain	460	70
16	3 Devonſhire		80
16	3 York	340	60
16	3 Lenox	460	70
7	4 Ruby	230	50
7	4 Oxford	280	50
7	4 St. Albans	280	50
7	4 Greenwich	280	50
7	4 Cheſter	280	50
7	4 Centurion	280	50
7	4 Bonadventure	230	50

The Right Honourable Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Admiral.
Sir Ralph Delaval, Vice-Admiral.
Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, Rear-Admiral.

The Blue Squadron.

Rates.	Ships.	Men.	Guns.
1	The Victory	780	100
7	2 Albermarle	660	90
7	2 Windſor-Caſtle	660	90
7	2 Neptune	680	96
7	2 Vanguard	660	90
7	2 Ducheſs	660	90
7	2 Oſſory	660	90
7	2 Duke	675	90
18	3 Reſolution	420	70
18	3 Monk	340	60
18	3 Expedition	460	70
18	3 Royal-Oak	470	74
18	3 Northumberland	460	70
18	3 Lion	340	60
18	3 Berwick	460	70
18	3 Defiance	400	70
18	3 Montague	355	60
18	3 Warſpight	420	70
18	3 Monmouth	460	70
18	3 Edgar	445	70
18	3 Sterling-Caſtle	460	70
18	3 Dreadnought	365	60
18	3 Suffolk	460	70
18	3 Cornwal		80
18	3 Eſſex	460	70
18	3 Hope	460	70
6	4 Chatham	280	50
6	4 Advice	230	50
6	4 Adventure	200	50
6	4 Crown	230	50
6	4 Woolwich	280	54
6	4 Deptford	280	50

Sir John Aſhby, Admiral.
The Honourable George Rooke, Eſq; Vice-Admiral.
The Honourable Richard Carter, Eſq; Rear-Admiral.

The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of ſixty-three ſhips, carrying, ſeven and twenty thouſand, ſeven hundred, and twenty-five ſeamen; and four thouſand five hundred guns. Frigats and Fire-ſhips, three and twenty.

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The Dutch Squadron.

Rates.	Ships.	White. Men.	Guns.
9	1 The Zealand	500	90
9	1 Koning Wilhelm	525	92
9	1 Brandenburg	500	92
9	1 Weſt-Frieſland	475	84
9	1 Printz	540	92
9	1 Printzeſs	500	92
9	1 Beſchirmer	475	84
9	1 Caſteel-Medenblick	500	86
9	1 Captain-General	500	84
10	2 North-Holland	350	68
10	2 Erſte-Edele	400	74
10	2 Munickendam	376	72
10	2 Gelderland. A.	375	72
10	2 Stat-Muyden	375	72
10	2 Eſtwout	375	72
10	2 Printz-Caſimir	370	70
10	2 Friſia	370	70
10	2 Ridderſhap	375	72
10	2 De 7 Provintzen	400	76
9	3 Zurick-zee	325	60
9	3 Gelderland, R.	325	64
9	3 Vere	325	62
9	3 Zeeland, A.	325	64
9	3 Haerlem	325	64
9	3 Leyden	325	64
9	3 Amſterdam	325	64
9	3 Velew	325	64
9	3 Maegd van Dort	325	64
8	4 Tergoes	225	54
8	4 Medenblick	320	50
8	4 Gaſterland	210	50
8	4 Ripperda	210	50
8	4 Schatterſhoff	210	50
8	4 Stadten-Land	210	52
8	4 Hoorn	210	50
8	4 Delft	250	54

Admiral Allemonde, Vice-Admiral, Schout by Nacht.

The Dutch fleet conſiſted of ſix and thirty ſhips, carrying twelve thouſand, nine hundred and fifty men; and two thouſand, four hundred and ninety four guns. Frigats and fire-ſhips, fourteen.

Engliſh and Dutch, in all, ninety-nine ſhips, of the line; forty thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five ſeamen; and ſix thouſand, nine hundred and ninety-four guns. Fire-ſhips and frigats, ſeven and thirty.

A LIST of the French Fleet.

The VAN.

Ships.	Guns.
The Formidable	90
Foudroyant	82
St. Philip	84
Magnifique	76
Orguilluux	90
Conquerant	84
Fier	76
Belliqueux	76
Terrible	76
Floriſſant	84
Tonant	76
Triomphant	76
Couronne	76
Pompeux	74
Galliard	68
Content	64
Glorieux	64
Serieux	68
Ecueil	64
Brillant	68
Furieux	60
Fort	60
St. Michael	60
Agreeable	60
Diamant	60
Entreprenant	68

The CENTER.

Soleil Royal	104
Dauphin Royal	100
Monarch	90
Grand	86
Souverain	84
The Victorieux	92
Fulminant	96
Ambitieux	96
Intrepid	84
St. Eſprit	74
Illuſtrieux	70
Amicable	68
Henry	64
Courtiſan	64
Bourbon	64
Siren	60
Courageux	58
Aſſuré	60
Apollo	60
St. Louis	60
Excellent	60
Arrogant	60
Prince	60
Fleuron	58
Temeraire	54

And 3 fire-ſhips.

The REAR.

The Merveilleux	94
Admirable	90
Vainueur	84
Brave	60
Sanſpareil	60
Juſte	64
Entendue	60
Maure	52
Perle	56
Heureux Retour	52
Fidelle	48
Another of	58

Seven veſſels of leſs burden, 26 flutes, and 14 long barks.
In all 63 ſhips of the line of battle, and 55 ſmall craft.
Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 659. and 660.

According to this liſt, the French fleet will appear to have been of greater force, than any of the accounts of the battle which I have ſeen, on either ſide, make it; but it is as the French publiſh'd it, at the time of monſ. de Tourville's going to ſea. Whether any alteration happen'd afterwards, or whether the French had any deſign in having it believed larger, before their misfortune, than they cared to have it afterwards, I ſhall not determine? The French continuator of (or rather deviator from) Rapin, pretends, that the count d' Eſtrees's ſquadron had ſuffer'd very much by bad weather, that ſeveral of the ſhips were ſeparated from the fleet in a ſtorm, ſome render'd incapable of ſervice, others periſh'd, and again others oblig'd to go into harbor to refit.

I come

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The Sea-fight off of la Hogue.

I come now to give an account of this memorable ſea-fight, and I think I cannot do it better, than by the copies of three letters, from three admirals who commanded in the ingagement, to which I ſhall, therefore, only add ſome obſervations, as well of our own as of ſome foreign authors.

The firſt is from admiral Ruſſel the day after the battle.

A letter from admiral Ruſſel.

Cape Barfleur, S. W. diſtance ſeven leagues. May, 20th, 1692.

" Yeſterday, about three in the morning, Cape " Barfleur bearing S. W. and by S. diſtance ſeven " leagues, my ſcouts made the ſignal for ſeing the " enemy. The wind weſterly, the French bore " down to me, and at eleven ingaged me, but at " ſome diſtance. We continued fighting, till half " an hour paſt five in the evening, at which time " the enemy towed away with all their boats, and " we after them. It was calm all day. About " ſix there was a freſh ingagement to the weſtward " of me, which I ſuppoſed to be the blue. It " continued calm all night. I can give no parti- " cular account of things; but that the French " were beaten, and I am now ſteering away for " Conquet-road, having a freſh gale eaſterly, but " extreme foggy: I ſuppoſe that is the place they " deſign for. If it pleaſe God to ſend us a little " clear weather, I doubt not but we ſhall deſtroy " their whole fleet. I ſaw, in the night, three or " four ſhips blow up; but I know not what they " were. So ſoon as I am able to give you a more " particular relation, I will not be wanting.

The French fleet routed;

The ingagement with the blue ſquadron, which the admiral hints at above, laſted 'till ten at night (1), when the French, being worſted, ſtood away for Conquet-road (2). It was all that night very calm, and very foggy the next morning: but it begining to clear up a little, about eleven, the Engliſh ſaw the French fleet, about two leagues from them, but very much leſſen'd in number, and not ſeeming to be above thirty-eight men of war. They made all the ſail they could after them, but it ſoon grew calm again: about three in the afternoon both fleets came to an anchor, but weigh'd about eleven at night, and anchored again the next morning.

And purſued.

The 21ſt, the Engliſh again ſail'd after the enemy, the admiral ſteering towards Barfleur, and the Dutch and blue ſquadron, towards the road of Alderney, thro' which part of the French fleet got ſafe to St. Malo, the Engliſh not thinking it ſafe to purſue them that way, for which, ſir John Aſhby was afterwards queſtion'd in parliament. Sir Ralph Delaval had, however, better ſucceſs off of Cherbourg, of which his own letter will give us the beſt account.

This ſecond letter, which was from ſir Ralph Delaval, was dated two days after the foregoing letter.

A letter from ſir Ralph Delaval to the lord Nottingham.

Sir Ralph Delaval's letter to the earl of Nottingham, on board the Royal Sovereign, near Cherbourg, May 22.

" I believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on " the one and twentieth inſtant, admiral Ruſſel " having made the ſignal for the fleet to cut their " cables, I obſerved the French to be forced from " Alderney (where they anchored) to the eaſt- " ward; and finding that ſome of them in- " deavored for the bay of Cherbourg, I ſtood in for " that place, where I found three three-deck'd " ſhips of the enemy's, but ſo cloſe to the ſhore, " and within ſome rocks, that it was not ſafe for " me to attempt them, 'till I had informed my " ſelf of the road, they being haled into ſhoal- " water. I immediately took my boats, and foun- " ded within gunſhot of them; which they in- " deavored to prevent, by firing at us. And " that no time might be loſt, I went immediately " on board the St. Albans, where, for the incourage- " ment of the ſeamen, I hoiſted my flag, and " having ordered the Ruby, with two fireſhips, to " attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the " great ſhips without, as drawing too much water. " But coming very near, they galled us ſo extreme- " ly, and finding the fire-ſhips could not get in, " I judged it beſt to retreat without ſhot, " where I anchored; and immediately called all the " captains; when it was reſolved to attempt them, " in the morning, with all the third and fourth- " rates, and fire-ſhips. But after having drawn " them into four fathom and a half water, I found " we could not do our buſineſs, the water being " ſhoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ſhips to " prepare themſelves to attempt the burning them; " going myſelf with all the barges and tenders, to " take them up, if by the enemy's ſhot they ſhould " miſcarry. Indeed, I may ſay, and I hope " without vanity, the ſervice was warm; yet, God " be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that not- " withſtanding all their ſhot, both from their ſhips " and forts, two of our fire-ſhips had good ſucceſs, " by burning two of them; the other, by an " unfortunate ſhot, was ſet on fire, being juſt " going on board the enemy. Indeed ſo brave was " the attempt, that I think they can hardly be ſuf- " ficiently rewarded; and doubt not but their Ma- " jeſties will do them right. The third French " ſhip being run aſhore, and obſerving the people " on board to go on ſhore by boats full, I ordered " the St. Alban's, the Reſerve, and others, to fire " upon her; judging it might cauſe them to quit " her; and after having battered her for ſome " time, I obſerved ſhe made no reſiſtance. I took " all the boats armed, and went on board her. I " found abundance of men on board, and ſeveral " wounded, but no officers. And having cauſed " all the people, as well thoſe that were wounded, " as others, to be taken out, I ſet her on fire; and " had I not had notice by my ſcouts, that thirty " ſhips were ſtanding with us, had ſent all the " French on ſhoar, who are now very troubleſome " to me. The ſhips we ſaw proved to be ſir John

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(1) There was, however, before this ingagement with the blue, which did not begin till eight o' clock, another with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, which began about ſix, and this probably was the firing the admiral heard. Sir Cloudeſly had got to the windward of monſ. Tourville's own ſquadron, and between him, and their admiral of the blue. After the fire had continued ſometime, the ſhips, on both ſides, came to an anchor, but could not diſcover one another, by reaſon of the fog. During this ingagement, three ſhips were heard to blow up, which, as the Engliſh miſs'd none, muſt have been the French. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 661.

(2) In this diſpute, rear admiral Carter was killed, whoſe laſt words to his captain (William Wright) ſufficiently ſhewed, there had been no grounds to ſuſpect his zeal to the ſervice; for he gave him a ſtrict charge to fight the ſhip as long as ſhe would ſwim. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 662.

Of this part of the action, monſ. de Forbin ſays; " The tide, the night, and a fog, coming on, oblig'd monſ. de Tourville " to come to anchor. The Engliſh who had wheeled about the French, not doing the like, ſuffered themſelves te be driven by " the currents, and paſſing thro' the French lines, under favor of the fog, recovered the main body of their fleet. This " gave occaſion to a new fight, which proved more bloody, than the former. My ſhip (continues this author,) was pierced " thro' and thro', with cannon-balls, and I was boarded by a fire-ſhip, from which I freed my ſelf at laſt, but not without great " difficulty. I loſt a great many of my men in the action; and was my ſelf ſorely wounded, in the knee. This violent " cannonading, which had ſo terribly galled me, laſted 'till eleven at night; and, wounded as I was, and in great pain, I " ſpent the whole night in refitting, that I might be in a condition to perform duty the next day. For I foreſaw we ſhould " come to blows again. Memoires de Forbin.

Aſhby,

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" Aſhby, and the Dutch coming from the weſt-
" ward. We are proceeding together to the eaſt-
" ward to la Hogue, where I am informed three
" or four of the enemy's ſhips are; and, if ſo, I
" hope God will give us good ſucceſs. I expect
" to find the admiral to-morrow, when I hope
" to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's
" ſhips, having left him in chaſe of them, laſt
" night, ſtanding to the eaſtward, and pretty near
" them, as I judged. My lord, I hope you will
" excuſe me, if I preſume to pray, you will uſe
" your intereſt, with the Queen, that a reward
" may be given to the three captains of the fire-
" ſhips, and ſeveral of the others, for greater zeal
" and greater bravery, I never ſaw. I pray your
" excuſe for being thus tedious and thus particular.
" Pray God preſerve their Majeſties, and that their
" arms may be ever crowned with ſucceſs, by ſea
" and land, ſhall be the prayers and indeavors of, &c.
" Captain Heath burnt Tourville's ſhip, the
" Royal-Sun, which was the moſt difficult. Cap-
" tain Greenway burnt the other called the Con-
" querant. The admiral was burnt by our boats.
" Captain Fowlis attempted the Royal-Sun, but
" was ſet on fire by the enemy's ſhot; yet deſerves
" as well as the others.

Admiral Ruſſel was no leſs ſucceſsful in the purſuit of thirteen French men of war, of which I ſhall give the reader an account, after having prefix'd the third of the letters mention'd above.

This third is the tranſlation of a letter from the Dutch admiral Allemonde, to the States-general.

From on board the Prince, near Cape-barfleur, June 3 (May 24th) 1692.

High and mighty lords,

Admiral Allemonde's letter to the States-general.

" Since my two laſt, of the thirty-firſt paſt, and
" firſt inſtant, N. S. which gave your high mighti-
" neſſes advice of what had paſs'd in the defeat of
" the French fleet, I came to anchor under this
" Cape, where I have been ſince yeſterday in the
" afternoon, with your highneſſes ſquadron, and
" that of ſir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue
" ſquadron, and ſome other Britiſh ſhips. At
" my arrival here, I was informed, by the
" captain of a French fire-ſhip, who was taken
" priſoner; that about twelve of the veſſels which
" had ingaged your highneſſes ſquadron, and to
" which we had given chace, were got in among
" the rocks, upon which I prepared to go and
" deſtroy or burn them: but as I was ready to
" put my deſign in execution, I found that ad-
" miral Ruſſel was giving orders to the ſame pur-
" poſe. I immediately offered him your high and
" mightineſſes light frigats and fire-ſhips, to aſſiſt
" his ſhip; and immediately gave the neceſſary
" orders, in caſe he ſhould make uſe of them;
" but as yet I know not whether thoſe frigats and
" fire-ſhips were imployed or not. All that I can
" aſſure your high mightineſſes is, that the
" ſame day they took a reſolution to deſtroy theſe
" ſhips, they burnt ſix of the largeſt, being ſhips
" of three decks; and this day the reſt which re-
" mained, the leaſt of which carried ſixty pieces of
" cannon, indur'd the ſame fate, being burnt with
" all their ammunition and proviſion, together wi-
" ſix other ſmaller veſſels, which they had light-
" ned of their guns, to try whether it were poſſible
" to ſave them, by towing them up higher; ſo
" that this expedition has compleated the irrepara-
" ble ruin of the enemy's fleet. I underſtand, this
" day, from on board of admiral Ruſſel, that or-
" ders are given out to burn the tranſport-veſſels,
" which are in the bay of la Hogue, to the num-
" ber of 300, if it may be done with ſafety: but I
" fear it will be very difficult, becauſe the water is
" very ſhallow where thoſe veſſels ly; and great
" reſiſtance may be made from the land-ſide; I
" therefore leave the ſucceſs of the deſign to pro-
" vidence. On the other hand, it has been reſolved,
" in a grand council of war, to reduce our fleet to
" fifty or ſixty great ſhips, to ſail away to the iſle
" of Uſhant, and to indeavor to take all the enemy's
" ſhips that ſhall come from, or deſign to go into
" Breſt, and to ſend the reſt of the men of war,
" with ſome fire-ſhips, to ſcour the coaſt of France,
" as far as Dunkirk, to ſeek out and deſtroy, if
" poſſible, the ſcattered remnants of the French
" fleet, that have ſteered their courſe to the
" eaſt. (1).

I am,
Moſt high and mighty lords,
Yours &c. P. Allemonde.

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French ſhips burnt at La Hogue.

The deſtruction of the French ſhips, in the bay of la Hogue, which admiral Allemonde juſt hints at, in the foregoing letter, was perform'd in the following manner: the 21ſt of May, about four in the afternoon, eighteen of the French ſhips, which were got eaſtward of Cape-barfleur, haled in for la Hogue, where the Engliſh admiral, with the body of the fleet, likewiſe, anchored the ſame night. The next afternoon about two, he plied cloſe in with la Hogue, where he found thirteen of the enemy's ſhips, very near under the ſhoar. The 23d, the ſent vice-admiral Rook, of the blue, with ſeveral men of war, frigats, fire-ſhips, and the boats of the fleet arm'd, to deſtroy them; none but theſe ſmall frigats could, however, advance near enough for ſervice, which was the reaſon that they could only burn ſix of them that night, with their boats. The next morning, about eight, they burnt the other ſeven, together with ſeveral tranſport-ſhips, and ſome ſmall veſſels with ammunition. They, likewiſe, drove the French, with their own guns, from their platforms and batteries on ſhoar; and all this in the ſight of the French and Iriſh camp, that lay ready to invade England. Many of the French ſeamen periſh'd with their ſhips, and a great number were taken priſoners. Thus at la Hogue and Cherbourg were burnt two ſhips of 104 guns; one of ninety; two of eighty; four of ſeventy-ſix; four of ſixty; and two of fifty-ſix; beſide another of fifty-ſix guns which was overſet, and loſt: ſo that, with what the French loſt in the fight, twenty-one of their largeſt ſhips were deſtroy'd, beſide frigats and ſmall craft; and had it not been for the foggy weather, hardly a ſhip would have eſcap'd. Of the

Loſs on both ſides.

(1) The account F. Daniel gives of this ingagement is in ſubſtance; " that monſieur de Tourville attack'd the Engliſh Corps
" de Bataille with ſo much vigor, that all fled before him: that he maintained the fight the whole day, from morning to
" night, without the loſs of a ſhip, tho' he did conſiderable damage to ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips: and that he made a fine re-
" treat, which would have been as happy as glorious, had not the tide failed him. His conduct, however, was ſo much ap-
" proved, that the King his maſter honored him with a marſhall's ſtaff on that account." Monſieur de Forbin, who begins his relation with ſomewhat more modeſty, and muſt be ſuppoſed to know more of it than F. Daniel, as he was preſent himſelf in the action, ſays; " that the Engliſh expected them in very good order, and ſuffered them to come as near to them as they
" thought fit. The battle was begun (continues he) with a great deal of vigor, and even with ſome advantage on the ſide
" of the French: but the wind, which, in the begining of the fight, was in their favor, changed in an inſtant, and was
" favorable to the Engliſh. They took the advantage of it, and, with their van, wheeled round the French fleet, and by that
" means made them be expoſed to two fires at once. As their fleet was far ſuperiour to the French (who had but four and forty
" ſhips) beyond all diſpute the whole French fleet would have been loſt, if they had managed as they might have done: but their
" ſlowneſs in attacking let the opportunity ſlip out of their hands."

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confederates not a ſhip was loſt, but the fire-ſhips which were ſpent in the action; and the number of officers and men kill'd was inconſiderable (1). This ſervice being done, the admiral ſail'd again, the next day, and order'd ſir John Aſhby (who was return'd, without having done any execution on the other part of the French fleet) to run, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch, along the French coaſt, as far as Havre de Grace, and look out for the five ſhips, which he ſaid he had ſeen ſtanding eaſtward: but in this he had no better ſucceſs than before (2). The advantage already obtained was, however, very great and glorious, and the more as it effectually put a ſtop to the projected invaſion; and caſt ſuch a damp upon the late King James's expectations, that he never recover'd the impreſſion of it (3). All farther hopes of meeting the remainder of the French fleet being now groundleſs, the admiral return'd with his fleet to St. Helens.

The Queen's bounty.

Her Majeſty was no ſooner inform'd of this victory, than ſhe ſent a gratuity of 30,000 l. down to Portſmouth, to be diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, order'd medals to be ſtruck for the officers, and cauſed colonel Haſtings, who was kill'd in the fight, to be magnificently buried. Her Majeſty, at the ſame time, conſidering, how this ſucceſs might be improved, by turning the cards upon the French, and making a deſcent upon their coaſts, before they could recover from their conſternation, order'd preparation, to be made for that end. All the forces deſign'd for this expedition were ſhip'd off at Portſmouth, the twenty-third of July, and on the twenty-fifth the duke of Lemſter, who commanded them in chief, imbark'd on board the Bredau. As they ſet ſail, with a fair wind, in the beſt ſeaſon of the year, the expectations of the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe were very great: but to the great ſurprize of every one, a few days after, intelligence came, that all the tranſports had put into St. Hellens road, with part of the fleet, that they met off of Torbay, which gave occaſion to various conjectures (4).

A deſcent on the coaſt of France projected;

The Queen was no ſooner inform'd of what had paſs'd, than ſhe ſent a committee of her privy-council to Torbay, to carry freſh orders to the fleet. The lord-preſident of the council, accompanied by the lord-ſteward, lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, came thither, the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, and, after they had confer'd with the generals, return'd to London. The forces under the duke of Lemſter arrived in the Downs, the eight of the ſame month, from whence they ſailed again, on the 20th, and landed two days after at Oſtend; the French coaſts having been, all this time, under a continual alarm. The fleet lay a conſiderable time wind-bound at St. Helens, till the winter ſeaſon being far advanc'd, the great ſhips were order'd to Chatham, and the remainder of the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt for the advantage of the ſervice.

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All fears of an invaſion being now diſpell'd, I ſhall leave the Queen and the three kingdoms in a happy ſecurity, and take a brief view of the affairs on the continent. We left King William at Loo, from whence he repair'd to Flanders, to head the army there. The duke of Bavaria, who, thro' King William's influence, was, this year, made governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, had put thoſe provinces in a much better ſtate, than they had before been in; this did not, however diſcourage Lewis XIV, from attempting the ſiege of Namur, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all thoſe parts, which, at one and at the ſame time, is the rampart of Brabant, the biſhopric of Liege, the United-provinces, and Lower-Germany; and is beſide, ſo ſituated at the confluence of the Maeſe and the Sambre, that it requires three ſeparate camps to beſiege it. He inveſted it in perſon, the 25th of May, N. S. open'd the trenches, the 29th, and puſh'd the ſiege with ſo much vigor and aſſiduity, that he made himſelf maſter of all the outworks next to St. Nicholas's-gate, within the ſpace of four days after; having, in that time, made three attacks, with 25,000 men each time; this ingaged the gariſon to ſurrender the town, the 5th of June, by capitulation, and to retire into the caſtle.

Campain in Flanders.

Namur beſieg'd by the French.

King William was no ſooner inform'd of this ſiege, than he decamp'd, with the confederate army under his command, from Anderlech, and march'd

King William marches towards Namur.

(1) It was believed (ſays biſhop Burnet) that if this ſucceſs had been purſued with vigor, conſidering the conſternation, with which the French were ſtruck, upon ſuch an unuſual and ſurprizing blow, that this victory might have been carried much farther than it was: but Ruſſel was provoked by ſome letters and orders, that the earl of Nottingham ſent him from the Queen, which he thought were the effects of ignorance; and upon that he fell into a croſſneſs of diſpoſition; he found fault with every order which was ſent him; but would offer no advice, on his part. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) If ſir John Aſhby had purſued the twenty-ſix French ſhips, which afterwards got into St. Malo, in all appearance he might have deſtroyed every one of them. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times.

(3) King James now ſeem'd to recede from all hopes of his reſtoration, as we may ſee by the following melancholy letter, which he wrote to the French King.

Monſieur, my Brother,

" I have hitherto, with ſomething of conſtancy and reſolution, ſupported the weight of all the misfortunes, which it hath " pleaſed Heaven to lay upon me, ſo long as myſelf was the only ſufferer: but I muſt acknowledge this laſt diſaſter utterly " overwhelms me; and I am altogether comfortleſs, in reference to what concerns your Majeſty, thro' the great loſs that has " befallen your fleet. I know too well, that my unlucky ſtar it is, which has drawn down this misfortune upon your forces, " always victorious, but when they fought for my intereſt. And this is that which plainly tells me, that I no longer merit " the ſupport of ſo great a Monarch, who is always ſure to vanquiſh when he fights for himſelf. For which reaſon it is, " that I requeſt your Majeſty no longer to concern yourſelf for a Prince ſo unfortunate as myſelf; but permit me to retire with " my family, to ſome corner of the world, where I may ceaſe to obſtruct the uſual courſe of your proſperities and conqueſts, " which only my misfortune could interrupt. It is not juſt that the moſt potent Monarch in the world, and the moſt flouriſh- " ing, above all others, ſhould ſhare in my diſgrace, becauſe you are too generous. 'Tis better much, that I ſhall only retire, " 'till it pleaſe omnipotent providence to be more propitious to my affairs. But howſoever it pleaſes over-ruling Heaven to diſ- " poſe of me and mine, or into whatſoever receſs I may be thrown, I can aſſure your Majeſty, that I ſhall always preſerve, to " the laſt gaſp of my aſpiring breath, that due acknowledgment which I ſtill retain of your favors and conſtant friendſhip. Nor " can any thing more contribute to my conſolation, than to hear, as I hope to do, when I have wholly quited your dominions, " of the quick return of all your wonted triumphs, both by ſea and land, over your enemies and mine, when my intereſt ſhall " be no longer intermixed with yours. I am, Monſieur, my Brother, yours, &c.

James Rex.

The King of France indeavored to alleviate King James affliction by a kind anſwer, wherein he promiſed never to forſake him in the worſt of his extremities.

(4) The orders for this expedition were not open'd till they were at a certain diſtance at ſea: and, in a council of war, of land and ſea officers, it was debated, whether the burning the French ſhips at St. Malo was practicable; The flag-officers were of opinion it was not, till the town itſelf was ſo far reduc'd, by the land-forces, that the ſhips might not be expos'd to the enemy's guns on ſhoar: and the land-officers were of opinion, that the troops could be of no ſervice, without the aſſiſtance of the fleet, ſo that deſign was laid aſide. It was next debated, whether any thing could be attempted at Breſt or Rochfort: but there again the flag-officers thought the ſeaſon of the year too far advanced to attempt any thing with ſafety, and the generals declar'd they ſhould not be able to do any ſervice with the troops, unleſs they were protected by the fleet. It was however, reſolved to ſtand over to the coaſt of France, off of la Hogue, but, in the paſſage from Torbay, the admiral received orders from the Queen, and, thereupon, returned with the tranſports to St. Helens. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 668 and 669.

to

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to Diegom: the 28th of May, he continued his march towards Louvain, and incamp'd near Bethlem-abby, from whence, on the third of June, he purſued his march towards Namur (1). The duke of Luxemburg, who cover'd the ſiege of Namur, with an army of 70,000 men, upon the firſt advice, that the King of England was in motion towards the Mehaigne, march'd that way, likewiſe, and the eighth of June, the two armies, which were very near of equal force, came within ſight of one another, having the river only between them: both armies poſſeſs'd themſelves of the moſt advantageous poſts they could, on each ſide of the river; but the confederates had ſo much the advantage, by means of their batteries, that King William order'd his pontons to be laid over it, the ſame evening, in order to attack the French, the next day: however, tho' every thing was in a readineſs, there fell that night, and the ſucceeding days, ſo much rain, as ſwell'd the river to ſuch a degree, that the current over-ſet his bridges. This, with the continual fire of the enemy, from the other ſide of the river, oblig'd his Majeſty to lay aſide an enterpriſe, by which he might have obtain'd great glory.

A glorious deſign fruſtrated.

The caſtle of Namur beſieged.

The French, after the ſurrender of the town of Namur, laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which, by its advantageous ſituation on a hill, and its excellent fortifications, was reckon'd almoſt impregnable. They had firſt a fortification called the Devil's-houſe, then Fort-William, and afterwards the New-caſtle to take, before they could come at the Old-caſtle. To give a particular account of all the tranſactions of this ſiege, would carry me too far, the moſt remarkable was the taking of Fort-William, an out-work erected by that incomparable ingineer, colonel de Cohorn, who defended it in perſon, with a gariſon of 1500 men. Lewis XIV reſolved to be maſter of it, at any rate, and, tho' he did gain his point, it coſt him dear. He cauſed it to be very vigorouſly attack'd, the 21ſt of June, but his men were obliged to retreat with a conſiderable loſs; not diſcouraged by this repulſe, they attempted it again the next day, but were twice beat off with great ſlaughter; at length, however, with redoubled numbers, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the cover'd way, and cut off the communication of the beſieged with the caſtle. Monſieur de Cohorn being, likewiſe, dangerouſly wounded, the gariſon deſired to capitulate, and the fort was, thereupon, deliver'd up to the French. This was ſoon follow'd by the loſs of the caſtle, which ſurrender'd the firſt of July. (2)

Fort William taken.

The caſtle of Namur ſurrendered.

King William was then incamp'd at Melle, where he had form'd a deſign to ſurprize Mons, but it prov'd abortive. His Majeſty march'd his army from Melle to Genap, from thence to Notre-Dame de Hall, and, on the firſt of Auguſt, over the Senne, where he was joined by the troops of Hannover, to the number of 8000 men. The French King, on the other hand, contented with the glory of having taken Namur, in the ſight of the confederate army, left the command of his troops to Luxemburg, who incamp'd them in an advantageous poſt, cover'd by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steenkirk, where his Britannick Majeſty took the reſolution to attack him.

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The battle of Steenkirk.

The third of Auguſt, the confederate army march'd, early in the morning, the heavy baggage being order'd to repaſs the Senne at Hall. As they had ſeveral defilees to paſs, and ways to make, the duke of Wirtemberg, with the van-guard, conſiſting of four batallions of Engliſh foot, two of Danes, and a detachment of Churchill's brigade, did not come up to the enemy's camp till about ten. He then immediately fell upon them, with ſo much vigor, that he drove them from hedge to hedge, poſted himſelf in the wood, which fronted the right wing of their army, and erected two batteries of cannon, on little eminences, one on the right, and the other on the left of the wood. While theſe batterries were playing upon the enemy, the confederate army marched up to the head of the defilees (about half an Engliſh mile from the wood) where it opened into a little plain, not above half a league over, which terminated upon the right of the wood, and upon ſeveral rows of high trees, planted in great order. From the head of the defilee, on the left of the plain, there was a deep hollow way, with high trees and hedges upon the banks of it, which reached as far as the wood, where the vanguard was placed, and where it branched itſelf into two other deep ways, and going thro' the wood upon the left, to the Danes attack, and to that of the guards, and the other upon the right, going along the outſide of the wood: between theſe two laſt, were poſted the regiments of ſir Robert Douglas, colonel Fitz-patrick, and colonel O Farrel. When the confederate army was come up to the head of theſe defilees, and juſt entering into the ſmall plain, they were all ordered to halt, except the Engliſh life-guards, horſe and dragoons, and the lord Cutts's, lieutenant-general Mackay's, ſir Charles Graham's, and the earl of Angus's regiments, which being interlined with the horſe, were, at the ſame time, ordered to the right ſkirts of the wood; while the Prince of Heſſe's, colonel Lowther's, and the earl of Leven's regiments, were alſo intermixed with the left wing of horſe, and poſted upon the outſide of the wood.

All things being thus diſpoſed, and the army continuing in their halt, Prince Wirtemberg, after he had cannonaded for about two hours, began the attack with the Danes upon the right, which was immediately followed by the other four Engliſh regiments, which compoſed the van-guard, and ſeconded by Cutts's, Mackay's, Angus's, Graham's, Lowther's, the Prince of Heſſe's and Leven's regiments. The fire was very terrible for the ſpace of two hours, and withal very regular. The van-guard behaved with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that tho' they received the charge of ſeveral battalions of the enemy, one after another, they drove them beyond one of their batteries of ſeven pieces of cannon, of which the Danes, and the ſecond battalion of the regiment of Engliſh guards, poſſeſſed themſelves, and would have carried them away, had not the French prevented them, by cuting off the traces, and carrying away the horſes. Sir Robert Douglas, with his firſt battalion, charged ſeveral of

(1) Before his Majeſty removed, he gave the enemy notice of his laſt victory at ſea, by a triple diſcharge of 140 pieces of cannon, which were anſwer'd by as many vollies of ſmall ſhot, from the two lines of the army. It is ſaid, that the French King heard theſe tokens of joy, with a great deal of unconcernment, ſaying; "here's a mighty pudder, indeed, about the "burning of two or three ſhips." However, as light as he made of it, the conſequences ſhew'd, it was the unhappieſt blow he received, during the whole courſe of the war. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. 2. p. 332.

(2) The ſtrength of the place, and the ſhortneſs of the ſiege, occaſioned ſome reflections to be caſt on the Prince of Barbanſon, who was governor of it. It was ſaid that King William ſuſpected him before-hand, and had, therefore, deſired the elector of Bavaria to remove him: but the French having inveſted the place, before he could comply with his Majeſty's deſire, all the elector could do was to order the count de Thian, to accompany him in this ſiege, and to obſerve his conduct. There were, however, not wanting thoſe who maintain'd, that the Prince of Barbanſon acted like a man of honor and courage, and did all that could be expected from him.

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the enemies, beat them from three ſeveral hedges, and made himſelf maſter of the fourth, when going thro' a gap, to get on the other ſide, he was unfortunately killed on the ſpot.

The other regiments all behaved with the like bravery, firing thro' the hedges, they on one ſide, and the enemy on the other, muzzle to muzzle. One of Prince Wirtemberg's aids de camp having informed the King, what difficulties the vanguard had to incounter with, and the Prince having, to no purpoſe, ſent two meſſengers to count Solmes, who commanded the main body, for a reinforcement, his Majeſty diſpatched count Paulin, one of his own aids de camp, with poſitive orders to count Solmes, to ſend more foot to the Prince's aſſiſtance; but inſtead of obeying the King's command, he did juſt the reverſe; ordering the foot to halt, and the horſe to march (1). This proved, in a great meaſure, if not wholly, the loſs of the day: for the ground was ſo ſtreight, and the enemy had ſo many hedges, copſes, and ditches, to cover them, that the horſe could do nothing; ſo that when the vanguard begun to ingage, they had none but part of the infantry, interlined with the left wing of the horſe, to ſecond them, the body of the foot being almoſt a mile in the rear. The King, however, made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain, with ſuch foot as could come up. The ſoldiers were ſo eager to follow their royal leader, and to ingage the enemy, that it occaſioned ſome diſorder, and made it the longer before the battalions could be formed: inſomuch, that before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing, having been continually charged by thirty battalions of the enemy, one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons, brought up by Bouflers, were overpowered and obliged to retreat, in great confuſion, leaving the wood in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

The Engliſh life-guards were indebted to the Daniſh foot-guards, for their ſafety; and baron Pibrack's regiment of Lunenburgers, being in diſorder, upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the colonel lying dangerouſly wounded on the place, ſir Bevil Granville, who commanded the earl of Bath's regiment, marched to his relief, and having lodged himſelf, in the hollow way, near the wood, ordered the wounded baron Pibrack to be carried off, and maintained his poſt, 'till count Naſſau commanded him to leave it. King William, inraged to ſee his vanguard thus diſappointed in their juſt expectations, for want of a timely relief, was often heard to repeat theſe words: "Oh my poor Engliſh how they are abandoned," (2)! and conſidering that the fight could not now be renewed, without a great hazard to the whole army, the enemy having been re-inforced by a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of Bouflers, together with the heavy artillery, and beſide night drawing on, his Majeſty thought a retreat moſt adviſeable, which was, accordingly, performed in excellent order, and without any moleſtation from the enemy, who, notwithſtanding the advantage they had obtained, wanted courage to attack the rear of the confederate army; tho' the continuator of Rapin ſays they followed them ſome time.

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The confederates loſt, in this battle, the brave lieutenant-general Mackay, ſir John Lanier, ſir Robert Douglas, the earl of Angus, and ſeveral other good officers, together with above 2,000 men killed, 3,000 wounded or made priſoners, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. The enemy, on the other hand, remained indeed maſters of the camp they were in poſſeſſion of before; but otherwiſe they had not much advantage to brag of: for they had the Prince de Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, the marquis de Tilladet, the brigadier Stoupa, the marquis de Firmacon, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, together with 2000 private ſoldiers killed, and near as many wounded. Loſs on both ſides.

This campain afforded little more of note, in Flanders: on the one ſide, a detachment from the troops of Liege, commanded by count de Tſerclaes de Tilly, defeated a French party from Namur; and on the other, monſ. de Bouflers bombarded Charleroy. The Engliſh forces under the duke of Lemſter, which, as I have mentioned above, landed at Oſtend towards the latter end of Auguſt, poſſeſſed themſelves of Furnes and Dixmuyde, which they began to fortify: but whatever was the reaſon of it, both theſe places were abandoned to Bouflers, by count Horn, the begining of the inſuing year (3). The Engliſh take Furnes and Dixmuyde.

Before I leave the Netherlands, I muſt not omit mentioning the deſerv'd fate of an infamous criminal, who fell into the hands of juſtice, I mean the chevalier de Granvale, who, the foregoing year, was principal in the deſign of aſſaſſinating King William. Returning this year from Paris, where he had ingaged one Leefdale, a perſon of a good family near Boiſleduc, to join with Dumont in the execrable deed, he appointed a meeting at Uden, whither Dumont was come from Hannover. It was there agreed, that when the King ſhould paſs along the lines, or when the army ſhould decamp, Dumont and Leefdale ſhould be in ambuſh, and ſhoot his Majeſty; but that, as ſoon as the murder was committed, to color the villany with the appearance of a ſtratagem of war, a party of 3,000 horſe, from the duke of Luxemburg's army, headed by monſ. Chamlays and colonel Parker, ſhould reſcue the aſſaſſins: but providence, ever watchful for his Majeſty's ſafety, ſuffered the black deſign to be diſcovered by Leefdale and Dumont. They related all the circumſtances of it, and who were the perſons that put Granvale upon this helliſh attempt (4). Granvale was thereupon taken at Eyndenhoven, and being tried by a court-martial, at Hay, after he had made a full and voluntary confeſſion of his crime, without being put to the torture, he was, according to his ſentenſe, drawn, hanged and quartered. A plot againſt the King's life. The author executed.

(1) This ill conduct of count Solmes was ſaid to be the effect of envy and jealouſy, in general, againſt the Engliſh, which had always been obſerved in him, and in particular againſt the Prince of Wirtemberg, becauſe he commanded the attack, an honor he himſelf was ambitious of.

(2) It is ſaid, that King William would not admit the count de Solmes to his royal preſenſe for many months after; and, indeed if he was deſignedly guilty of that miſtake, for the motives laid to his charge, a much more ſevere treatment would juſtly have been his due: but the misfortune of this day was, likewiſe, owing in part to a traytor, who made it his buſineſs to give intelligence of all the King's motions and deſigns, to monſ. de Luxemburg, I mean the chevalier de Millevoix, a domeſtic of the elector of Bavaria's, who, being convicted of it, was hanged on a tree, in the right wing of his Majeſty's army.

(3) King William had probably ſome great deſign in view, that way; for he highly reſented the treachery, or whatever it was, of count Horn, in delivering up theſe places, tho' till then he had always a great ſhare in his Majeſty's eſteem.

(4) At his execution he ſeemed very penitent, but could not forbear expreſſing ſome reſentment againſt thoſe that had brought him to ſo tragical an end; among whom, if credit may be given to the dying words of a criminal, and to depoſitions upon record, there were not only miniſters of ſtate and embaſſadors, but even an archbiſhop, nay, a crowned head, who, at leaſt, were privy to that deteſtable project; which, however, the continuator of Rapin, always a friend to the French, will by no means believe: and, to make it the more incredible, tells the ridiculous ſtory, that Dumont was pitched upon to ſtrike the firſt ſtroke, becauſe he pretended he had the art to render himſelf inviſible. B. 25. p. 165.

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Affairs of Germany.

The confederate army on the Upper Rhine was commanded this year, by the landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, and the markgrave of Bareith, againſt the duke de Lorge, general of the French army. Nothing worth our notice happened, till the month of September, when the duke of Wirtemberg, with about 4,000 horſe, was ſurprized by a detachment of French troops, in his camp near Edeilſheim, by the favor of a great fog, and were charged ſo vigorouſly, that his men had not time to put themſelves in a poſture of defenſe. About 1,000 of the Germans were killed on the ſpot, and ſeveral made priſoners, among whom was the duke himſelf, who was carried to Paris, while the French lived at diſcretion in his country. The landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, who was likewiſe obliged, by the French, to raiſe the ſiege of Eberemburg, was however ſoon after, even with them: for count Tallard, with a body of their troops, having beſieged Rhinefeld, the governor made ſo brave a defenſe, and the landgrave was ſo aſſiduous to come to his relief, that the French were obliged to abandon the enterprize, with a conſiderable loſs (1).

I muſt not quit the affairs of Germany, without taking notice, that this year the duke of Hannover, a Proteſtant Prince, and grand-father to his preſent moſt gracious Majeſty, was, thro' King William's intereſt, and by means of certain ſtipulations with the Emperor, advanced to be an Elector of the Empire, and thereby a ninth Electorate was conſtituted.

Affairs in Piedmont.

In Piedmont the allies were, this year, ſucceſsful, and had carried all before them, if a ſudden ſickneſs, which ſeized the duke of Savoy, had not put a ſtop to the career of his good fortune. The French, having brought the Pope to an accommodation, were very ſanguine in their hopes of drawing over the duke of Savoy from the confederacy, by means of the Holy-father; and this may have been one reaſon why they left monſ. Catinat expoſed to an army ſo very much ſuperior to that which was under his command: but the duke, being proof againſt all their temptations and remaining ſtaunch to the intereſt of the high allies, got his army into the field, and diſpoſed of ſeveral parties, in the vallies and other places, for the better ſecurity of the country, and then marched, in the month of July, at the head of 20,000 men, over the Alps, by ways 'till then thought impracticable, into the province of Dauphiny, where he pillaged and took ſeveral places from the French, and particularly the city of Ambrun, where he found a conſiderable booty in mony, and raiſed large contributions, not only in that city, but in all the neighbouring towns and villages. In this city, likewiſe, the duke of Schomberg, who commanded 4,000 French refugees, and Vaudois, publiſhed a declaration, in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, inviting the country to join him (2). Incouraged by this declaration, ſeveral French Proteſtants who had been obliged to abjure their religion, took this opportunity to make their voluntary recantation, in the preſenſe of monſ. Dubourdieu, the duke's chaplain, who did not fail to ſtrengthen them in their faith, by his excellent ſermons. From Ambrun, the army marched to Gap, a city on the frontiers of Provence, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to Prince Eugene of Savoy, upon his firſt appearance before it; and readily conſented to pay contribution, to preſerve their houſes from being burnt and pillaged. The city of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiny, the neighbouring provinces, and even the wealthy city of Lions, began to be apprehenſive of their danger; and indeed the allies had now a very favorable opportunity of curbing the immenſe power of France, had not the duke of Savoy been taken with the ſmall-pox, from which he was no ſooner, recovered than he fell into an ague that indangered his life. This with a ſpirit of diviſion that crept in among the generals, put an end to the campain ſooner than was otherwiſe deſigned (3).

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Affairs of Catalonia.

I ſhould now go on to the campain in Catalonia; but the French having attempted nothing on that ſide, their forces being ſufficiently diverted another way, and the Spaniards having done as little, by reaſon of their uſual ſupinity and weakneſs, I ſhall return to England.

An earthquake in England.

The 8th of September, an earthquake, a thing very uncommon in England, was felt in London, and ſeveral other places (4). The 13th of the ſame month, the Queen iſſued out two proclamations, one "for the better diſcovery of ſeditious li-" bellers," and the other, "for the diſcovery and ap-" prehending of high-way-men, and for a reward of " forty pounds for every ſuch offender, to the diſco-" verers;" which incouragement occaſioned the taking of many of thoſe robbers, who, about this time, very much infeſted the roads of this kingdom.

A ſham-plot.

Some time before this, the earls of Malborough and Saliſbury, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others, were put in the Tower, upon a falſe accuſation of high-treaſon: this villany was tranſacted in the following manner: One Young was commited to Newgate for non-payment of a fine impoſed upon him; and one Henry Pearſon, a priſoner in the ſame place for debt, obſerving that Young was very dextrous in counterfeiting hands, told him, if he could contrive a ſham-plot, and father it on thoſe noblemen, he need not want mony to pay his fine. On the credit of this ſham-plot, Young and Pearſon found means to raiſe mony enough to get diſcharged from their confinement, and then Pearſon imployed one Stephen Blackhead to carry letters between himſelf and Young, who by a ſtratagem had found means to get a ſight of the earl of Marlborough's hand, which he counterfeited ſo artificially, that it was very difficult to diſcern the true from the falſe. He afterwards drew up a pretended aſſociation againſt the government, to which he affixed the hands of the earls of Marlborough and Saliſbury, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the lord Cornbury, which two laſt

(1) It was the more ſhame to the French, to be obliged to abandon this place, becauſe the court of France, not believing it would dare to ſtand a ſiege, ordered count Tallard, not to beſiege, but to take poſſeſſion of it.

The campain on the Rhine might probably have been more ſucceſsful, had it not been for want of the Saxon troops (upon which the Imperial troops in vain depended) notwithſtanding the elector's promiſes. Contin. of Rapin in French, B. 25. p. 163.

(2) He aſſured them, that his Majeſty had no other aim, in cauſing his forces to enter into France, but to reſtore the nobility and gentry to their ancient ſplendor, the parliaments to their priſtine authority, the people to their juſt privileges, and even to grant his protection to the clergy: and becauſe the Kings of England are guarantees of the edict of Nantes, made in favor of the Proteſtants, as well by the treaty concluded at Montpellier, as ſeveral other treaties, the duke of Schomberg declared, that it was his Britannic Majeſty's intention to cauſe that edict to be revived.

(3) Mr. Dubourdieu, after his return, prevailed upon the biſhop of St. Aſaph (afterwards of Litchfield and Coventry) to ſollicit her Majeſty's bounty in behalf of the poor perſecuted Vaudois, which he did ſo ſucceſsfully, that a fund was eſtabliſhed out of her Majeſty's privy-purſe, for the maintaining of ten preachers, and as many ſchool-maſters, in the vallies of Piedmont. A monument of that glorious Princeſs's unbounded charity, which will remain as long as there are Vaudois in the world.

(4) This earthquake was, likewiſe, felt in ſeveral places on the continent. King William being at that time in his camp at dinner, in an old decayed houſe, which ſhook ſo much that every one was apprehenſive it would fall, his Majeſty, with much ado, was prevailed upon to riſe from table, and go out of the houſe; but the ſurprize was ſoon over.

About three months before this, a more terrible accident of this kind happened at Jamaica, which almoſt intirely ruined the town of Port-royal, the beſt of all the Engliſh plantations, and the great mart of that part of the world; beſide the damages, which amounted to a very large ſum, no leſs than 1500 perſons, periſhed by this fatal accident.

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were however written by another hand. To give the more credit to this pretended plot, Young forged ſeveral letters in the name of the duke of Marlborough, ſuppoſed to be directed to himſelf, which Blackhead uſed to bring to him. In the month of April, Blackhead went three times to the biſhop of Rocheſter's houſe at Bromley, on a ſham-errand, from a ſuppoſed doctor of divinity, but with no other intent but to convey the forged aſſociation into a ſecret place; where it was afterwards found by the King's meſſengers, who, upon information given by Young againſt that reverend prelate, came firſt to ſecure his perſon, and then to ſearch his houſe: but upon a ſtrict examination of the whole matter, before the council, and confronting Blackhead with Young, the forgery was evidently diſcovered, the innocence of the noblemen, and other perſons accuſed, made manifeſt, and the authors of this villany puniſhed (1).

The villany detected.

Affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

In Scotland and Ireland every thing was now in a perfect tranquillity, and the parliaments of both nations were very zealous and forward, in contributing new levies, for the ſupport of their Majeſties government. In Ireland, particularly, the lord Sidney, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, ſo managed affairs, that the parliament there made an act, the 5th of October, "not only of recognition "of their Majeſties undoubted title to that crown," and another, "for incouragement of Proteſtant "ſtrangers to ſettle in that kingdom"; but alſo one, "for granting to their Majeſties the ſum of "70,000 l. by an additional duty of exciſe upon "beer, ale, and other liquors."

The King returns from Holland.

But to return to the King: his Majeſty having ſettled his affairs in Holland, imbarked there, the 25th of October N. S. and landed ſafely, the 18th O. S. in Yarmouth. The Queen met him, the 20th, at Newhall, from whence their Majeſties came the ſame day thro' the city, to Kenſington. The 22d the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of London waited upon his Majeſty, as well to congratulate his happy return, as to expreſs their ſteady reſolution to ſupport his government, to the utmoſt of their power. The recorder, at the ſame time, beſought his Majeſty, in the name of the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, to honor the city with his preſenſe at dinner at Guild-hall, upon the lord-mayor's-day. His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of the invitation, and, as a mark of his favor, confered the honor of knighthood upon their recorder, Solathiel Lovel, ſerjeant at law. The ſame day a proclamation was iſſued out for a public thankſgiving to GOD-ALMIGHTY for the preſervation of their Majeſties and their government, againſt the deſigns of their open and ſecret enemies, particularly for the late ſignal victory at ſea againſt the French fleet, and for the diſappointment of the barbarous conſpiracy, for taking away his Majeſty's life by aſſaſſination.

Their Majeſty's dine in the city.

The 29th of the ſame month, their Majeſties, attended by the great officers of the court, a numerous train of nobility and gentry, the judges, and the ladies of the chiefeſt quality, were magnificently entertained at dinner, at Guild-hall, by ſir John Fleet, lord-mayor elect for the year inſuing, upon which occaſion his Majeſty confered the honor of knighthood on ſir John Wildman, ſir William Gore, ſir James Houblon, aldermen, ſir Leonard Robinſon, chamberlain, ſir Rowland Ainſworth, ſir William Scawen, ſir Joſiah Child, and ſir John Foach. The ſame honor having been confered, ſome days before, on Thomas Trevor eſq; their Majeſties ſolicitor-general.

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The 4th of November, the parliament being met at Weſtminſter, his Majeſty went to the houſe of lords, and made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which "he firſt of all, thank'd them for the great ſupplies "they had given him for the proſecution of the "war; hoping, by their advice and aſſiſtance, "which had never failed him, to take ſuch meaſures "as might be moſt proper for ſupporting their com-"mon intereſt, againſt the exceſſive power of "France. He next told them, how great reaſon "they had to rejoice, in the happy victory they had "obtained at ſea, wiſhing the ſucceſs at land, had "been anſwerable to it: tho' he was ſure, his own "ſubjects had ſo remarkable a ſhare in both, that "their bravery and courage muſt ever be remem-"bred to their honor. He, afterwards, made them "ſenſible; that as the French were repairing their "loſſes at ſea, with great diligence, and did deſign "to augment their land-forces conſiderably, againſt "the next campain, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, "for this nation's ſafety, that, at leaſt, as great "a force be maintained at ſea and land, as they "had the laſt year, and therefore, he aſked a ſup-"ply, ſuitable to ſo great an occaſion, of the "gentlemen of the houſe of commons; expreſſing, "at the ſame time, his affliction, that ſo heavy a "charge upon his people could not be avoided, "without expoſing themſelves to inevitable ruin "and deſtruction. And becauſe the inconvenience "of ſending out of the kingdom great ſums of "mony, for the payment of the troops abroad, was "very conſiderable, and that he wiſhed it could "be remedied, he told them, that if they could "ſuggeſt to him any methods for the ſupport of "them, which might leſſen this inconvenience, he "ſhould be ready to receive them, with all the "ſatisfaction imaginable. He then acquainted "them, That none could deſire more than he did, "that a deſcent ſhould be made into France, and "therefore, notwithſtanding the diſappointment of "that deſign this laſt ſummer, he intended to at-"tempt it the next year, with a much more conſi-"derable force, and that as ſoon as he ſhould be in-"abled, all poſſible care and application ſhould be "uſed towards it. And, upon this occaſion, he "took notice of that ſignal deliverance, which, by "the providence of GOD, they received the laſt "ſpring, to the diſappointment and confuſion of "their enemy's deſigns and expectations. This "(ſaid he) has ſufficiently ſhewn us, how much "we are expoſed to the attempts of France, while "that King is in a condition to make them. Let "us therefore improve the advantage we have of "this time, of being joined with moſt of the Princes "and States of Europe, againſt ſo dangerous an

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

(1) "Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the parliament was, on this account, opened under great diſadvantages. The peers, "who had been falſely accuſed, were, indeed, diſcharged from their impriſonment, but it was upon bail only; ſo it was "ſaid to be contrary to the nature and freedom of parliaments, for priſoners to ſit in it. It was confeſſed that, in times of "danger, and ſuch was the foregoing ſummer, it muſt be truſted to the diſcretion of a government, to commit ſuch perſons as "were ſuſpected: but when the danger was over, by our victory at ſea, thoſe againſt whom there lay nothing beſide ſuſpici-"ons, ought to have been ſet at liberty, and this was thought reaſonable. The lords paſſed ſome votes, aſſerting their privileges, "and were offended with the judges, for detaining ſome in priſon, tho' there was no reaſon nor color for their diſpleaſure. But "where the privilege, or dignity, of peerage is in queſtion, it is not eaſy to keep the houſe within bounds.

"The debate went off in a bill, that indemnified the miniſtry for thoſe commitments, but limited them, for the future, by "ſeveral rules; all which rules were rejected by the commons. They thought thoſe limitations gave a legal power to commit "in caſes where they were obſerved; whereas they thought the ſafer way was to indemnify the miniſtry, when it was viſible "they did not commit any but upon a real danger, and not to ſet them any rules; ſince, as to the commiting of ſuſpected "perſons, where the danger is real and viſible, the public ſafety muſt be firſt looked to, and ſuperſede all particular laws. "Hiſt. of his own Times. Vol. 2. p. 102.

"enemy

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" enemy : in this ſurely, all men will agree who " have any love for their country, or any zeal for " religion: I cannot therefore doubt, but you will " continue to ſupport me in this war, againſt the " declared enemy of this nation, and that you " will give as ſpeedy diſpatch to the affairs before " you, as the nature and importance of them " will admit, that the preparations may be timely " and effectual, for the preſervation of all that is " valuable to us. I am ſure, added his Majeſty, " I can have no intereſt but what is yours : we have " the ſame religion to defend, and you cannot be " more concerned for the preſervation of your " liberties and properties, than I am, that you " ſhould always remain in the full poſſeſſion of " them; for I have no aim, but to make you a " happy people : hitherto, ſaid he, in the concluſion, I have never ſpared to expoſe my own perſon, for the good and welfare of this nation; " and I am ſo ſenſible of your good affections to me, " that I ſhall continue to do ſo, with great chearfulneſs, upon all occaſions, wherein I may contribute to the honor and advantage of Eng- " land.

This ſpeech was received with an univerſal applauſe, and made a deep impreſſion on the minds of both houſes of parliament. The commons in particular, by their addreſs, " acknowleged the great " affection his Majeſty ſhewed to his ſubjects, by " taking notice of their bravery and courage; by " that ſenſible concern he expreſſed for the charges " on his people, and by that tender regard for the " preſervation of their religion, liberties and pro- " perties, as muſt ever be remembered with grati- " tude by all his faithful ſubjects. They likewiſe " acknowleged the favor of GOD in reſtoring his " Majeſty in ſafety to his people, after ſo many " hazards and dangers, to which he had expoſed " his ſacred perſon; that there might be nothing " wanting on his part, to oppoſe the ambitious de- " ſigns of his enemies, and to maintain the honor " of England, and the liberties of Europe. They " alſo congratulated his deliverance from the ſecret " and open deſigns, which the malice of his ene- " mies had formed againſt him. And aſſured him, " that they would always adviſe and aſſiſt his Ma- " jeſty, in the ſupporting of his government againſt " all his enemies."

Addreſs of the houſe of commons.

At the ſame time, the commons preſented their thankful acknowlgements to the Queen, " for her " gracious and prudent adminiſtration of the go- " vernment, while his Majeſty was hazarding his " royal perſon abroad, and for the bleſſings of " peace they injoyed at home, under her auſpi- " cious reign, at a time when the greateſt part of " Europe was ſuffering the miſerable effects of war. " They alſo congratulated, not only the ſignal de- " liverance they received from a bold and cruel " deſign formed and proſecuted for their deſtruc- " tion, when it was juſt ready to be executed, but " likewiſe the return of her Majeſty's fleet with " ſo compleat and glorious a victory, as was not to " be equalled in any former age : aſſuring her Ma- " jeſty, that the grateful ſenſe they had of their " happineſs under her government, ſhould be al- " ways manifeſted in conſtant returns of duty and " obedience, and a firm reſolution to do all that " was in their power, to render her reign ſecure " and proſperous."

The firſt buſineſs of importance the commons went upon, was, on the 11th of November, the bill " for regulating trials, in caſes of high-treaſon," but this time it ſtuck in their own houſe; for tho', at the ſecond reading, on the 18th, it was refered to a committee of the whole houſe; yet a clauſe being preſented, on the 1ſt of December, to be added to the bill, a warm debate aroſe upon it, the reſult of which was, that the bill was ordered to ly upon the table, and the conſideration of it was not reſumed this ſeſſion.

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Bill to regulate trials, &c.

Again loſt.

The 11th of November, the commons ordered their ſpeaker to thank admiral Ruſſel, one of their members, for his great courage and conduct, in the victory obtained at ſea. This, one would think, would have ſcreened him from farther reflections on his behavior, in that memorable action : but whether thro' envy, prejudice, or what other cauſe I ſhall not pretend to determine, it was the next day ſuggeſted, that the advantage gained upon the enemy might have been much better improved. Upon this, the houſe entered upon examining the ſeveral inſtructions, orders, and reſults of councils of war, touching the laſt ſummer's expedition, in relation to the proceedings of the fleet, and the deſcent intended to be made upon France, after the victory at ſea. On the 19th of November, ſir John Aſhby being examined, particularly in relation to the French men of war, that made their eſcape into St Malo's, he gave the commons an account of the proceedings of the ſhips under his command, in and after the ingagement; with which they were ſo well pleaſed, that the ſpeaker, by the direction of the houſe, acquainted him, " that the houſe took notice of his " ingenious behavior at the bar; and that he had " given an account to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, " and was diſmiſſed from farther attendance.

Thanks of the commons given to admiral Ruſſel.

Ill managements of the fleet inquired into.

Sir John Aſhby cleared.

The next thing the houſe took into conſideration, was, why a deſcent had not been made into France? admiral Ruſſel was queſtioned about it; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that twenty days had paſſed between his firſt letter to the earl of Nottingham, after the fight, and his lordſhip's anſwer: and, on the other hand, the earl made it appear, that he had acted according to the orders he had received, which was all he could do, as ſecretary of ſtate. While theſe things were in agitation, the lords, at a conference, communicated to the houſe of commons, ſome papers which their lordſhips had received from the King, relating to thoſe affairs; which papers being read, in the lower-houſe, it was reſolved, " that admiral Ruſſel, in his command " of the fleet during laſt ſummer's expedition, had " behaved himſelf with fidelity, courage and con- " duct." The admiral was however ſet aſide the next ſpring, as we ſhall ſee underneath (1).

Admiral Ruſſel cleared.

The 15th of November, a ſupply was moved for, and unanimouſly granted, the 22d. The 2d of December, after a conſideration of the ſtate of war, for the year 1693, it was reſolv'd, " that the " ſum of 1,926,516 l. be granted to their Majeſties " for the charge of the navy (including the charge " of the ordnance, and the finiſhing their Ma- " jeſties naval yard, at Hamoſe, near Plymouth, " and the building four bomb-veſſels, and eight " new ſhips of the fourth rate.") The 3d, it was reſolv'd, that for the making good the ſum of 1,341,000 l. intended to be raiſed by the act for a quarterly poll, the ſum of 750,000 l. be granted

A ſupply granted.

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays, this affair occaſion'd much heat, in both houſes. The earl of Nottingham laid before the lords, upon an addreſs they had made to the King, all the letters that had paſs'd between himſelf and Ruſſel, with all the orders he had ſent him : and he aggravated Ruſſel's erors and neglects very ſeverely : but the houſe of commons juſtified Ruſſel, and gave him thanks over and over again, and remain'd ſo fix'd in this, that tho' the lords then communicated the papers the earl of Nottingham had laid before them, to the commons, they would not ſo much as read them, but renewed their votes, that juſtified Ruſſel's fidelity, courage and conduct.

to

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to their Majeſties. And the 10th, "that the "ſum of 2,090,563 l. be granted to their Ma- "jeſties for the land-forces, including the ex- "traordinary charge of the office of ordnance, in "relation to the land-ſervice, and the charge of "the tranſports, hoſpitals, contingencies, and other "extraordinary charges of the war.

Ways and means.

To raiſe theſe vaſt ſums, it was reſolved, firſt, the 13th of December, "that there be a pound- "rate, of four ſhillings in the pound, for one "year, charg'd upon all lands, according to their "yearly value: and, the 15th, that the ſame rate "be charg'd upon all perſonal eſtates, and upon all "offices and imployments of profit, other than mi- "litary offices in the navy and army. Secondly, "That there be a fund of 70,000 l. per annum, "ſet apart out of the hereditary exciſe, till the 17th "of May, 1697. And afterwards by an additi- "onal exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for "the payment of the intereſt of a million of mony, "to be raiſed by perſons voluntarily paying in that "ſum, the principal paid in to be ſunk, and the "perſons paying in the ſum to receive, during their "lives, their reſpective proportions, of the ſaid "70,000 l. according to the ſums paid by them, "with the advantage of ſurvivorſhip; and thirdly, "on the 3d of February following, that certain "additional impoſitions be laid upon merchan- "dizes.

Orphans bill left unfiniſh'd.

The 7th of November, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons, by the ſheriffs, and ſeveral aldermen of the city of London, in favor of the orphans of that city; but the conſideration of it being put off, from time to time, William Goodwin, Henry Goodwin, and other diſtreſſed orphans, likewiſe, preſented a petition, on the 28th of January, to the ſame effect, both which being, at length, conſidered, the commons ordered, the 27th of February, a bill to be brought in "for "ſatisfying the debt due to the ſaid orphans." But, upon a debate which aroſe at the ſecond reading, the bill was commited to a committee of the whole houſe, where it remain'd unfiniſhed.

The affair of the East-India-company reſum'd.

The 14th of November, a meſſage from his Majeſty was deliver'd to the houſe of commons, by ſir Edward Seymour, in anſwer to their addreſs of the laſt ſeſſion, concerning the East-India-com- pany. This brought that matter again into debate, and, after much time had been ſpent about it, a bill was brought in, the 14th of December, "for "preſerving, regulating, and eſtabliſhing the East- "India-trade." This bill was about two months in agitation, and occaſion'd ſeveral debates, the reſult of which was, that the commons preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, on the 3d of March, "that he would pleaſe to diſſolve the East-India- "company, upon three years warning to the ſaid "company, according to the power reſerved in "their charter." To this the King gave almoſt the ſame anſwer he had done to that of the fore- going year, viz. "That he would always do all "the good in his power for this kingdom, and "that he would conſider of their addreſs."

Advice of the commons to the King.

The houſe of commons was long amus'd with that part of the King's ſpeech, wherein his Majeſty ſeem'd to deſire the advice of the commons. After ſeveral debates, a committee was appointed, the 12th of December, "to conſider how the army "abroad, in their Majeſties pay, might be ſup- "plied with bread, cloaths, and other proviſions, "of the growth of this kingdom, to prevent the "exportation of the coin thereof:" and as for the navy, a motion being made, on the 11th of January; "That his Majeſty be humbly addreſs'd, "to conſtiſtute a commiſſion of the admiralty of "ſuch perſons as were of known experience in "maritime affairs," it paſſed in the negative. It was however carried, that his Majeſty ſhould be advis'd, by the houſe, "that for the future all "orders for the management of the fleet, ſhould "paſs thro' the hands of the lords commiſſioners "for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of "England" (1).

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Bill rejected.

The 13th of December, ſir Edward Huſſey pre- ſented to the houſe of commons "a bill touching "free and impartial proceedings in parliament," which was received, and, being paſs'd that houſe, was, the 22d, ſent up to the lords for their con- currence (2). The courtiers, who ſtrenuouſly op- poſed this bill, being too numerous, the other party took occaſion (from an objection that was made, viz. "That this act might, by its conſequence, "prolong this parliament, which they allow'd would "be a very great grievance,") to bring in, and paſs, another bill, "for the frequent calling and "meeting of parliaments," which they ſent down, the 21ſt of January, to the commons, for their concurrence: but the King, being loth to part with this parliament, during the war, refus'd his aſſent to it, tho' the lords had agreed to the amend- ments made to it by the commons.

"A bill for the better preſervation of their "Majeſties perſons," was, by an unanimous vote of the houſe of commons, ordered to be brought in, the firſt day of December, but was, nevertherleſs, re- jected, the 14th of the ſame month, at a ſecond reading, and the 17th of the ſame month, the ſame fate attended the "bill for aſcertaining the fees of "officers of juſtice."

An' 1693. Acts paſſed.

The 20th of January, the King went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction to "an act, "for granting to their Majeſties four ſhillings in "the pound, for one year;" to another, "for ina- "bling the inhabitants of the province of York "to diſpoſe of their perſonal eſtates by wills, not- "withſtanding the cuſtom of that province," and to eleven private bills.

Pamphlets cenſured.

A complaint was made, the ſame day, to the houſe of a printed pamphlet, intitled, "King "William and Queen Mary conquerors," that it contain'd aſſertions of a dangerous tendency, as well with regard to their Majeſties, as to the liber- ties of the ſubject, and the peace of the kingdom. The houſe, upon examination of the matter, the next day, order'd the ſaid pamphlet to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, and that his Majeſty be deſired to remove mr. Edward Bohun, who licens'd it for the preſs, from his im- ployment. It being, at the ſame time, ſuggeſted, that dr. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum, was the firſt broacher of this poſition, in a paſtoral letter, the houſe paſs'd a cenſure on that letter, and order'd it likewiſe to be publicly burnt by the com- mon executioner. This matter did not ſtop here; for on the 24th, the houſe of peers paſs'd a reſolu- tion; "That the aſſertion of King William and "Queen Mary's being King and Queen by con- "queſt, was highly injurious to their Majeſties, "inconſiſtent with the principles on which this "government is founded, and tending to the ſub- "verſion of the rights of the people." This vote being communicated to the commons, they, the

(1) This vote ſeem'd to be occaſioned by the difference between the earl of Nottingham, and admiral Ruſſel.

(2) By this bill, ſeveral perſons in imployments, both military and civil, were incapacitated to ſit in the houſe of commons, for which reaſon it was very much oppoſed by thoſe lords who ſtood up for the court; tho' on the other hand, ſeveral peers ſpoke vehemently for it, and, among the reſt, the earl of Muſgrave, who, upon this occaſion, made a very memorable ſpeech.

next

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next day, unanimouſly concured with the lords, but made a remarkable addition, viz. That ſuch an aſſertion was "injurious to their Majeſties right-"ful title to the crown of this realm."

More acts paſſed.

The 26th his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave the royal ſanction to "an act for granting to "their Majeſties certain duties of exciſe, for ſecuring "the recompences and advantages therein men-"tioned to ſuch perſons as ſhould advance a million "ſterling," and to another act, "for taking ſpecial "bail in the country upon actions and ſuits depen-"ding in the courts of King's-bench, common "pleas, and exchequer, at Weſtminſter.

Complaints againſt officers of the army.

Great complaints were about this time made againſt ſome of the officers of the army, for cauſing, with the help of the preſs-maſters of the navy, ſeveral hundreds of his Majeſty's ſubjects to be kidnapp'd, and forcibly carried away to Holland, where they were compell'd to take ſervice and help to compleat their regiments. Among others, a ſervant belonging to a member of the houſe of commons happen'd to be ſpirited away in this manner: whereupon that houſe ordered ſir Edward Seymour to repreſent this grievance to the King, who, on the 9th of February, let the houſe know, by the ſame gentleman: "How much he reſented, "that his ſubjects ſhould meet with ſuch uſage, and "that he would take all care poſſible, for the fu-"ture, to puniſh the authors of it: And that, "in the firſt place, his Majeſty had called before "him the officers of the army, and given them a "ſtrict charge that they ſhould receive no men "who were impreſs'd; for as they themſelves had "no power to preſs, they ſhould not receive any "man that was preſſed; and that, in the next "place, his Majeſty gave orders to the admiralty "to examine the preſs-maſters, who had commit-"ted theſe abuſes, and that there ſhould be ſuch "exemplary puniſhment inflicted on them, as "ſhould deter others from the like praictces."

Abuſes in Ireland examin'd into.

Hitherto a perfect harmony and good correſpondence had appear'd between the King and the parliament; but it was now near being diſturb'd, by certain informations given to the commons, of the ſtate of Ireland; whereupon, the houſe reſolved, on the 24th of February, that it did appear, there had "been great abuſes and miſmanagements in the "affairs of that kingdom." On the 19th of March, the commons, in a body, preſented to his Majeſty an addreſs, in which they particulariz'd thoſe abuſes and miſmanagements; which were comprized under ſeven general heads, as follows.

An addreſs concerning them.

"1. In expoſing his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects to "the miſery of free quarter and the licentiouſneſs "of the ſoldiers, to the great oppreſſion of the peo-"ple there, which they concevied had been chiefly "occaſion'd, by the want of that pay, which they "hoped they had fully provided for.

"2. In recruiting his Majeſty's troops with Iriſh "Papiſts, and ſuch perſons as were in open rebellion "againſt his Majeſty, to the great indangering and "diſcouraging of his Majeſty's good and loyal "ſubjects in that kingdom.

"3. In granting protections to Iriſh Papiſts, "whereby Proteſtants were hindred from the legal "remedies, and the courſe of law was ſtopp'd.

"4. In reverſing outlawries for high-treaſon "againſt ſeveral rebels in that kingdom (notwith-"in the articles of Limerick) to the great diſcon-"tent of his Proteſtant ſubjects there.

5. "In leting the forfeited eſtates at under rates, "to the leſſening of his Majeſty's revenue.

6. "In the great imbezzlements of his Ma-"jeſty's ſtores, in the towns and gariſons of that "kingdom, left by the late King James, and in "the great imbezzlements that had been made in "the forfeited eſtates and goods, which might "have been imployed for the ſafety and better "preſervation of his Majeſty's ſaid kingdom; "and,

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7. "In the addition made to the articles of "Limerick, after the ſame were finally agreed to, "ſigned, and thereupon the town ſurrendered; "which had been a great incouragement to the "Iriſh Papiſts, and a weakening to the Engliſh "intereſt there.

"Theſe abuſes they moſt humbly beſought his "Majeſty to redreſs; particularly, that as the re-"ducing of Ireland had been of great expence to "this kingdom, that (according to the aſſurance his "Majeſty had given them) no grant might be "made of the forfeited lands in Ireland, 'till there "be an opportunity of ſetling that matter in par-"liament. And as to the additional article, "which opened ſo wide a paſſage to the Iriſh Pa-"piſts, to come in and re-poſſeſs themſelves of the "eſtates which they had forfeited by their rebellion, "they alſo beſought his Majeſty, that the articles "of Limerick, with the ſaid addition, be laid before "the houſe of commons, that the manner of ob-"taining the ſame might be inquired into." They cloſed this addreſs by ſaying; "that as his Ma-"jeſty had been pleaſed to give ſuch gracious aſ-"ſurances of his readineſs to comply with them, "in any thing that might tend to the peace and "ſecurity of this kingdom, ſo they doubted not of "his Majeſty's like grace and favor to that of Ire-"land, in the ſafety and preſervation whereof this "his Majeſty's kingdom was ſo much concerned."

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the King anſwered; "that he "ſhould always have great conſideration for what "came from the houſe of commons; and that he "ſhould take great care, that what was amiſs ſhould "be remedied."

However, his Majeſty, being probably apprehenſive that ſome of the diſcontented in that houſe might take this occaſion, to raiſe clamors, went, the fourteenth, to the houſe of peers, where he gave his aſſent to the following bills: 1. "To an act for "granting to their Majeſties certain additional im-"poſitions upon goods and merchandizes. 2. For "the review of the quarterly poll, granted to "their Majeſties, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. "3. For continuing certain acts therein mentioned, "and for charging ſeveral joint-ſtocks. 4. For pre-"venting ſuits againſt ſuch as acted for their Ma-"jeſties ſervice in the defenſe of this kingdom. "5. For reviving two former acts for repairing "the highways in the county of Hertford. 6. For "incouraging the apprehending of highway-men. "7. To prevent abuſes commited by the traders "in butter and cheeſe. 8. For raiſing the militia of "this kingdom for the year 1693. 9. For examin-"ing, taking and ſtating the public accounts. "10. For prohibiting the importation of all foreign "hair-buttons. 11. For delivering declarations to "priſoners. 12. Againſt pochers. 13. For regain-"ing, incouraging and ſetling the Greenland-trade. "14. For puniſhing mutineers and deſerters, &c. "15. To prevent malicious informations in the "court of King's-bench, and for the more eaſy "reverſal of outlawries in the ſame court. 16. "To prevent frauds by clandeſtine mortgages. "17. For reviving, continuing and explaining "ſeveral laws therein mentioned. 18. To make "pariſhioners of the church united, contributors "to the repair and ornaments of the church to "whom the union is made. 19. For regulating "the proceedings in the crown-office of the court "of King's-bench at Weſtminſter. 20. For the "better diſcovery of judgments in the courts of "King's-bench, common-pleas, and exchequer at "Weſtminſter. 21. For continuing the acts for "prohibiting all trade and commerce with France":

Acts paſſed.

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and to twenty private bills. This done, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein;

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"He thanked them for the large ſupplies they "had given him this ſeſſion, which he promiſed "them he would take care to ſee effectually ap-"plied to ſuch ſervices as might be moſt for the ho-"nor and intereſt of England. He then recom-"mended to their care, both the peace and quiet "of the ſeveral counties, to which they were re-"turning; and the effectual levying of the ſup-"ply, they had ſo freely given, with the "greateſt equality, and the leaſt uneaſineſs to "the people that was poſſible. He told them the "poſture of affairs did neceſſarily require his pre-"ſenſe abroad, but that he ſhould take care to leave "ſuch a number of troops here, as might be ſuffici-"ent for the the ſecurity of the kingdom; aſ-"ſuring them farther, that as he ſhould continue "to expoſe his own perſon, for the good and ad-"vantage of theſe kingdoms, ſo his hearty and "ſincere indeavors ſhould never be wanting, in "any other kind, to make this a great and "flouriſhing nation." After which the parliament was prorogued, by his Majeſty's command, till the ſecond of May, next inſuing (1).

The parliament prorogued.

I return now to other affairs which happened out of parliament; and firſt to thoſe of the navy; where we find, that notwithſtanding the houſe of commons had taken ſo much pains to juſtify the conduct of admiral Ruſſel, he had loſt ground in his royal maſter's favor; for, on the 24th of January, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſet him aſide, and to put the chief command of the fleet, into the hands of Henry Killigrew, eſq; ſir Ralph Delaval, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel; and conſtituted them to be admiral by a joint-commiſſion (2). The 8th of February, the King was pleaſed to appoint George Rooke eſq; to be vice-admiral of the red; the lord John Berkley, vice-admiral of the blue, colonel Matthew Aylmer, rear-admiral of the red, and David Mitchell, eſq; rear-admiral of the blue.

Admiral Ruſſel ſet aſide.

Admirals appointed.

The 16th the King came to Portſmouth, as well as to ſee the men of war, at Spithead, and going aboard of vice-admiral Rook confered the honor of knighthood upon him.

The King goes to Portſmouth.

The 30th of the preceding month, the lord Charles Mohun was indicted for the murder of William Mountford, a player, on account of the celebrated actreſs, mrs. Bracegirdle; and was tried for it before the peers in parliament. A court was erected for that purpoſe, in Weſtminſter-hall, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord preſident of his Majeſty's council, being conſtituted lord high-ſteward of England pro hac vice. The trial laſted from twelve till near ſix, when the lords adjourned, and aſſembling again, the 5th of February, declared their opinion ſeriatim, and by a great majority acquitted the lord Mohun.

The lord Mohun tried and acquitted.

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The 23d of March, his Majeſty, being preparing to go to Holland, diſpoſed of ſeveral places; ſir John Trenchard was ſworn one of their Majeſties principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Nottingham (3). The cuſtody of the great-ſeal of England was commited to ſir John Sommers, and Edward Ward, of the Inner-temple, eſq; ſucceeded him as attorny-general. His Majeſty ordered, at the ſame time, a new commiſſion to paſs under the great-ſeal, conſtituting ſir John Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, eſq; the lord viſcount Falkland, Robert Auſten, eſq; ſir Robert Rich, Henry Killigrew, eſq; and ſir Ralph Delaval to be commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England.

Places diſpoſed of.

All domeſtic affairs being thus ended, the laſt day of March, the King ſet ſail from Graveſend with a fair wind for Holland, being attended by ſeveral yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Mitchell, and was accompanied by the duke of Ormond, the earl of Eſſex, and other perſons of quality. He arrived in the Maeſe, on the ſecond of April, and, after a ſhort ſtay at the Hague and Loo, repaired to the army in Flanders, where we ſhall leave his Majeſty exerciſing his martial genius, and return to the fleet, which, notwithſtanding both the Engliſh and Dutch were not only numerous but pretty early ready, yet was, this year, very unſucceſsful.

The King goes to Holland.

The joint-admirals I have mentioned above were at firſt not reſtrained by any particular inſtructions, but ordered in general only to uſe their utmoſt indeavors to annoy the enemy and protect the trade: (4). But afterwards they received her Majeſty's commands, more particularly, from the lords of the admiralty, chiefly regarding the ſecurity of a great fleet of merchant-men, of near 400 ſail; Engliſh, Dutch, Hamburghers, &c. Much time was however ſpent, ſeveral councils of war held, and diverſe repreſentations made, before they could come to a reſolution what number of ſhips to appoint for the ſpecial convoy, and how far to accompany them with the whole fleet (5).

Proceedings of the main fleet.

Sir

(1) As it had been uſual in former ſeſſions of parliament, ſo in this, ſeveral bills miſcarried. The commons had paſſed one, "to inable their Majeſties to make grants, leaſes, and copies of offices, lands and hereditaments, parcel of their duchy "of Cornwall, or annexed to the ſame, and for confirmation of leaſes and grants already made;" to which the lords made ſome amendments, that were diſagreed to by the commons. The "bill for prohibiting the uſe of all lotteries", which had likewiſe paſſed the lower houſe, was ſtoped by the intereſt of the patentees of the royal-oak-lottery in the houſe of peers. The "bill for the preventing of the prophanation of the Lord's-day" lay neglected after the firſt reading, as did alſo the "bill for removing doubts, and preventing controverſies, concerning royal mines", after it had been ingroſſed. Nor was any progreſs made in the "bill for preventing the exportation of gold and ſilver, and the melting down the coin of this realm." but what was the moſt taken notice of, in prejudice to the King, was his refuſing the royal aſſent to the "bill for a triennial "parliament, &c.

(2) Biſhop Burnet ſays the two firſt were thought ſo inclinable to King James's intereſts, that it made ſome inſinuate, that the King was in the hands of thoſe, who intended to betray him to his enemies; for tho' no exception lay againſt Shovel, yet it was ſaid he was only put with the other two, to give ſome reputation to the commiſſion, and that he was one againſt two, ſo that he could neither hinder nor do any thing. The chief blame of this nomination was thrown on the earl of Nottingham. Hiſt. of his own times.

(3) It was generally believed, that as well the earl of Nottingham, as admiral Ruſſel, were diſplaced on account of the warm debates, that had paſſed, on their account in parliament, after the victory at ſea: King William expreſſing himſelf in relation to his officers, as Julius Cæſar had formerly done with reſpect to his wife: "That it was not enough for them to be faith-"ful, but that they muſt alſo be free from ſuſpicion." Hiſt. of King William, Vol. 2. p. 360.

(4) The number of Engliſh ſhips appointed for the body of the fleet were, ſix firſt-rates; ten ſecond-rates; twenty-eight third-rates, ſix fourth-rates; four fifth-rates, beſide fire-ſhips, a bomb-veſſel, and four hoſpitals: but when afterwards joined by the Dutch-ſquadron, and formed into a line of battle at St. Helens, the united fleet appeared to conſiſt of 102 ſail (not reckoning brigantines, bomb-veſſels, and hoſpital-ſhips) ſeventy-five of which were of the line of battle. Lediard's naval Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 674.

The continuator of Rapin in French, makes the body of the confederate fleet to conſiſt of ninety-two ſhips of the line, beſide ſmall-craft, and not reckoning the ſquadron under ſir George Rook. B. 25. p. 181.

(5) It was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean ſquadron, ſhould proceed together thirty leagues W. S. W. from Uſhant, and that when the admirals ſpread a blue flag at the main top-maſt-head, and fired three guns, ſir George Rooke, as well as the other convoys, ſhould go forward, according to the orders they had received from the lords of the admiralty: but being come to the height limited, on the 4th of June, they reſolved, in another council of war, to proceed with

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Sir George Rooke with the Smyrna convoy leave the main fleet.

Sir George Rooke, with twenty-three men of war, and the Turkey-fleet, left the main body of the fleet, on the 6th of June, and, ſteering for the Streights (1), left by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St. Ubes, and other parts, under the convoy of two men of war: being come, the 15th, within ſixty leagues of Cape Vincent, he diſcovered part of the French fleet, which made him call a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that the wind being freſh weſterly, and giving a fair opportunity to haſten their paſſage to Cadiz, the merchant-ſhips ſhould make the beſt of their way.

They diſcover the enemy's whole fleet.

Upon the diſcovery of the enemy's whole fleet, conſiſting of eighty ſail, commanded by monſ. de Tourville, ſir George Rooke being of opinion that he was too far advanced to think of a retreat, reſolved to puſh for it: but the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes bringing to, and letting him know, he choſe to avoid fighting, which he thought too hazardous, he likewiſe, brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, to give what time he could to the heavy ſailers to work away to the windward (2). In the mean time he ſent away the Sheerneſs, to order the ſmall ſhips which were under the ſhoar, to get, in the night, into Faro, St. Lucar and Cadiz. About ſix in the evening, the French admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, which had the whole afternoon gained upon the ſquadron, notwithſtanding all the ſail they could make, came up with the leeward, and ſternmoſt of the confederate fleet. Theſe were three Dutch men of war, whereof two were commanded by the captains Schryver and Vander Poel, who for five hours together, bravely fought firſt eleven and then ſeven of the enemy's men of war. They had the good fortune to get clear off the firſt eleven; but were at laſt forced to give way to the ſuperior force, and were taken; whereupon the Dutch merchant-ſhips tacked, and ſtood in for the ſhoar, as the enemy did after them (3).

A great part of the Smyrna fleet deſtroy'd.

The admiral ſtood off all night with a preſſed ſail, having a freſh gale at N.N.W. and, the next morning, fifty-four of the merchant-ſhips, with ſeveral men of war, were about him, five of the enemy's ſhips being to leeward, and two to windward, which laſt kept ſight of him, 'till it was night. The day following, the admiral called the officers of the men of war, and merchant-men, on board him, that they might give him what account they could of the reſt of the fleet, and to adviſe what was beſt to be done for their ſecurity (4).

But before I proceed, it may not be improper to give the reader a copy of a letter, written by captain Littleton, commander of the Smirna-factor man of war, from Cadiz, as it contains ſome farther particulars which I have not found elſewhere:

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The 26th of June, N. S. (ſays the captain) at nine in the morning, we arrived in the height of Cape St. Vincent. About two in the afternoon the headmoſt ſailors diſcovered the French, and about four in the afternoon both ſides ingaged, for ſome time. After this the headmoſt retired, and gave notice the ſame evening to the officer in chief: the ſeven and twentieth, in the morning, we arrived near Lagos, and our ſhips took a fire-ſhip of the enemy's, which reported, that there were at Lagos eighteen French men of war, with ſome fire-ſhips and merchant-men. About four in the morning, two ſhips blew up, or elſe the enemy ſet them on fire themſelves, within cannon-ſhot of the convoy. The commander alſo gave the ſignal of drawing into a line of battle; for till then we deſcried no more than nine and twenty ſail of the enemies. There was no wind ſtiring till ten o'clock; at which time a freſh gale aroſe, and then we diſcovered a greater number of ſhips. The convoy alſo ſteering ſouthward, perceived, on the one ſide, forty ſail, under three flags, beſide another ſquadron which indeavored to get between us and the coaſts: which the admiral obſerving, gave notice to the merchant-men to make all the ſail they could for the port of Cadiz, while the men of war kept the enemy in play. This deſign was obſerved by the French, who made all the ſail they could to intercept us. But the convoy having the wind, kept the enemy in play, 'till the evening, and gave time to the nimbleſt ſailers to get hither. Towards five in the afternoon, the eighteen French men of war abovementioned ingaged the convoy, and the fight laſted ſome part of the begining of the night, the reſt of the fleet not being able to come up with them. The 28th in the morning, the fight began with greater fury, ſo that about ſeven o'clock, our veſſels ſaw four ſhips on fire, not knowing whether French or Engliſh, and the guns were heard 'till nine, tho' the event be not yet known. It is to be feared we have loſt ſome men of war, and ſeveral merchants. This ingagement happened about ſix miles from cape St. Mary.

Sir George Rooke returns to Ireland,

The admiral, having diſpatched the Lark to England, to give an account of the diſaſter, ſailed to the Maderas to water, and in hopes of finding ſome of the ſcattered ſhips there: but finding only the Monk, he departed thence, the 27th of June, O. S. and arrived, the 3d of Auguſt, at Cork, in Ireland, and ſoon after joined, according to the orders he there found from the joint-admirals, the main fleet, with a detachment of the ſquadron, leaving the reſt at Kingſale with captain Fairborn (5).

And the fleet.

The

with the Mediterranean ſquadron twenty leagues farther, and then to return to the former ſtation, to take up the cruiſers, from whence it was judged adviſeable, to proceed to the rendezvous ten leagues N.W of Uſhant. Accordingly they left the Streights ſquadron, the ſixth, in the evening, and arrived, at the ſaid rendezvous, two days after. Ib.

It was given out, in thoſe times, by ſome, that they were inſtructed to keep company with the Mediterranean fleet, till they had certain intelligence where the French fleet was; which made their orders diſcretionary. Hiſtory of King William, Vol. 2. p. 301.

(1) It has been ſaid, that ſir George left the fleet with ſome reluctance, as perhaps foreſeeing the dauger they were going to be expoſed to; and (as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves) he was unhappy in that which, on any other occaſion, would have been his greateſt happineſs, viz. a fair and ſtrong gale of wind; ſo that no advice ſent after him could overtake him; nor did he meet with any ſhips at ſea, that could give him notice of his danger.

(2) The French either were, or feigned to be, at firſt, in as great a ſurprize as the confederates; for they ſtood away with ſeveral of their ſhips, and abandoning others, ſet fire to them; and tho' it may have been a decoy to draw them on; yet the great number of ſhips might very well make them apprehend it to be the whole body of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets coming upon them. Happy had it been that the whole fleet had accompanied them ſo far: for (as biſhop Burnet obſerves) ſuch an occaſion offered here, of deſtroying the whole naval force of France, as may not perhaps be found again, in an age.

(3) This was a great overſight of the French, for they thereby gave an opportunity, to the ſhips which were to the windward and a-head, to make their eſcape; which ſaved a great part of their fleet.

(4) Had the enemy purſued their advantage, with as much conduct and reſolution, as their deſign was projected, in all probability, hardly a ſhip of the confederate fleet would have eſcaped: for their admiral and vice-admiral of the blue were within ſhot of ſir George Rooke, when they tacked and ſtood into the ſhoar, after the Dutch, which as I have ſaid above ſaved the reſt of the fleet.

(5) After having given an account of this misfortune from our writers, let us now hear what the French ſay to it: "the "Engliſh and Dutch, ſays F. Daniel, ſuſtaining every day great loſſes from the French privateers, and more particularly by "thoſe of St. Malo, had reſolved to ſecure their Smyrna-fleet, from any ſuch inſults, by puting it under a convoy of two

and

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The French go up the Streights.

Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhips ſunk at Malaga.

The French return to Cadiz.

The French admiral, in the mean time, proceeded up the Streights, and coming to Malaga, the twentieth of July, aſſur'd the governor, his deſign was only upon the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, unleſs the city attempted to defend them, in which caſe he ſhould bombard it. The governor anſwered him, that he ſhould protect theſe ſhips to the utmoſt of his power, having his maſter's orders ſo to do; upon which, the next day, he lay'd his Broad-ſides againſt four Dutch and one Engliſh ſhip in the Mole. He twice attempted to burn the Union frigate; but was bravely repulſed; however he continued his fire, with ſo much fury, that the maſters themſelves ſeing there was no poſſibility of ſaving the ſhips, after having done their utmoſt to defend them, ſunk them (1).

The French, upon this, returned to Cadiz, from whence they ſent their prizes (being about eighteen) to Toulon, with two men of war; and detach'd about fourteen ſhips with two bomb-veſſels to Gibraltar, where they approach'd ſo near the fortifications, that they were fired upon, as well from them, as the Mole and ſhips, the whole day, but without any return on their ſide. They ſent in a frigate to attack four merchant-ſhips, which were bound for Turky; but ſhe met with ſo warm a reception, that they were obliged to reſcue her with their boats; and the maſters of the merchant-men, in the end, followed the example of thoſe at Malaga, and, boring holes in their ſhip's ſides, ſunk them. Upon which the French retired to Lagos-bay (2). Here

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Some ſhips ſunk at Gibraltar.

The fleet ordered to St. Hellens.

But to return home, the winter-ſeaſon advancing, the admirals received orders, the five and twentieth of Auguſt, to come with the fleet to St. Helens; the ſoldiers were put aſhore at Portſmouth, and the three-deck'd ſhips ſent to Blackſtakes, excepting four which were to be refited at Portſmouth. The nineteenth of September, fifteen of the large Dutch ſhips, with two frigats, were ordered by his Majeſty to Holland; and the body of the fleet being now ſeparated, it was ordered, that one ſecond-rate; ſeventeen third-rates; ſeven fourth-rates; one fifth-rate; ſeven fire-ſhips, and two hoſpital-ſhips ſhould be the winter-guard.

St. Maloes bombarded.

About the middle of November, captain Bembow, with a ſquadron of men of war, bombarded St. Malo, for four days together; but without any great ſucceſs, having only deſtroyed ſome few houſes, and thrown down part of the town-wall (3).

" and twenty men of war. Advice of this precaution being carried to the French King, his Majeſty ordered the marſhal " de Tourville, to ſail with ſixty ſhips, which had been got together in the ports of the Ocean, to ſail towards the " coaſt of Portugal, and there way-lay the Smyrna-fleet. Their ſcouts diſcovered it few days afterwards; but as they " had information that the Engliſh were at ſea, with a fleet of ninety men of war, which had been ſeen on the " coaſt of France, the marſhal, who was not yet joined with the Toulon-ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſhips under " the count d' Eſtree's, thought fit to detach twenty of his beſt ſailors to take a view of the Engliſh fleet, and to " begin the attack, if they did not find them much more numerous than themſelves, whilſt he would back them " with the body of his fleet. They executed the orders given them, and took, at the begining of the attack, two men of war, " after which they burnt, ſunk or run aground upon the coaſt, ſixty merchant ſhips, ſeven and twenty were taken, and the " remainder, which could not make their way for England, took refuge at St. Lucar, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The marquis of " Coetlogon, commander of a ſquadron, burnt four ſhips, very richly laden at Gibraltar, and carried off thirteen, tho' they " were defended by the batteries of the place, and an eſtacade. If a greater number of men of war had taken the ſame courſe " by night, asthe Sieurs de Belliſle-errard, de Chaland and de Henri, the Engliſh and Dutch would have ſuſtained a far greater " loſs, tho', as it was, it was very conſiderable, and amounted to, according to the relation of the captains of ſhips who were " taken, above twenty, de Larrey ſays five and twenty millions of Livres (that is, ſomething above a million ſterling.) Monſ. de Fourbin, who was in the action, gives us the following account of it, in his memoirs; " The King's (that is the French " King's) fleet, which conſiſted of ſeventy-five men of war, commanded by the marſhal de Tourville, ſet ſail for the Streights " of Gibraltar, where the count d' Eſtrees, who was coming with twenty other ſhips from Provence, was to join them. They " came to anchor in the road of Lagos, on the coaſt of Portugal. I (ſays my author) was ſent out for intelligence, with or- " ders ſtrictly to examine whatever came to my view; and particularly, if I ſaw a great number of ſhips, I was to make it my " buſineſs to diſcover whither they were merchant-men or the enemy's ſhips of force. I was accompanied with three other " captains, who were ſent on the ſame errand. We ſet ſail together, and in a few days we diſcovered a fleet of the enemy's mer- " chant-men. We found they conſiſted of upwards of a hundred and fifty ſail; and being well aſſured of our fact we returned " with all poſſible haſte to the fleet, to give the admiral an account of it, with aſſurance that it was a fleet of merchant-men, " and not men of war. Upon this advice the admiral made ready for ſailing, and ſtretch'd out, for what reaſon I am at a loſs " to ſay, before the wind, to ten leagues diſtance. (The reaſon is explained above.) The next day our whole fleet diſcovered " the enemy. The general gave orders for the chaſe; but the enemy took the advantage of the wind, which our working, " the night before, had made us loſe, and fled: inſomuch that we did them very little damage. We took, nevertheleſs, two " of their men of war of ſixty guns, and about thirty of their merchant-ſhips, which run aground, on the coaſt of Portugal, " were burnt. I, for my part, burnt three of them, and took a fourth. It was happy for them that they came off ſo well, " for had it not been for the falſe ſtep, I juſt now hinted at, their whole fleet would have been loſt." Monſieur de Forbin was not, it ſeems, let into the ſecret, nor did not obſerve the real neglect, which our fleet took the advantage of, and thereby eſcaped. We find a very wide difference in theſe two accounts, as to our loſs. How monſieur de Forbin comes to leſſen it ſo very much, I cannot conceive. He does not uſe to diminiſh the glory of actions he was concerned in: but I am ſorry I muſt ſay it, and the reader will find it by an account below, that F. Daniel, for this time, comes much nearer the truth.

(1) F. Daniel pretends that the French took ſix ſhips here.

(2) F. Daniel again gives the French an advantage which I do not find mention'd elſewhere; and ſays, monſ. de Coetlogon burnt four ſhips richly laden, and took thirteen more. Of Engliſh he could take none, there being no more in that harbor than the four which ſunk themſelves. The one Dutch ſhip which was there, follow'd the example of the Engliſh; beſide theſe, there were none but ſeven Danes and Swedes, and two Genoeſes, who were ſuffered to come peaceably out of the bay, and to go unmoleſted whither they thought fit.

Having given an account above of the ſeparation of ſir George Rooke's ſquadron, and the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, after they fell in with the French fleet, under the command of monſ. de Tourville, as likewiſe what happened to ſome of the ſhips afterwards; it may not be amiſs, to give a brief account of the total loſs occaſioned by this unlucky accident, and with what eye that accident was looked upon by the public. Notwithſtanding the French, by following the Dutch towards the ſhoar, gave a fair opportunity, as I have obſerved before, for a great part of our fleet to get off, yet the loſs was very conſiderable: for, (according to Kennet, and the hiſtory of King William) beſides four of the greateſt Smirna-ſhips, and one Dutch man of war, which monſieur Coetlogon burnt or ſunk at Gibraltar, and ſeven which he took, monſ. de Tourville, and the count d' Eſtrees, took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an Engliſh man of war, took nine and twenty merchant-men, and deſtroyed about fifty more.

The misfortune lay heavy upon the hearts of the merchants, and, indeed, upon the minds of all the people of England. The Turky-company, in particular, complain'd that the departure of the fleet (ſome ſhips having lain twelve ſome eighteen months for a convoy) was deſignedly put off, till the French fleet was in a readineſs, to wait for them; that the admirals had advice of part of their fleet being at ſea when they left the Turky convoy: and that the whole tranſaction, as it happen'd, was publicly talk'd of ſix weeks before at Marſeilles.

(3) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, this attempt might have been more ſucceſsful, had it been puſh'd with vigor; for the French were ſo little apprehenſive of the attack, that the Engliſh having put out daniſh colors, they were deceived by them, and ſuffered them peaceably, not only to approach them near enough, with their ſquadrons, to do execution, but to range themſelves in proper order, without ſo much as firing upon them, either from the town or fort-royal. French authors ſay, the Engliſh did not make great uſe of their bombs, having ſo intire a dependance on their infernal machine, (a ſort of fire-ſhip, made after the model of thoſe, which the engineer Jambelli contriv'd to blow up the bridge built by Alexander of Parma, over the Scheld, at the ſiege of Parma, in 1585.) But this machine miſcarrying, or, at leaſt, doing little execution, the Engliſh were ſo diſcourag'd, that they gave over the attempt. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 681-2.

We

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Proceedings of a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies.

We had this year, likewiſe, a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, conſiſting of two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, one ſixth-rate, three fire-ſhips, a ſtore-ſhip, an hoſpital, and a bomb-veſſel, under the command of ſir Francis Wheeler; about 1,500 ſoldiers were order'd for the ſervice, and neceſſary tranſports were provided. Colonel Codrington, general of the Leeward-iſlands, had likewiſe orders to be aſſiſtant, with all the forces he could get together in thoſe parts. From ſo great a force, and ſuch diſpoſitions, there was reaſon to expect the obtaining of ſome conſiderable advantages in that part of the world; but the ſucceſs was, by no means, anſwerable to the coſt.

This ſquadron arrived, the firſt of March, in Carliſle-bay, at Barbadoes, and it was there determined to make an attempt firſt upon Martinica: and the two regiments of Fowlkes and Goodwin were join'd to about 800 land-men, provided at Barbadoes, commanded by the captains Salter and Butler. The ſquadron being arrived, at Cul de Sac-Marine, in Martinica, the firſt of April, it was agreed to land, at or near fort St. Peter, and that the fleet ſhould ſail, the next morning, to favor this attempt.

At Cul de Sac-Marine, they burnt and ruined all the houſes, and all the plantations thereabouts, ſome of which were conſiderable, and then the troops were put on board again. Two days after, ſir Francis made another deſcent, with fifteen hundred men, and, after he had burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral houſes and plantations, the troops came again to their ſhips. The next day, lieutenant-colonel Lillingſton was ſent aſhore with a conſiderable party, to ruin the country on this ſide Diamond-bay, which he did and returned. The ninth and tenth, colonel Codrington, with the forces of the Leeward-iſlands, and colonel Floyd's regiment, joined the fleet, and then they weigh'd anchor, and came before Fort-royal, and St. Peter's fort. Soon after, the troops were landed, ravaged the country, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between them, and the enemy, with various ſucceſs, in the neighborhood of St. Peter's (1).

Nothing happen'd farther worthy our notice during this unſucceſsful expedition, from which ſir Francis returned to England, about the middle of October, and at Portſmouth found a commiſſion appointing him rear-admiral of the red.

Campain in Flanders.

I return now to the King, whom we left in Flanders, at the head of the confederate army, which, at the begining of the campain, was much inferior to that of the French. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had form'd great deſigns upon Brabant; but they were intirely broke, by King William's vigilance, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the camp at Park; (2) whereupon the French King ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of the Dauphin and the marſhal de Boufflers, into Germany, and return'd himſelf to Verſailles, without making any attempt whatſoever. The French army, under the duke of Luxemburg, lay incamp'd at Meldert, till the thirteenth of July, and then march'd to Heiliſheim, in their way towards the Maeſe. This gave King William an opportunity of ſending a ſtrong detachment, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, to force the lines, which the French had made to cover their conquered countries, from the Scheld to the Lys, and ſo to Ipres, Berg St. Vinox, and to the very ſea by Dunkirk. This was effectually perform'd the 18th of July, and the conſequence of it was raiſing great contributions, in the enemy's country: but this did not hinder the duke of Luxemburg, from laying ſiege to Huy, the next day, upon which, King William advanced nearer the country of Liege. In the mean time, count Tilly, general of the troops of that country, marching with a reinforcement to join his Majeſty, was ſurpriz'd, by Luxemburg, and obliged to retreat with the loſs of 200 men, and all his baggage.

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When King William came to Tongres, he heard the diſagreeable news, that the caſtle of Huy had capitulated, the 23d, and, upon advice, that monſ. Luxemburg was drawing nearer Liege, which had abſolutely rejected the neutrality offer'd by the French, his Majeſty ſent ten batallions thither, who, after having met with ſeveral difficulties, got, at length, into the place. The French general made, hereupon, a feint of beſieging Liege, tho', it afterwards appear'd, his real deſign was to attack the confederate army, which now lay incamp'd at Neerheſpen (3).

His Majeſty was no ſooner inform'd of the enemy's approach, on the 28th, than he, together with the elector of Bavaria, and other chief officers, got on horſe-back, and finding it to be the vangard of their whole army, coming to attack him, in his camp, the troops were immediately ordered to arms, and to draw in battle, to expect the enemy (4). About ſix in the evening, the marſhal de Joyeuſe came up,

(1) This is the account given by our hiſtorians: but F. Daniel pretends, that the Engliſh, attempting to make themſelves maſters of Martinica, with ſixty ſail of ſhips, ſeventeen whereof were men of war, ſix frigats, and three fireſhips, and four thouſand two hundred men on board, made a deſcent in two places, and landed two thouſand men in each: that they actually made an attempt with theſe forces, and that monſ. Gabaret, who commanded in the iſle, monſieur Augier, the King's lieutenant, and monſ. de Blenac lieutenant-general of America, killed, upon theſe two occaſions, three hundred of the Engliſh-men, wounded four hundred more, and obliged them to re-imbark with the greateſt precipitation, without having done any damage to the iſle, farther than the burning of a few ſugar-works. De Larrey ſays, the Engliſh appeared off of Martinica with ſix and forty ſhips, the ſecond of April, and, having anchored in a place proper for a deſcent, landed ſixteen hundred men, who began to burn the adjacent country. Three days after, they were re-inforced by fourteen barks with militia, notwithſtanding which the French oblig'd them to retire. The twelfth, they appeared before Fort-royal, from whence being likewiſe repulſed, the ſeventeenth, they landed four or five thouſand men, about a league from fort St. Peter, the chief of the iſland, and advanced with a deſign of attacking it. The governor, monſ. Gabaret went to meet them, with a thouſand men only, but was oblig'd to give way to the ſuperior force of the Engliſh; but having received a re-inforcement, under the command of the count de Blenac, governor of all the French iſlands (in ſix Brigantines, one Saick, one Galliot and ſeventy ſloops) he obliged the Engliſh to retire, in their turns, leaving two hundred dead on the ſpot, beſide wounded and priſoners. The eighteenth they were again driven from a riſing ground, where they had lodged ſix hundred men, and they were afterwards worſted in diverſe incounters: ſo that after having remained five days before fort St. Peter, and one and twenty on the iſland, they re-imbarked and ſet ſail, with the loſs of five hundred killed, two hundred wounded, and a hundred priſoners. The French pretend, that, on their ſide, there were only ſix killed and two wounded, in the laſt action, and, in all, but ten killed, eight and thirty wounded, and two taken priſoners. They, likewiſe, ſay, the Engliſh left behind them a hundred barrels of powder and bullets, with good ſtore of arms and appurtenances to artillery.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, unwilling to allow King William the honor of it, conceals this circumſtance, and tho' he allows the French army, which he computes at 120,000 men, to be greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates, and is oblig'd to confeſs, that the French King ſaw all his great projects would be fruſtrated, by King William's ſkill and vigilance, yet makes a myſtery of this particular motive for Lewis XIV's leaving his army.

(3) Monſ. de Luxemburg was incourag'd to this attempt, by the ſuperiority of his army, which now was computed to exceed that of the confederates by 35,000 men, occaſion'd, in part, by the large detachments King William had ſent to re-inforce the gariſons of Liege and Maeſtricht.

(4) The continuator of Rapin, in French, ſays, King William deſign'd to have quited his camp, the very next day, and have retaken the poſſeſſion of Park, which (continues the ſame author) if he had done, he had been out of danger of the enemy.

with the left wing of the French horſe, and about eight their body of infantry, in four columns, with a good part of the artillery: but as it was then too late to begin an ingagement, monſ. de Luxemburg put it off till the next morning, and ſpent the night in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions of his army, and particularly in taking poſſeſſion of the villages of Landen, St. Gertruydenland, and Overwinden (1).

King William, in the mean time, order'd brigadier Ramſey, with his brigade, to the right of all his army, to guard ſome hedges and hollow ways, upon the right of the village of Lare; to the left of this village were planted the Brandenburg battalions, and more to the left thoſe of Hanover, the former commanded by Prince Charles of Brandenburg, a major-general, and the latter, by lieutenant-general Dumont, who had orders to defend the village of Neer-winden, which cover'd part of their camp, between the right wing of horſe, and their main body; and they were, afterwards, re-inforced by the firſt battalion of the firſt regiment of Engliſh-guards, and the ſecond battalion of Scotiſh-guards. Upon the left, at Neer-landen, his Majeſty order'd the firſt battalion of the royal-regiment, Churchill's, Selwin's, Trelawny's, Prince Frederick's battalion of Danes, and Fagel's, to poſſeſs that village, which cover'd the left of their body of foot. The ground was open between the villages of Neer-winden and Neer-landen; his Majeſty, therefore, order'd, in the night, a retrenchment to be made from the one to the other, and placed what remained of the body of the foot, within it. The dragoons, on the left, were ordered to the village of Dormal, to guard that paſs, on the brook of Beck, and, from thence, the left wing of horſe reach'd to Neer-landen, where it was cover'd by this brook, and from thence, turn'd off to the right, behind the body of foot (2).

The battle of Landen.

The 29th of July, by ſun-riſing, the French were drawn up within reach of the confederate cannon, which play'd ſucceſsfully upon them 'till towards ſix, when they made a motion to advance nearer towards the King's retrenchments. About eight, a ſtrong body of their troops attack'd the villages of Lare and Neer-winden, but were ſeveral times repuls'd, with conſiderable loſs, and here the duke of Berwick was taken priſoner by brigadier Churchill. This did not diſcourage them from trying their fortune againſt the confederates left wing at Neer-landen; but tho', at firſt, the firſt battalion of the royal-regiment, was oblig'd to retire, after a hot diſpute, yet being, ſoon after, incouraged by the King's preſenſe, and ſuſtained by other troops, the enemy, after about two hours warm action, were intirely repuls'd, and purſued to the very plain. Thus far, the ſucceſs of the day was viſible on the ſide of the confederates; and the French once ſeem'd to deſign drawing off: but monſ. de Luxemburg, having ſeveral brigades of freſh men, reſolved to gain the village of Neer-winden, at any rate, and order'd the Prince of Conti to make the attack. This he did with the beſt foot of the French army, with ſo much vigor, that the confederates, being already ſpent by the former action, were oblig'd to give way to the ſuperior force, and yield the avenues of Neer-winden to the enemy. The marſhal de Villeroy, who, in the mean time, was coming up with a ſtrong body of horſe, that way, was charg'd by the count d' Arco, general of the Bavarian cuiraſſiers, who, notwithſtanding a brave reſiſtance, drove them quite within their own foot. This ſucceſs put the confederates upon indeavoring to recover their poſt; but the French rallying, and being conſiderably re-inforced, they found it impoſſible, the Dutch and Scotiſh guards having ſpent all their ammunition. The King himſelf twice led the Engliſh battalions to the charge, with great courage and conduct, up to the right of the retrenchment, which was now flank'd, and in the power of the enemy, where they fought with great bravery.

The French general finding, in the mean time, a convenient paſſage for the horſe, came himſelf, with the Prince of Conti, and the count de Marſin, with the carabineers, and ſeveral other regiments, into the plain of the confederate camp, while the marſhal de Joyeuſe paſs'd, with three brigades, between Neer-winden and Lare. The Prince of Conti, with the firſt horſe that came in, join'd with the King's horſe, and falling upon the horſe of Hanover, broke them, while part of the enemy's ſecond line of horſe, and the reſerve, came in upon their left, along the hedges of Lare. The marquis of Harcourt, with his detachment of twenty-two ſquadrons, came time enough from Huy, to have his ſhare of the day. He join'd with the ſecond line of the enemy's horſe, and the reſerve, and made his dragoons alight, to force the confederate foot out of Lare. The duke de Villeroy, in the mean time, came in upon the right of the retrenchments, which was bravely defended by the Engliſh foot, 'till being over-power'd by numbers, they were oblig'd to give way, and the French levell'd that part of the retrenchment, to make way for a body of horſe. The Hanover-horſe being thus broken, the reſt of the confederates right wing of horſe, being cut off from the body of the foot, was likewiſe over-power'd by the enemy, who now could charge them both in front and flank. The elector of Bavaria did what he could to ſtem this torrent of the enemy's horſe, and King William, on his ſide, omited nothing that could be done to remedy this diſorder, riding, in perſon, to the left, to bring up the Engliſh horſe, for the relief of the right wing: but the French had, by this time, got another body of horſe, commanded by the duke d' Elboeuf, within the confederates camp, and the duke de Montmorency, Luxemburg's ſon, fell upon the right flank of the Dutch horſe, and brought them into confuſion (3), before the Engliſh horſe, led on by the King, could come up, and form their ſquadron, ſo that they were forced to charge in the ſame order they rode up, notwithſtanding which, they did very good ſervice (4).

(1) The right of the confederate camp was at Heyliſheim and Wangan, upon the river Geet, and reach'd as far as Neer-winden, being cover'd with a ſmall brook, ſeveral hedges, and hollow ways. The elector of Bavaria had his quarters at Wangen; the body of foot, and left wing of the horſe reach'd from thence as far as Dormal, upon the brook of Beck, where Lewe remain'd in their rear.

(2) His Majeſty, who continued on horſe-back 'till late in the evening, order'd his coach then to be brought to the rear of Stanley's regiment, where he repos'd himſelf about two hours, and, early in the morning, ſent for one of his chaplains to him, into the coach, to perform a ſuitable devotion; before he enter'd into action.

(3) Some hiſtorians have attributed the whole misfortune of this day to a want of courage and reſolution in the Dutch horſe; and one of our nation (Salmon) carries it yet farther, and ſays, "the Dutch-horſe, as uſual, gave way," &c. but this favors ſomething of partiality.

(4) The King himſelf charged at the head of the lord Galway's regiment, which diſtinguiſhed itſelf, in a particular manner, on this occaſion. Colonel Wyndham, at the head of his own regiment, charged ſeveral times thro' and thro' the enemy's ſquadrons, and colonel Langſton was made priſoner; count Solmes, general of the Dutch infantry, had his leg ſhot off in this battle, and died of the wound, and the duke of Ormond, having charged at the head of one of Lumley's ſquadrons, received ſeveral wounds, his horſe was ſhot under him, and he himſelf was reſcued, by a gentleman of the French King's guards, from the hands of a villain who was going to ſtab him, but remained priſoner.

His

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The confederate army defeated.

His Majeſty ſeeing, however, the battle loſt, ordered the infantry to retreat to Dormal, upon the brook of Beck, which poſt the dragoons of the left-wing had kept, not having been in any action; and finding that the enemy was ſurrounding him on every ſide, he ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat, over the bridge at Neer-heſpen, which he gained, not without great difficulty. Having ſecured this poſt, his Majeſty gave his direction to almoſt every body of troops in particular, for their greater ſafety, in retreating, and having been an eye-witneſs of every thing, he retreated himſelf to the eminences of Tillemont, where he halted, till he was joined by the elector of Bavaria, with part of the right-wing, which he had rallied. Nothing was, however, now ſeen in the confederates camp but confuſion and diſorder, and all that could not reach the paſſes for a retreat, being preſſed by the enemy, were reduced to the neceſſity of flinging themſelves into the river, where many were drowned, and the earl of Athlone narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate. Lieutenant-general Talmaſh ſhewed a great deal of prudence, as well as bravery, in bringing off the Engliſh foot, and his indeavors were ſucceſsful.

Loſs on both ſides.

The confederates loſt ſixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars; to which the continuator of Rapin, in French, adds ſixty ſtandards, twenty-two colors, and twelve pair of kettle-drums. And tho' their baggage, which had been ſent away to Lewe, the night before, eſcaped the enemy, it was moſtly plundered by their own fugitive ſoldiers. As for the number of men loſt in this action, the confederates owned but 6000 killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; and the French could not deny but that they had above 2000 officers killed and wounded, how great muſt then the number of their private ſoldiers have been. The confederates, indeed, pretended the French had loſt 18000 men in the battle, but this ſeems to be carrying the matter too far: however, it was the general opinion, that 24,000 were killed and wounded on both ſides, and that the loſs on each ſide was pretty equal. The French ſuffered moſt at firſt, and the confederates in the concluſion. That the loſs of the enemy muſt have been very conſiderable, is apparent, becauſe Luxemburg, did not purſue his victory, but lay, for above a fortnight at Waren, without attempting any thing (1).

Charleroy ſurrendered to the French.

After this delay, having been re-inforced with ſome troops from the ſea-coaſts, and a great detachment, under monſ. de Boufflers, from the Rhine, the French, at length, ſat down before Charleroy, which they attacked with great fury; but the gariſon made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that tho' they had little or no proſpect of relief, yet they held out twenty-ſix days, from the opening of the trenches, andthen made an honorable capitulation.

Campain in Piedmont;

In Piedmont, the allies were yet more unfortunate, and were intirely defeated at Marſiglia, where duke Schomberg commanded the troops in Engliſh pay, and the duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, the reſt of the army. The French general, Catinat, obtained this victory chiefly by means of a new method never till then uſed in war, viz. by making his ſoldiers ſcrew their bayonets, over the barrels of their pieces, and charge with them loaded; for the confederate-generals obſerving them to advance, with their bayonets at the end of their muskets, concluded they were diſcharged; but ſoon after, a volley of ſhot being poured in upon their troops, unexpectedly, they were thrown into confuſion; and, at length, after a gallant reſiſtance, were forced to abandon the field of battle, and retire with the loſs of the greateſt part of their cannon, and ſeven or 8000 men; duke Schomberg himſelf being mortally wounded, and taken priſoner. In this manner were bayonets brought into uſe, and pikes laid aſide, by degrees, all over Europe.

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In Catalonia;

In Catalonia, the French were not leſs ſucceſsful, where they begun the campain, the 29th of May, by inveſting Roſes, both by ſea and land, and carried the ſiege of it on, with ſuch diligence, that they made themſelves maſters of the place, within the ſpace of a week.

And in Germany.

The French were, likewiſe, too forward for the Germans, on the Rhine, which river they paſſed, about the middle of May, at Philipſburg, and without any oppoſition, inveſted the city of Heidelberg. The 21ſt of the ſame month, they made themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs, without any great reſiſtance, and their grenadiers drove the beſieg'd with ſo much fury to the gates of the caſtle, that they left above 600 of their ſoldiers without, who were all put to the ſword; and the 2d of June, the gariſon, conſiſting of 1200 men, ſurrendered the place to the French, who ſet fire both to the city and the caſtle. They commited ſeveral other barbarities in the Palatinate, not ſparing even the ſacred repoſitories of the aſhes of the deceaſed electors. They afterwards attempted to attack Prince Lewis of Baden; but tho' the Dauphin afterwards joined their army, which was then computed to conſiſt of near ſeventy thouſand men, they found the Imperial army ſo well poſted, that they repaſſed the Neckar, the firſt attempt of the paſſage of which river had coſt them 1,000 men. The Dauphin having put a gariſon into Stutgard, and ſent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, returned, in the month of Auguſt, to Verſailles. Notwithſtanding the French had this ſucceſs, every where, they had ſo dangerous and terrible an enemy to incounter at home, I mean famine, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty found himſelf under a neceſſity of making overtures for a peace, by ſeveral channels, which however were all rejected. But to return to England.

Famine in France.

The French King ſues for a peace.

Juſtices of Ireland appointed.

The 10th of July, the lord Capel, ſir Cyril Wych, and William Duncomb, eſq; ſet out for Ireland, and being appointed lord-juſtices of that kingdom, in the room of the lord viſcount Sydney, who was recalled and made maſter-general of the ordnance. The ſame month, the lord Bellamont, and James Hamilton, eſq; petitioned her Majeſty, that a ſtop might be put to the paſſing of pardons to the lord Coningſby, and ſir Charles Porter, until the petitioners, and many others of their Majeſties ſubjects in Ireland, might be permited to produce their proofs againſt them, in which petition the ſaid lord Coningſby and ſir Charles Porter joined iſſue. The 17th of Auguſt, the petitioners exhibited ſeveral accuſations, but declining to be heard, to make good the ſame, and the accuſed offering to produce proof of their innocency, the Queen ordered the ſaid petitions and charge to be diſmiſſed.

A proclamation againſt the exportation of corn.

Some time after, the Queen taking into her royal conſideration, that the great ſcarcity and exceſſive price of corn in France incouraged the exportation of it from this kingdom thither, whereby not only

(1) Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this day, King William behaved himſelf, as he had always done, like a hero, and a commander. He narrowly eſcaped three wounds by muſket-balls, one of which paſſed thro' his peruke, another thro' the ſleeve of his coat, and a third carried off the knot of his ſcarf, and left a ſmall contuſion on his ſide. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to the Princeſs, his wife, ſaid: "He had ſeen the King expoſing himſelf to the utmoſt dangers; and that ſurely ſo much "valor very well deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wore.

her

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her enemies might be ſupplied, but her own ſubjects expoſed to want, her Majeſty, on the 19th of October, cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, for preventing the ſaid exportation of corn abroad, and enhancing the price of it at home.

King William returns to England.

King William, having left the command of the confederate army in Flanders, to the elector of Bavaria (1), went firſt to Loo, and arrived at the Hague the 11th of October, N.S. He there repreſented to the States-general, the neceſſity of increaſing their forces both by ſea and land; upon which, on the 14th, they agreed to the raiſing of 15,000 men, for augmenting their land-forces; and likewiſe to the addition of a conſiderable number of ſhips to their navy, for which his Majeſty thanked them in their aſſembly. Having been long detained by contrary winds, his Majeſty, at length, imbarked the 28th of October, O. S. landed at Harwich the 29th, and arrived the next day at Kenſington.

Mr. Ruſſel made admiral again.

One of the firſt things, which the King did, after his return, was to ſhew his diſlike of the proceedings of the fleet, the laſt ſummer, by declaring in council, the 6th of November, that he had appointed the right honorable Edward Ruſſel, eſq; to be admiral of the fleet.

The parliament meets.

The 17th of November, the parliament met, purſuant to their prorogation, when the King told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"He was always glad to meet them there, and "he could heartily wiſh, that their common ſatiſ- "faction were not leſſened at preſent, by reflecting "upon the diſadvantage they had received, this "year, at land, and the miſcarriages in the affairs "at ſea: that he thought it evident, that the for- "mer was only occaſioned by the ſuperiority of the "enemy's number in all places: that for what re- "lated to the latter, which had brought ſo great a "diſgrace to the nation, he had reſented it extream- "ly; and as he would take care that thoſe who "had not done their duty ſhould be puniſhed, ſo "he was reſolved to uſe his indeavors, that the "power at ſea might be rightly managed for "the future: and, ſaid he, it well deſerves our "conſideration, whether we are not defective both "in the number of our ſhiping, and in proper "ports to the Weſtward, for the better annoying "our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is "ſo eſſential to the welfare of the nation.

"I am, added he, very ſenſible of the good "affection wherewith you have always aſſiſted me, "to ſupport the charges of this war, which have "been very great, and yet I am perſuaded, that "the experience of this ſummer is ſufficient to con- "vince us all, that to arrive to a good end of it, "there will be a neceſſity to increaſe our forces, "both by ſea and land, the next year. Our allies "have reſolved to add to theirs: and I will not "doubt, but you will have ſuch regard to the "preſent exigency, as that you will give me a ſuit- "able ſupply to inable me to do the like.

"He, therefore, earneſtly recommended to the "houſe of commons, to take ſuch timely reſoluti- "ons, as that their ſupplies might be effectual, and "his preparations ſo forward, as would be neceſſary "both for the ſecurity and honor of the nation."

Miſcarriages of the fleet inquired into.

The commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, unanimouſly reſolved; "that they would ſupport their "Majeſties and their government:" but the firſt thing they did was to inquire into the miſcarriages of the fleet, the laſt ſummer, and to conſider how beſt to preſerve the trade of the nation. Some time was ſpent in examining the inſtructions and orders give to the fleet (which were thought weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective, but worſe executed) the number of the ſhips for the line of battle, and of the convoys and cruiſers, the admirals who commanded both, and the reſults of the ſeveral councils of war held by them; great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our ports, 'till the French were ready to lay wait for them. They were accuſed of not having uſed any zeal or diligence in geting information, concerning the French fleet; but had, in that important article, truſted too eaſily to general and uncertain reports. Againſt which they chiefly ſcreened themſelves, by alleging they had punctually obeyed their orders. After all which, on the 17th of November, the commons reſolved: "it was the opinion of that houſe, "that there had been a notorious and treacherous "miſmanagement in the miſcarriage of the Smyrna "fleet." their next inquiry was: why the Streights-fleet was ſtoped, till the main fleet went out? and then, why the main fleet did not convoy ſir George Rooke's ſquadron, and the merchant-ſhips, out of danger of the French fleet: and, it being alleged, That the main fleet was not ſufficiently victualled, the commons examined the ſtate of their ſtores at ſailing from Spithead, and thereupon reſolved, on the 27th of November, that there were ſufficient beer and other ſtores, on board the main fleet, when ſir George Rooke ſeparated, to have ſerved them, 'till they had convoyed his ſquadron and the merchant-ſhips, out of danger of the Breſt-fleet. But tho' the miſcarriage was very notorious, they knew not where to fix the particular blame: for, on the 29th, the queſtion being put, that it did appear to that houſe, that the admirals that commanded the fleet the laſt ſummer, had, on the 11th of May laſt, information that part of the Breſt-fleet was going out to ſea, it paſſed in the negative: and, on the 6th of December, another queſtion being put, that the admirals, by not ſending into Breſt, for intelligence, before they left the Streight's ſquadron, were guilty of a high breach of truſt that was repoſed in them, to the great loſs and diſhonor of the nation; it was likewiſe carried in the negative. Before this inquiry in parliament, the admirals had been examined before the council-board; but nothing could be made appear to the prejudice of their honor, only ſome flying reports, which gave occaſion to this order of council, on the 25th of October, "Whereas a report has been raiſed and ſpread "by Henry Killigrew, eſq; ſir Ralph Delaval, and "ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, knights, admirals of their "Majeſties fleet, that the honorable the lord viſ- "count Falkland, one of the lords of their Majeſties "moſt honorable privy-council, did, upon read- "ing a paper at the board, ſtifle ſomething that "was material to their juſtification. The lords of "the council having conſidered of, and examined "into the matter, are ſatisfied, and do declare, that "the ſaid report is falſe and ſcandalous; altho' "upon the ſaid examination it did alſo appear, that "ſomething happened which might miſlead the "admirals into that error; and it is ordered in coun- "cil, that this be printed and publiſhed in the "Gazet."

Bill for frequent parliaments.

The 28th of November, "a bill for the more fre- "quent election of parliaments" was rejected by the commons, after the third reading; whereupon another bill, to the ſame purpoſe, was ſent down to them by the lords, which being read, the third time, was likewiſe rejected.

(1) Before his Majeſty left the army, he thought it neceſſary to ſhew an example of ſeverity. Some of the troops having behaved ill at Neer-winden, matters were ſtrictly examined into by his orders. Three regiments of cavalry were found to have been wanting in their duty, and three troopers of each were ſhot, for an example to the reſt. Contin. of Rapin. in French, B. 25. p. 185.

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A ſupply granted.

The commons having unanimouſly voted a ſupply for the vigorous proſecution of the war, reſolved, on the 25th of the ſame month; "that the ſum of "500,000 l. be raiſed towards the diſcharging the "wages due to the ſea-men; and that a farther "ſum of two millions be granted to their Majeſties "in full for the maintenance of the fleet, including "the ordnance, by reaſon of the revenue now "falling ſhort." With regard to the army, the commons, after having examined the offenſive treaties and alliances, which his Majeſty was under with the confederates, and the proportions of forces, which the confederates were obliged to make for the carrying on this preſent war, reſolved, on the 20th of November, unanimouſly; "that the number of "the land-forces, in their Majeſties pay, be in-"creaſed, by the raiſing of ſix new regiments of "Engliſh horſe, four new regiments of Engliſh "dragoons, and fifteen new regiments of Engliſh "foot, to be commanded by officers who were his "Majeſty's natural born ſubjects. That 83,121 "men, including commiſſion and non-commiſſion "officers, were neceſſary for the ſervice of the year "1694, to be imployed in England and beyond the "ſeas, and that the ſum of 2,530,590 l. be grant-"ed, to the maintenance of the land-forces, viz. "210,773 l. for the office of ordnance, 31,808 l. "for the pay of the general officers; 11,060 l. for "levy-mony; 40,808 l. for the tranſports; "147,000 l. for hoſpitals and contingences, and "1,990,781 l. for the pay of the horſe, dragoons and "foot:" ſo that the whole ſupply hitherto granted for the inſuing year, amounted to 4,530,590 l. excluſive of the 500,000 l. granted for payment of the arrears of ſea-mens wages.

Deficiencies; Ways and means.

Beſide theſe large ſupplies, it was found, that the ſum of 118,000 l. was wanting to compleat the ſum of one million granted to their Majeſties by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, for ſecuring recompences to ſuch perſon as ſhould "voluntarily advance the ſaid million:" and likewiſe, that the ſum of 293,692 l. was wanting to compleat the ſum of 300,000 l. granted by a late act, "for the review of the quarterly-poll." So that with the ſum for arrears of ſeamen, and theſe deficiencies, the whole ſum, 'till now granted in this ſeſſion, was 4,942,182 l. The firſt of which defective funds, the commons reſolved, the 9th of December, to make good, "by inlarging the time for perſons "to pay in the reſt of the ſum of one million;" "and that towards the raiſing of mony for the "maintenance of the fleet, any perſons be at li-"berty to add a ſecond life to the life that was, "or ſhould be, nominated upon the act for ſecuring "the recompenſe before mentioned, upon paying "the ſum of 35 l. for every 100 l. paid in, or to be "paid in, upon the ſaid act, and for adding a third "life, the ſum of 20 l. for every the ſaid 100 l. and "ſo for any greater proportion."

Towards raiſing the two millions granted for the fleet, it was reſolved, on the 21ſt of December; "that the ſum of one million be charged on land; "and that a duty of 3 d. per gallon be laid upon all "foreign ſalt imported; and a duty of one and an "half penny per gallon, upon all Engliſh ſalt, "except all ſalt imployed in the curing of fiſh and "fleſh to be exported."

The commons being pretty much at a loſs how to levy the reſt of the large ſums they had already granted, reſolved, on the 26th, "that a farther "ſum of one million be charged upon land"; and, on the 29th, "that an aid, not exceeding 4 s. in the "pound, be granted to their Majeſties, by charging "each reſpective county with double the ſum return-"ed, charged by an act made in the firſt year of "their Majeſties reign, for a grant of 2 s. in the "pound." But as the committee of the whole houſe, appointed to draw up the bill, met with great difficulties in framing it after that manner; the houſe gave them power to alter the ſame, and to frame it into a bill of 4 s. per pound, to which the King gave the royal aſſent, on the 25th of January.

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Land tax-bill paſſed.

Affairs of the Eaſt-India-company.

The Eaſt-India-company having obtained a new charter, on the 11th of November, whereby they were impowered to raiſe the ſum of 744,000 l. to be added to their general joint-ſtock, and ſubſcribed by their Majeſties natural-born ſubjects, naturalized or indenized, the ſubſcription of each perſon not exceeding 10,000 l. ſeveral merchants, and others, in and about the city of London, on the 7th of December, petitioned the commons for erecting a new Eaſt-India-company. The houſe, thereupon, examined the charters of the Eaſt-India-company, the book of the ſubſcriptions, the ſtate of their preſent ſtock, and the petition above mentioned; and, after mature deliberation, they reſolved "; That all "the ſubjects of England have equal right to trade "to the Eaſt-Indies, unleſs prohibited by act of "parliament;" which gave the firſt hint to the forming of a new Eaſt-India-company by ſtatute.

A blaſphemous pamphlet cenſured.

The 16th of December, a complaint having been made to the commons, of a blaſphemous pamphlet, intitled; "a dialogue concerning the Deity; and a "brief, but clear, confutation of the doctrine of "the TRINITY", which had been diſperſed, and ſent incloſed, under covers, directed to ſeveral members of that houſe; it was thereupon reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet ſhould be burnt by the "hands of the common hang-man, and an inquiry "made after the author, printer, and publiſher "of it."

Lord Coningſby and ſir C. Porter impeached.

The 29th of the ſame month, the earl of Bellamont preſented to the lower-houſe, articles of impeachment of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdeameanors, againſt the lord Coningſby and ſir Charles Porter, late lords-juſtices of Ireland, the conſideration of which, together with the examination of witneſſes, took up a great deal of their time. At length, on the 29th of January, the houſe agreed to this reſolution; "that conſider-"ing the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, at that time, "they did not think fit to ground an impeachment "againſt the ſaid lord Coningſby and ſir Charles "Porter, for the matters charged upon them."

I ſhall now leave the parliament for a while, to mention ſome few tranſactions out of parliament. The 22d of November, the lord viſcount Sydney, maſter of the ordnance, was made colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards, in the room of the late duke of Schomberg, and, at the ſame time, the lord viſcount Galway was appointed to command their Majeſties forces in Piedmont, in the quality of lieutenant-general, being, likewiſe, conſtituted their Majeſties envoy extraordinary to the duke of Savoy. The 30th, the duke of St. Albans was made captain of their Majeſties band of penſioners, vacant by the death of the lord Lovelace.

Places diſpoſed of.

Death of archbiſhop Sancroft.

The 24th of the ſame month, died dr. William Sancroft, the deprived archbiſhop of Canterbury (1).

(1) An hiſtorian of thoſe times, gives him the following character: "he was (ſays he) a prelate, whoſe great abilities, learning, "wiſdom, courage, and ſincerity, abundantly qualified him to fill the high and important ſtation he held, a long time, in the church "of England; and which he contentedly reſigned, rather than to violate his conſcience, or ſwerve from thoſe principles he had "always maintained. As for his conduct in the diſcharge of his epiſcopal office, he earneſtly indeavored to preſerve the church "of

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After his deprivation he returned to a little eſtate he had at Fretchingfield in Suffolk, where, by his own direction, he was buried in the church-yard, having this inſcription on his tomb:

P. M. S.

Lector, Wilhelmi nuper archipræſulis
(Qui natus in Vicinia)
Quod morti cecidit, prope hunc murum jacet;
Atqui reſurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus eſto; nam hora quam non putas
Dominus venturus eſt.

Obiit, 24. Novemb. Anno { Nat. Dom. 1693. / Ætat. ſuæ 77.

P. M. S.

William Sancroft born in this pariſh; afterwards by the providence of God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and at laſt deprived of all that he could not keep with a good conſcience, returned hither, to end his life, where he began it, and profeſſeth here, at the foot of his tomb; "that as he naked came forth, "ſo he naked muſt return: the lord giveth, and "the Lord hath taken away: as the lord pleaſeth, "ſo things come to paſs: bleſſed be the name of the "Lord:" and over his effigies was written this text, St. Matthew, xxiv. 27. "As the "lightening cometh out of the Eaſt, and ſhineth "unto the Weſt, ſo ſhall alſo the coming of the "Son of Man be.

Mr. Germain proſecuted for adultery.

About this time the town was entertained by a remarkable trial, in Weſtminſter-hall. The duke of Norfolk, impatiently bearing the unlawful commerce, which, for many years paſt, mr. Germain had held with his ducheſs, had, in January before, lodged a bill of divorce, in the houſe of peers; but their lordſhips being unwilling to proceed in that affair, before there were ſome proofs of the fact in the common-law, his grace, thereupon, brought an action of adultery againſt mr. Germain, before the court of King's-bench, and upon a full hearing of many obſcene evidences, the jury found for the plaintiff, and allowed his grace 100 marks damages, with coſt of ſuit.

Prince Lewis of Baden in England.

The laſt day of the year, Prince Lewis of Baden came to England, and landing at Graveſend, went from thence to Whitehall, where an apartment was provided for his reception. During the time of his ſtay here, which was till the 14th of February, his Highneſs was ſplendidly entertained, and diverted not only by his Majeſty, but by ſeveral of the nobility, and, in a particular manner, by the duke of Ormond.

An' 1694: Acts paſſed.

The 25th of January, the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to "an act for "raiſing 4 s. in the pound upon lands; to an act "for the importation of Italian thrown-ſilk, and "to ſome others of leſs moment.

"A bill concerning free and impartial proceedings "in parliament, by incapacitating the members "to have places in the government, "paſſed both houſes; but the King refuſing to give it the royal ſanction, the commons took it ſo ill, that having, on the 26th of January, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, they reſolved, "that whoever "adviſed the King not to give the royal aſſent to "that act, was an enemy to their Majeſties and "the kingdom". They alſo appointed a committee to draw up a repreſentation, in which they laid before his Majeſty:

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Repreſentation of the commons to his Majeſty.

"That the uſage in parliament, in all times, had "been that what bills had been agreed to by both "houſes, for the redreſs of grievances, or other "public good, had, when tendered to the throne, "obtained the royal aſſent: and that there were "very few inſtances, in former reigns, where ſuch "aſſent, in ſuch caſes, had not been given; and "thoſe attended with great inconveniences to "the crown of England; eſpecially where the ſame "had been with-held by inſinuations of particular "perſons without the advice of the privy-council, "thereby creating great diſſatisfaction and jealouſies "in the minds of the people. That the commons, "therefore, out of their ſincere deſire of the welfare of his Majeſty and his government, could "not without grief of heart reflect, that ſince his "Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, ſeveral public "bills, made by advice of both houſes of parliament, had not obtained the royal aſſent, and, "in particular, one bill, intitled, an act touching "free and impartial proceedings in parliament, "which was to redreſs a grievance, and take off a "ſcandal, relating to the proceedings of the commons in parliament, after they had freely voted "great ſupplies for the public occaſions, which they "could impute to no other cauſe than the inſinuations of particular perſons, who took upon them, for "their own particular ends, to adviſe his Majeſty, "contrary to the advice of parliament; and, therefore could not but look on ſuch as enemies to his "Majeſty and his kingdoms; upon which conſideration, they humbly prayed, that, for the future, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to hearken to "the advice of his parliament, and not to the "ſecret advices of particular perſons, who might "have private intereſts of their own, ſeparate "from the true intereſt of his Majeſty and his "people.

To this repreſentation, the King anſwered, the 29th of January:

The King's anſwer.

"That he was very ſenſible of the good affecti- "ons the commons had expreſſed towards him, "upon many occaſions, and of the zeal they had "ſhewn for the common intereſt: that no Prince "ever had a higher eſteem for the conſtitution of the "Engliſh government than himſelf: and that he "ſhould ever have a great regard to the advice of "parliaments; that he was perſuaded, nothing "could ſo much conduce to the happineſs and welfare of this kingdom, as an intire confidence, "between the King and people: and that he ſhould "look upon ſuch perſons to be his enemies, who "ſhould adviſe any thing that might leſſen "it."

The firſt of February, the commons took his Majeſty's anſwer into conſideration, and the queſtion being propounded, "that an humble addreſs be "made to his Majeſty for a farther anſwer", it paſſed in the negative.

The Million lottery.

At this time, the humor of the nation run very much upon lotteries; ſome members of the houſe of commons, therefore, to give into it, contrived a method to raiſe, in that manner, a million ſterling, for the government. This deſign having been propos'd to, and approved by the houſe, it was reſolved, on the 6th of February; firſt, "That a

"of England, in its rights and eſtabliſhments, and to ſecure the purity of her doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline, ſo far as his "power and authority extended. He was a very wiſe, but withal a very plain and ſincere man; and uncapable of any politic arts "to curry favor with Princes. Laſtly, he wanted not tenderneſs toward the Diſſenters, but he had not that latitude of principle "to break down what he conſcienciouſly believed to be the mounds and fenſes of the church, in order to let in the ſtragling "ſheep; which, he thought, might, as well have entered at the right door. Hiſt of King William, Vol. 2. p. 385.

"fund

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" fund of 140,000 l. per annum, be raiſed and veſted " in their Majeſties, for the term of ſixteen years, " for recompenſing ſuch perſons as ſhould advance " the ſum of one million. Secondly, That the impo- " ſitions lately reſolved by the houſe, to be laid up- " on ſalt, be part of the ſaid fund. Thirdly, That " towards the farther anſwering of the ſaid " 140,000 l. per annum, one moiety of the duties " of exciſe, granted to their Majeſties, by an act " made in the ſecond year of their Majeſties reign, " be granted and continued to their Majeſties, after " the mony charged upon the ſaid duties ſhould " be ſatisfied: and Fourthly, that a bill be brought " in upon the ſaid reſolutions."

Acts paſſed.

The 18th of February, the King came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to an " act to " ſupply the deficiency of the mony raiſed by a " former annuity-act;" and to another, to " pre- " vent diſputes and controverſies concerning royal " mines."

The commiſſioners whom the commons had appointed to take the public accounts, being order'd to lay before the houſe, " an account of what " mony had been paid for ſecret ſervice, and to " members of parliament, out of the public " revenue," upon examination of the whole matter,

Lord Falkland call'd to account for bribery.

it was reſolved, on the 17th of February; " That " the lord Falkland, being a member of that " houſe, by begging and receiving 2000 l. from " his Majeſty, contrary to the ordinary method of " iſſuing and beſtowing the King's mony, was " guilty of a high miſdemeanor and breach of " truſt; and that he be commited to the Tower " of London, during the pleaſure of the houſe."

The 19th, the lord Falkland preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, ſeting forth, " that " he was highly ſenſible of their diſpleaſure, and " that a longer continuance of his confinement " would be extremely prejudicial to him;" whereupon it was order'd that he ſhould be diſcharg'd from his impriſonment in the Tower.

More acts paſs'd.

The 23d of March, the King came again to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent, to an " act for granting to their Majeſties certain duties " upon ſalt, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors; " another for relief of the orphans, and other cre- " ditors of the city of London; another for the " more effectual relief of poor priſoners," and to ſeveral other, as well private as public bills; ano-

The Bank of England erected.

ther act alſo paſs'd this ſeſſion, " for raiſing " 1,500,000 l. by voluntary ſubſcriptions; the " ſubſcribers to be incorporated, and to erect a " Bank, and were to receive recompences out of " certain duties ariſing from tonage and poun- " dage, and from beer and ale, which was the " foundation of the Bank of England. After this

The King's ſpeech.

his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which, " he earneſtly recommended to them the diſpatch " of thoſe important affairs, which they had under " their deliberation; and the diſcharging of the " debt for the tranſport-ſhips."

Notwithſtanding the funds I have already men- tion'd, the houſe of commons laid, the 22d of February, a " duty upon leather; the 28th, another " upon ſoap, and, on ſubſequent days, others on " wine, and the tonage of all ſhips and veſſels." All theſe impoſitions coming yet ſhort of anſwering the mony to be levied within this year, they reſolved to grant " a poll-tax to their Majeſties, as " alſo a duty upon all hackney-coaches and ſtage- " coaches, and laſtly upon paper and parchment." William & Mary. An' 1694.

Other acts paſs'd.

The ſixteenth of April, the King, being come to the houſe of lords, gave the royal ſanction, to an " act for raiſing mony by a poll-tax; another " for puniſhing mutineers in the army, &c. another " for the exportation of Iron, Copper, and Mundick- " metal; another for the importation of Salt-petre," and to five private acts. The 25th of the ſame month, the King gave his aſſent to an " act for inabling " their Majeſties to make grants and leaſes in the " du chy of Cornwal; another for raiſing the mili- " tia of this kingdom; another for granting to " their Majeſties ſeveral duties upon tonage of ſhips, " &c. and another for granting a tax upon vel- " lom, parchment and paper; another for licenſing " and regulating hackney and ſtage-coaches; ano- " ther for appointing commiſſioners to take and " ſtate the public accounts; another for building " good and defenſible ſhips; another for the better " diſciplining of their Majeſties navy," and to ſeveral private bills (1).

The parliament prorogued.

After this, " his Majeſty thank'd both houſes, " for the great proofs they had given him of their " affections, this ſeſſion; and having acquainted " them with the neceſſity of his being abſent for " ſome time, out of the kingdom," he put an end to this long ſeſſion of parliament, by proroguing it the 18th of September.

France ſeeks a peace.

During this winter, the French King again made ſeveral private overtures towards a peace, at different courts, by means of the miniſters of neutral Princes. Great diligence was, likewiſe, uſed to draw off ſeveral Princes from the grand-alliance, particularly the King of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria: but as all theſe private intrigues and efforts of France came to nothing, I ſhall not detain the reader by particularizing them.

Places diſpos'd of, and honors conferr'd.

The 27th of January, mr. Charles Butler, brother of the duke of Ormond, was created a baron of England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. Three weeks after, Peregrine Bertie, eſq; was made vice-chamberlain to his Majeſty, in the place of ſir John Lowther, who reſigned the 4th of March. The earl of Shrewſbury was, once more, made one of the principal-ſecretaries of ſtate, and the 25th of April, the King confered the title of duke upon him. The ſame day, his Majeſty created the earl of Muſgrave, marquis of Normandy, and beſtowed a penſion on him of 3000 l. a year, in lieu of the place of lord-chamberlain, which he injoy'd in the former reign. About the ſame time, the lord viſcount Sydney was made earl of Romney, and Henry Herbert, eſq; baron Herbert of Cherbury. Edward Ruſſel, eſq; ſir John Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, eſq; Robert Auſten, eſq; ſir Robert Rich, ſir George Rooke, and ſir John Houblon, were appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of lord-high-admiral of England and Ireland (2): and the treaſury was given in commiſſion to the lord Godolphin, ſir Stephen Fox, Charles Montague, eſq; ſir William Trumbal, and John Smith, eſq;

The King goes to Holland.

His Majeſty having thus ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and being again reſolved to command the confederate army in Flanders, imbarked the 6th of May at Margate, on board the Fubs-yacht, and ſailed the ſame day, about noon, with a fair wind,

(1) As uſual, ſeveral bills were again left unfiniſh'd; viz. " a bill to regulate trials, in caſes of high treaſon;" which the commons had ſent to the lords for their concurence. " A bill for the naturalizing of all ſuch Prote ſtants as ſhould take the oaths " to their Majeſties, and the teſt againſt Popery. A bill concerning the forfeitures both in England and Ireland; a bill for re- " giſtering of wills, &c. a bill againſt ſtockjobbers, and another for the incouragement of privateers.

(2) As I am ſpeaking of the admiralty, it may not be amiſs to take notice here, that on the 22d of February, of this year, King William, having taken into conſideration the ſmallneſs of the pay, allowed to ſea-officers, which was then leſs than that of our neighbors, &c. was pleaſed to make the following eſtabliſhment in council:

1 That

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wind, for Holland, being attended by eight Dutch men of war. He arrived the next day in the Maeſe, and, landing in the evening, came about midnight to the Hague, from whence he went a few days after to Loo, to take the diverſions of that place, before he opened the campain. I ſhall here leave his Majeſty to give firſt an account of the maritime affairs of this year.

Misfortune of a ſquadron of ſhips under ſir Francis Wheeler.

Before I proceed to an account of the tranſactions of the grand fleet, I muſt juſt mention a misfortune which happened to a ſquadron, that was ſent, at the concluſion of the foregoing year, to the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir Francis Wheeler. This ſquadron having ſailed on the 17th of February from Gibraltar, towards the Streights, met, the next day, with a violent ſtorm, which continued all that day, and the following night; inſomuch that, on the 19th about five in the morning, ſir Francis Wheeler's own ſhip, the Suſſex, was foundered, and himſelf, with all his men, to the number of 550 drowned, two Moors only excepted, who eſcap'd by ſwiming (1).

Rear-admiral Nevil, with two Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to be blown out of the Streights, and put ſafe into Cadiz, as did the reſt of the fleet after the ſtorm, into Gibraltar.

Proceedings of the main fleet.

Tho' the confederate-fleet, under the command of admiral Ruſſel, was this year pretty early at ſea, they had, in the begining, no ſucceſs to boaſt of. As deſirous as they were to fight the French, they on the contrary were induſtrious to avoid an ingagement; and no ſooner was the Breſt-ſquadron out of harbor, than they made all the ſail they could towards the Mediterranean, the court of France having reſolved to act, this campain, offenſively againſt Spain, both by land and ſea. King William, in order to break their meaſures, and to prevent the intire loſs of Catalonia, thought fit to ſend his main fleet, this year, into thoſe ſeas. While the fleet was on the coaſt of France, the admiral received information, that there was a fleet of French merchant-ſhips, of forty or fifty ſail, lying in Bertheaume-bay, bound Eaſtward, and laden with corn, wine, brandy and other merchandize, under convoy of a man of war or two. He thereupon ordered the Monmouth and the Reſolution, with the Roebuck fire-ſhip, to go between the trade-way and the main, and indeavor to take or deſtroy them. Captain Pritchard, who commanded them, executed his orders with ſo good ſucceſs, that notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy from their veſſels, and the forts of Conqueſt-bay, he burnt or ſunk thirty-five of them, beſide their convoy, which run among the rocks, and, ſoon after blew up, with her two ſloops of between ten and fifteen guns each, and brought a large fly-boat and a pink laden with ſalt, into the fleet. Some few days after, they likewiſe took or deſtroyed a good number of ſhips, laden with proviſions for the French fleet in the Mediteranean, and drove ſome others aſhoar, which were bound for Diep and Dunkirk, with ammunition and proviſions, for the uſe of the French army in Flanders.

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French merchant ſhips deſtroyed.

It had been ſo ordered, that, at a proper ſtation, the ſquadron under the lord Berkley (2), appointed to act with the land-forces, which had been put on board, to the number of near 10,000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, with deſign to deſtroy the harbor of Breſt, was to ſeparate and ſteer away for that place; and then, the admiral himſelf, with the body of the fleet, was to ſhape his courſe towards the Mediterranean. All things being ſettled for the ſeparation, at a council of war, of the flag and general officers, held the 31ſt of May, proper ſignals were diſtributed for that purpoſe.

The 5th of June, the two fleets ſeparated, and as that commanded by the lord Berkley came firſt

1. That the ſea-pay of flag-officers, commanders, lieutenants, maſters, and ſurgeons of his Majeſty's ſhips ſhould be "doubled.

2. "That all flag-officers, and captains of the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth and fifth rates, and of fire-ſhips; and the firſt lieute-"nant and maſters of firſt, ſecond, and third-rates, who have ſerved a year in the ſame poſts, in ſhips of thoſe rates, or been "in a general ingagement, ſhould have half-pay while on ſhoar, to be paid quarterly out of the general eſtimate of the navy.

3. "That only ſuch commiſſion-officers as have been put in by the admiral or admiralty, and warrant-officers, as have been "put in by the navy-board, ſhould receive the benefit of half-pay.

4. "That the ſame ſhould commence from the ſecond of January, then laſt paſt.

5. "That no officer, who leaves the ſervice, or is diſmiſſed for any miſdeamenor, injoy that benefit.

6. "That the number of ſervants allowed the commanders ſhould be no more than ten to the admiral of the whole fleet; "all other inferior flags one each; captains of firſt and ſecond-rates, ſix; of third and fourth-rates, five; of fifth and ſix-rates, "four each; and that the number of ſervants leſſened be deducted out of every ſhip's company.

7. "That half-pay officers be aſſiſting to the navy-board.

8. "That no convoy-mony be demanded or received, under the penalty of forfeiting and loſing imployment for ever.

9. "That the commanders tranſmit to the admiralty when and why they come into port.

10. That the commiſſioners of the navy at the ports, inquire why ſhips come in; and that all theſe articles and rules be ſtrictly obſerved.

But the fund for that eſtabiſhment ending with the war, and the King having no other means to afford it, except he had allowed it out of his revenne, the then lords of the admiralty formed another ſcheme. Lediard's Naval Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 685.

(1) Beſide this loſs, there were many others both of ſhips and men, viz.

	Men
The Cambridge, ſeventy guns, forced on ſhoar, and loſt	100
The Lumley-caſtle had the ſame misfortune, and loſt	130
The Serpent bomb-veſſel founder'd, and loſt	15
The William-ketch run aſhoar, and loſt	15
The Mary-ketch foundered and loſt	16
The Great George, a Turky-ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	90
The Alleppo-factor run on ſhoar, and loſt	3
The Golden frigat of Venice, run on ſhoar, and loſt	23
The Berkſhire, a Turky ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	15
The Indian merchant, another Turky ſhip, run on ſhoar, and loſt	1
The William, bound for Leghorn, run on ſhoar, and loſt	1
	409
Loſt in the Suſſex	448
In all	857

The Hollandia, a Dutch ſhip of ſeventy guns, run on ſhoar in Gibraltar-bay; but got off again, with the loſs of all her maſts. Several other ſhips, both Dutch and Engliſh were on the ground, and few or none eſcaped without conſiderable damage. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 684.

A Dutch writer ſays, this was the moſt violent ſtorm, that ever had been known in thoſe ſeas, ſince the memory of man. The ſame author ſays, the body of admiral Wheeler was found on a ſand-bank, not far from Gibraltar, in his ſhirt and ſlippers, which made it believed, that ſeeing himſelf in great danger, he had ſtriped, with a deſign to indeavor the ſaving his life, by ſwiming.

2) This ſquadron conſiſted of forty-one men of war, fourteen fireſhips and eight ſmall craft, in all ſixty-one. And here F Daniel does not increaſe their number as is uſual with him; for he makes but fifty-ſix of them together.

to

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to action, I ſhall begin with a relation of his proceedings, and then follow the admiral to the Streights.

The deſign, and the ſituation of the place.

But firſt, in order to obtain a better idea of the undertaking, it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of the deſign, and of the ſituation of the place. The deſign was, in general, to ruin the harbor of Breſt, or render it uſeleſs to the French. There is a promontory, which runs from Camaret to the entrance of the harbor of Breſt, which, whoever is maſter of, may command the ſhipping going in or out. This promontory is join'd to the continent by a narrow Iſthmus, which it was propos'd to get poſſeſſion of, and then, it was thought, four or five thouſand men might defend the promontory againſt any force that could have been brought before it. By this means, the confederates would not only have been maſters of the paſſage to Breſt, but have had it in their powers to have made incurſions into Bretagne at pleaſure. This was the deſign in 1692, after the victory at la Hogue, when ſeven or eight thouſand men were put on board the fleet, for that purpoſe, and had it then been executed, France would not have had one port upon the ocean, fit to receive their large men of war (1): but the French King being apprized of the deſign, and the conſequences it might be attended with, if ever ſuch an attempt ſhould be made again, order'd the Iſthmus, and all the avenues to it, to be ſo fortified as render'd it inacceſſible.

The lord Berkeley's proceedings.

The lord Berkley, arriving the 7th, came to an anchor between Camaret and Bertheaume-bay, tho' continually played upon by the enemy's bombs; firſt from Camaret-weſtern-point, then from a caſtle on a high rock, in Bertheaume-bay, and laſtly, from two forts on each ſide of the Iſthmus going into Breſt road. The ſame day the lord Cutts, and the marquis of Caermarthen, in his own gally, ſtood in, a conſiderable way, into the bay; and having taken a view of it, amidſt the enemy's fire, they returned and gave the lord Berkley an account of the poſture of the bay, and ſituation of the caſtle, which they found very advantageous to defend the landing places (2). It was at firſt ordered, that the Monk, a ſhip of ſixty guns, and the Diamond of equal force, ſhould go in; but the marquis repreſented, that thoſe two men of war would not be ſufficient to cover the boats at their landing, becauſe the enemy were better prepared, and more numerous than was expected, and ready to be ſeconded, on all occaſions, by fourteen ſquadrons of horſe.

Reſolutions taken to land near Breſt.

Hereupon, a council of war was called, on board the ſhip Queen, the 8th of June, at which were preſent, his lordſhip, lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and all the Engliſh and Dutch flag and general officers, by whom it was reſolved, that the lieutenant-general ſhould go on ſhoar with the troops, as ſoon as it was poſſible, and indeavor to make himſelf maſter of the fort at Camaret, and that ſix other men of war ſhould be added to the former to cover him in landing: viz. the Greenwich of four and fifty guns, the Charles-galley, of two and thirty, the Shoreham of two and thirty, the Darkenſtein of four and forty, the Weſep of thirty, and the Wolf of thirty, all which the marquis undertook ſo to poſt, that they ſhould bear upon the caſtle to the beſt advantage.

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Eight ſhips enter the bay with great difficulty and danger.

This was, nevertheleſs, a work of great difficulty and danger; for no ſooner was the Monk come within reach of the enemy's mortars, but they began to throw bombs at her from Point-des-Fillettes, and the weſtern point of Camaret-bay; and the reſt of the ſhips that followed were ſurpriſed with three batteries more, which they never perceived, till they felt their ſhot. But under all theſe difficulties the brave marquis made a ſhift to poſt the eight ſhips, in ſuch manner, as gave great ſuccor to the landing-forces, and did the French conſiderable miſchief; dropping their anchors, and firing with ſo much reſolution, that the French began twice to run out of Camaret-fort; but they could eaſily perceive the enemy very advantageouſly intrenched, at every place, where there was any poſſibility of landing, and great numbers of foot were drawn behind the trenches.

Some forces land; but are repulſed with great loſs.

Amidſt theſe difficulties, there could be no proſecution of that regular landing which was propoſed by the lord Cutts, and had been agreed on. However, the undaunted general Talmaſh was reſolute in the enterpriſe, tho' unlikely to ſucceed; and therefore, with a ſmall number of well-boats, and about nine hundred men (Burnet ſays ſix hundred) went aſhoar, in a confuſed manner, under a little rock, on the ſouth-ſide of the ſmall bay; but immediately a detachment of the French marines, fell in upon them, with ſo much fury, that the Engliſh were forced to retire to their boats, in great diſorder; and, it happening at the ſame time to be an ebb-tide, moſt of the boats ſtuck faſt, ſo that the men on board them were either miſerably ſlaughtered, or forced to beg quarter; Burnet ſays, not above a hundred came back; ſo that in this action were ſlain, wounded, or taken priſoners, of the land-troops, at leaſt five hundred men, and the brave lieutenant-general Talmaſh himſelf, being wounded in the thigh, died ſoon after at Plymouth (3). The Monk, Charles-galley and Shoreham, three of the ſhips which were ſent to protect the landing, and to batter the French forts, were very much ſhattered, and in them, and the others, a good number of men were kill'd and wounded. A Dutch frigat of thirty guns, called the Weſep, was ſunk, and her captain kill'd: beſide ſeveral other damages; and it was with incredible labor and hazard, that the marquis of Caermarthen brought the ſhips off,

(1) The earl of Nottingham, then ſecretary of ſtate, reflected very ſeverely on admiral Ruſſel, on this account, and for returning to Spithead, when he had land-forces on board for that ſervice, without attempting it, there being then no French troops there, or fortifications to hinder ſuch a deſcent.

(2 Biſhop Burnet ſays, that when our fleet came ſo near to ſee what preparations they had made for their defenſe, the council of officers, were all againſt making the attempt; but Talmaſh had ſet his heart ſo much upon it, that he could not be diverted from it. He would not be perſuaded, but the number of people they ſaw were rabble, brought together to make a ſhew; but he was ſoon undeceived, to his coſt.

The famous engineer Vauban, whom the King of France had imployed to put Breſt, and the places in the harbor which was likely to be attack'd, in a poſture of defence, wrote to the King, before the Engliſh fleet arrived: "That his Majeſty need be under "no apprehenſions, that he had made all the ſubterraneous paſſages under the caſtle bomb-proof, that he had placed ninety "mortars, and three hundred pieces of cannon, in proper places; that all the ſhips were out of the reach of the enemy's "bombs, and all the troops in good order; that there were three hundred bombardeers in the place, three hundred gentlemen, "four thouſand men, regular troops; and a regiment of dragoons juſt arrived.

(3) Some have pretended to ſay that this gallant officer was deſtined to be a ſacrifice in this undertaking, by the envy of ſome of his pretended friends; it being certain, that the French had time to provide themſelves againſt a deſign, which was become a town-talk in London, ſome months before it was put in execution. Burnet gives him the character of a brave and generous man, and a good officer, very fit to animate and incourage inferior officers and ſoldiers; but, adds he, he was much too apt to be diſcontented, and turn mutinous; ſo that, upon the whole, he was one of thoſe dangerous men, who are capable of doing as much miſchief as good ſervice.

A little before his death he is reported to have ſaid, that as he loſt his life in the performance of his duty to ſo good a Prince, he was perfectly eaſy as to that; but it was a great trouble to him, that the government had been ſo baſely betrayed.

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with all their riging cut to pieces, and moſt of their ſails and yards diſabled. It was, indeed, no wonder that they far'd no better, for the whole extent of the bays of Camaret and Bertheaume, was, in a manner, one continued fortification: for where-ever there was a place, fit for landing of troops, there had the French raiſed batteries and intrenchments, and they threw bombs, at the ſhips, from five or ſix places (1).

The land-forces being imbarked, a general council of war was held, and as the attempt upon Breſt was found impracticable, the debate was what could be done with the fleet and army. The lieutenant-general informed them, he was not authorized to attempt any other place; it was therefore agreed to repair to Spithead, to land the troops, and refit the ſhips; and thus ended this fruitleſs expedition.

The ſquadron returns to St. Helens.

The 15th of June, the ſquadron arrived at St. Helens, and there found orders from the Queen, that a council of war, of the general and flag-officers, ſhould conſider how the ſhips and troops might be beſt imployed: and, purſuant to theſe orders, as ſoon as the fleet was refited, it was reſolved firſt to bombard Diep, and then to do what other prejudice they could, along the French coaſt. In the mean time, the lord Berkley having orders to ſtop all ſhips he ſhould meet with, in his paſſage, bound for France, took about ſeventy ſail, coming from the North, laden with corn, and ſea-ſtores (2).

The lord Berkley takes ſeveral prizes.

Diep bombarded.

Bad weather, and other diſappointments prevented the bombardment of Diep, till the 12th of July; but that day 1100 bombs and carcaſſes were thrown into it, with ſuch ſucceſs, that it ſoon appeared in flames in ſeveral places. The townſmen deſpairing to quench the raging conflagration, began to run away in the greateſt diſorder; whereupon two regiments of the militia of Bretagne were ſent to incourage them; but the confuſion was ſo great and the fire ſo dreadful, that the ſoldiers themſelves fled with the reſt. Had the Engliſh known what had paſſed, they might, in all probability, have poſſeſſed themſelves of the place: however, they ſo ruined it, that the greateſt part of the houſes (being then, as F. Daniel ſays all of wood) were reduced to aſhes, and ſcarce any left unſhattered (3). The night before, a machine-veſſel (or as father Daniel calls it, an infernal machine) was blown up at the Pier-head; but with little or no ſucceſs. It made a frightful noiſe, but did little execution, occaſioned, as it was ſuppoſed, by the head lying too low. Captain Dunbar, who commanded this veſſel, behaved himſelf with great bravery: for the fuſee going out, he went on board again in perſon and ſet fire to it; for which, both himſelf and the men he took with him, were deſervedly rewarded. The French did what they could to conceal the damages they ſuſtained: but they were, however, very conſiderable (4).

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The 14th the fleet ſailed from Diep, moſt of the few houſes which were ſtanding being on fire. The 16th, they began to bombard the town of Havre-de Grace, under the direction of captain Bembow, which they continued till the next morning, when the wind blowing hard, they gave over: but had already ſo good ſucceſs, that the town was in flames in ſeveral places, and had burnt all the night. It continued, likewiſe burning, till the 18th. When the weather growing calm, towards evening, the following night was ſpent in throwing 250 bombs more into the town; ſo that, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, at leaſt, a third part of it was deſtroyed (5). The weather being very bad the 19th, all the bomb-veſſels were ordered off again: and, it was agreed, in a council of war, that it would be to no purpoſe to ſtay longer before Havre-de-Grace (6). It was

Havre de Grace bombarded.

(1) Let us now ſee what account the French give of this matter. F. Daniel ſays; that the lord Berkley came into the bay of Camaret, with a ſquadron of ſix and fifty men of war, bombs, and other veſſels. General Talmaſh made a deſcent, at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, and between eight or nine hundred men, which were landed by a great number of Shalloops. A briſk fire inſued, as well from the Engliſh on one ſide, as from the French batteries and intrenchments on land, on the other. The Sieur de Benoiſe, captain of a French company of marines, obſerving that there was ſome confuſion among the Engliſh troops, ſalied out, ſword in hand, at the head of ſixty men, being immediately followed by another company. He defeated the enemy, killed a great number of their men, and purſued them to their ſhalloops, into which they threw themſelves in ſuch numbers, that they could by no means get them off. Upon this the count de Servon, marſhal de Camp, the ſieurs de Vaiſe, brigadier of foot, and du Pleſſis, brigadier of horſe, march'd a ſquadron of the regiment of de Pleſſis up to the ſhoar, which ſoon obliged the Engliſh, in the boats which were ſtranded, to demand quarter. The others, which had not yet made their deſcent, retreated, under favor of the cannon of their ſhips. A Dutch veſſel, which ventured too near the ſhoar, ran aground, and was obliged to ſurrender. The Engliſh loſt four hundred men in the deſcent, among whom was their general Talmaſh; and forty officers, with five ſoldiers made priſoners, many more were drowned; and a bomb happening to fall into a bomb-veſſel full of ſoldiers, it blew up, with all that were in it. This enterprize coſt the Engliſh and Dutch, two thouſand men; they burnt one of their veſſels in the night, and another of ſixty pieces of cannon was run a-ground. The French on the contrary, had no more than five and forty ſlain. Some particulars of this relation, hitherto, muſt be read with a ſmall allowance; but what follows ſeems to have pretty much the face of truth. Monſieur de Vauban (ſays the ſame author) who commanded at Breſt, had taken all his precautions with an admirable skill, as well with regard to the batteries as the intrenchments, in which was placed a battallion of marines, with ſome other ſoldiers, under the command of the marquis de Langeron.

(2) Theſe ſhips were all reclaimed by the Swediſh and Daniſh miniſters, as belonging to their reſpective Sovereigns; however, after a ſtrict examination of the matter, above twenty of them were condemned, and adjudged lawful prize. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 690.

(3) Biſhop Burnet, ſays it was burnt almoſt to the ground.

(4) The following letter from the marquis de Bevron to the King of France, was publiſhed at Paris, to ſooth the people, and extenuate the loſs at Diep.

" From yeſterday noon to this morning at four o'clock, the enemy continued throwing bombs in great number, and played " with the cannon upon the troops which appeared. About half an hour after eleven, that night, they ſent in a machine, with " a purpoſe to enter the port, which I had cauſed to be barred up, and inſtead of that, it ſtruck again the Gallot, but without " any effect. The city, the houſes of which are wood, ſtanding cloſe to one another, have ſuffered a little, in the quarter " where the fire began, which was only kindled by one bomb, in one only houſe, for the reſt never kindled in the other quar- " ters", &c. This deceitful account could not, however, gain credit long: private letters, full of complaints and lamentations " ſoon laid open the fallacy of it: I ſhall give the reader an inſtance of one:

" It was happy for you that you made your eſcape; I wiſh I had done ſo too. If you had ſtaid you would have ſaid the " D----l had been looſe: there was nothing to be ſeen in the air but fire and flame.

" The Engliſh are very D--ls with their fire. The houſes beat down and burnt are innumerable; thoſe next the ſea are " totally ruined. They have burnt ſeveral villages; and, as an addition to our miſery, have ſent us all the beggars in the pro- " vince to eat us up. The King's houſe has fared no better than the reſt. Country and city are gone to rack and ruin.

Another letter begins: " the city of Diep is utterly ruined, nor does there ſtand a houſe, that is not very much ſhattered; " all the churches are deſtroyed: the college of the fathers of the orarory, valued at a hundred thouſand crowns, is utterly " deſtroyed.

(5) Father Daniel will allow but twenty houſes to have been burnt.

(6) The author of the continuation of Rapin mentions a ſtratagem put in practiſe by the French, to leſſen the ſucceſs of the confederates in the bombardment of this town. In the ſuburb (ſays he) on the land-ſide, there is a large ſquare; thither they conveyed a great number of fagots, which they ſet fire to ſometime after the bombardment begun. The Engliſh, deceived by this artifice, directed moſt of their bombs that way, thinking to increaſe the flames, and prevent their being extinguiſhed, which in the mean time ſaved other places. Book 25. p. 208.

therefore

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The fleet returns to St. Helens.

therefore determined, to proceed to St. Helens, to repair damages; where they arrived the 26th, having firſt alarmed the French coaſt off of la Hogue and Cherburg. Having put ſix regiments aſhoar at St Helen's, they then, by the Queen's orders, ſailed to the Downs, where they arrived the 6th of Auguſt. Attempts were afterwards made, by detached ſquadrons, at Dunkirk and Calais, but with little or no ſucceſs (1).

Proceedings of the confederate fleet in the Mediterranean.

I have already obſerved above, that admiral Ruſſel parted with the lord Berkley, the 5th of June, and on the five and twentieth of that month, he arrived off of the rock of Liſbon. Captain John Jennings, with the Mary and Adventure, being ſent in to the ſhoar for intelligence, whether the enemy were or had been on that coaſt, and if they were, to ſend rear-admiral Nevil and the Dutch vice-admiral Callemberg, who were in the bay of Cadiz, inſtructions to join the fleet, with all the ſhips under their command; the admiral ſettled the proper places for rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation (2). Rear-admiral Nevil, and the two Dutch vice-admirals, Callemberg and Evertzen, having joined the fleet, with eight Engliſh, and as many Dutch men of war, it conſiſted of ſixty-three ſhips of the line, beſide nine Spaniards, who ſailed from Cadiz, with Nevil, but were not yet come to the fleet: and they had advice, that the French were between Alſaques and Barcelona, whither it was reſolved, in a council of war, to proceed.

To follow admiral Ruſſel in the whole courſe of his proceedings with the confederate fleet, in the Mediterranean, this ſummer, and the whole inſuing winter (for it was found neceſſary to leave it there) would carry me too far. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that this expedition, tho' it afforded little or no action, was very glorious to the Engliſh nation. The admiral in the name of his maſter and country, now challenged the dominion of the Mediterranean, as he had, two years before, aſſerted that of the Narrow-ſeas: and as he revived the drooping ſpirits of the Spaniards, ſo he damped the towering projects of the French. The latter were now ſenſible of their error in ſending their grand fleet into thoſe ſeas, where they were cooped up in the harbor of Toulon, and tho' the marſhal de Tourville once adventured out to ſea, with a deſign to ſlip by the Engliſh admiral, yet he quickly found ſo watchful an eye upon him, that he was forced to return to his port again. Indeed nothing is more illuſtrious in the whole courſe of King William's reign, than his fleet riding thus triumphantly in the Mediterranean; for, by this means, I ſay, the Engliſh dominions of the Streights was added to that of the Narrow-ſeas; a ſtop was put to the conquering arms of France in Catalonia; all the French coaſts were expoſed to the inſults of the confederates; and even all the Italian Princes were kept in awe; and the Venetians began now to think of ſending a ſolemn embaſſy into England, to court the friendſhip of his Britannic Majeſty.

Having done with the affairs of our fleet, for this year, I ſhould now have a regard to thoſe on the continent; but ſhall previouſly mention a tranſaction or two at home.

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Knights of the Garter inſtall'd.

The 5th of June, his electoral highneſs, Frederic III, marquis of Brandenburg, his moſt ſerene highneſs George William, duke of Brumſwic and Lunenburg, and the duke of Shrewſbury, knights elect of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, were inſtalled in St. George's chapel at Windſor; the two former by their proxies, and his grace in perſon.

The Bank-charter granted.

The 8th, a draught of a commiſſion for taking ſubſcriptions for the Bank of England, together with a ſchedule containing the draught of a charter for the corporation of the ſaid bank, were firſt approv'd and ſign'd by her Majeſty; and the charter, which was to paſs under the great ſeal of England, after the firſt day of Auguſt, if the ſum of 1,200,000 l. or one moiety, or more thereof, ſhould be ſubſcribed by that time, or ſooner, if the whole ſhould be ſooner ſubſcribed, was accordingly granted towards the middle of July; the commiſſioners having taken ſubſcriptions amounting to that full ſum, by the 5th of that month.

Col nel Parker apprehended; but eſcapes.

While King William was abroad, colonel John Parker was apprehended and commited to the Tower, being charg'd with a deſign to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty ſome time before; but he was ſo fortunate to eſcape out of that priſon and get over to France. But to return to Flanders (3).

Campain in Flanders.

Little or nothing was done in theſe parts, the begining of this campain. The 9th of Auguſt, the confederate army, under King William's command, was incamp'd at Mont. St. André. It then conſiſted of 31,000 horſe and dragoons, and 51,000 foot, all as fine troops as ever had been ſeen in the field; and beſide theſe, there was a body of about 7,000 men, under the command of count Thian, near Ghent. The French were not much inferior in number; great deſigns were form'd on both ſides, and each ſide thought they had ſufficiently provided againſt thoſe of their enemies. Both armies, in the mean time, lay ſtill, watching one another's motions; and the Dauphin, who commanded the French army, in perſon, declared, he had orders from his father, not to ſtir from his camp near Huy, as long as the confederates continued in theirs at Mont St. André: and, as the eyes of all Europe were fix'd on theſe two formidable armies, it was generally believed, that which ever ſhould be oblig'd to decamp firſt, would have the diſadvantage of it. The Dauphin, however, at length, not being able to ſubſiſt, reſolved to decamp firſt, and tho' he thought to have concealed his deſign, by ſending out ſeveral detachments of horſe, under pretenſe of forraging, to re-inforce the marquis d' Harcourt's body (on the other ſide of the Meuſe) who was to ſeize the advantageous poſt of Pieton; yet King William, who ſuſpected his deſign, decamp'd before him, on the 18th of Auguſt, N. S. and ſoon gain'd that poſt, where he found forrage only for about four days: his Majeſty, being inform'd of the enemy's march, moved, on the 20th, from Sombref to Nivelle, on the 21ſt to Soignies, the 22d to Chevre, on the other ſide of Aeth, and the

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that tho' theſe bombardments ſeemed inhumane, the French had no right to complain, ſince they themſelves firſt began them, at Genoa, and other places: not to mention their cruelties in the Palatinate.

(2) As the chief deſign of this powerful fleet's being ſent to the Mediterranean, was by blocking up the French fleet in Toulon, not only to ſecure our own ports and trade, but likewiſe to ſecure the maritime towns of Spain from the inſults of the French, the arrival of it was matter of great joy to the King of Spain, who, in teſtimony of it, ſent the admiral a preſent of four and twenty thouſand crowns, and the vice-admiral twelve thouſand.

(3) The death of the biſhop and Prince of Liege, towards the begining of this year, gave the French ſome hopes of imbroiling the affairs of the confederates on that ſide: but the choice of the elector of Cologn, by the major part of the chapter, and of the grand maſter of the Teutonick order, brother of the Empreſs, by the reſt, in oppoſition to the cardinal de Bouillon, who was put up by France, broke all their meaſures. This double return to the Emperor and the Pope, for confirmation, had like to have been attended by fatal conſequences on the other ſide; one candidate being ſo nearly allied to the Imperial houſe, and the other being brother to the elector of Bavaria, whoſe intereſt was likewiſe ſupported by King William, and the States-general: but the grand maſter dying in the interim, the elector was ſoon after put in the peaceful poſſeſſion of that biſhopric and principality: which, together with the great power of the allies in Flanders, this campain, made things look with an ill aſpect on the affairs of France.

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23d to Grames, near Aeth. The 24th, the elector of Bavaria was detach'd, with a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſome pieces of cannon, to poſſeſs himſelf of a poſt upon the Scheld, and the reſt of the army followed, with the deſign to have paſs'd that river at Pont-Eſperies: but notwithſtanding all the diligence of the confederates to get thither, yet, it appear'd, that the French had taken more to prevent them: for, on the 25th, the elector being advanced towards Pont d'Eſchauffe, in order to force the paſſage of the river, he found the French, to the number of 30,000, ſo well intrench'd on the other ſide, that he did not think it prudence to purſue his enterprize. This haſty march coſt the French, indeed, a great number of men and horſes, but that loſs was very inconſiderable, in compariſon of the advantage they gain'd by hindering the allies from penetrating into French Flanders, where, conſidering their ſtrength, they might probably have made ſome important conqueſt, or, at leaſt, have ſecur'd good winter-quarters, in their dominions (1).

Huy town and caſtel taken by the allies.

King William, finding it impoſſible to attempt any thing on that ſide, ſince the French had deeply intrench'd themſelves near Courtray, and had ſent ſtrong detachments to cover Ipres, Menin, Berg St. Vinox, Furnes and Dunkirk, his Majeſty reſolved to lay hold on this occaſion, to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the town and caſtle of Huy. In purſuance of this reſolution, Prince Tſerclaes de Tilly paſs'd the Meuſe, and inveſted that place, with all the horſe and dragoons of the biſhopric of Liege, a detachment of Brandenburg horſe, and ſome infantry. The duke of Holſtein-Ploen, who was appointed to command that ſiege, arriving, the next day, with ſixteen regiments of foot, the town, at his approach, immediately ſurrender'd.

The batteries were rais'd againſt the caſtle, by the 19th of September, N. S. and the 21ſt the trenches were open'd. The attacks were carried on with ſo much vigor, that all things being ready for an aſſault by the 27th, the governor beat a parly, and ſurrender'd that fortreſs the next day (2): and thus ended the campain in Flanders: upon which, the King return'd to the Hague, where he ſtaid till the 8th of November.

Campain in Piemont;

In Piemont very little was done this campain: for tho' the duke of Savoy openly rejected the offers made him by France, after his defeat at Marſiglia, and, at the inſtances of England, granted liberty of conſcience to his Proteſtant ſubjects the Vaudois; yet he was, at the ſame time, carrying on a ſecret negociation with the grand Monarch. This render'd him ſupinely inactive on his ſide, and the French as careleſs on theirs, and when every one expected, that the confederate army would have laid ſiege to Caſal, and the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe was not in the leaſt doubted of, they were ſatisfied with taking Fort St. George, which ſerved only to block up that place more cloſely. Nor did they do any thing farther, during this campain, worthy our notice.

In Catalonia, the French, under the command of the marſhal de Noailles, were triumphant: for being 30,000 ſtrong, and much ſuperior to the Spaniards, they arrived, the 26th of May, on the banks of the river Ter, which they took a reſolution to paſs, notwithſtanding they found the Spaniards intrench'd on the other ſide. This they did, the ſame evening, forcing the Spaniards to abandon their intrenchments, with the loſs of their baggage. This advantage was followed by the ſiege of Palamos, which, after having held out a week, was taken by ſtorm, with great ſlaughter of the Spaniſh gariſon, the 7th of June, and ſoon after the gariſon of St. Felix, Quinola, and the caſtle of St. Elmo, withdrew their gariſons. Gironne, a well fortified town, pretended to make a ſtout reſiſtance; however, after about ten days ſiege, they ſurrender'd, on the 29th of the ſame month, on very ignominious terms. Oſtalrick and Caſtlefolet, falling, likewiſe, into the hands of the French, they were now ſo fluſh'd with ſucceſs, that they threatned nothing leſs than the ſiege of Barcelona, and they had probably ſucceeded there too, had not the arrival of the confederate fleet, under admiral Ruſſel, in the Mediterranean, as I have given an account above, put a ſtop to the career of their victories.

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In Germany, nothing of moment happen'd; what advantage was gain'd, tho' ſmall, was on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, and it might probably have been greater had they purſued it, when fortune pointed out the way for them. Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded them, lying incamp'd near Heilbrun, the marſhal de Lorge, with the French army under his command, croſs'd the Rhine, and march'd up towards him, in order of battle. The Prince, believing their intention was to fight him, march'd on to meet them; but the French finding him in earneſt, retreated toward Wieſelock, paſs'd the Neckar, burnt the town of Laudenburg, and ruin'd the flat country. Prince Lewis, tho' he was not yet join'd by the Saxons, was ſo inraged at this, that he advanced to Wieſelock, an advantageous poſt, which he took, after a ſharp rencounter, in which the French loſt 300 men, and the Germans about 150. Hereupon monſ. de Lorge repaſs'd the Rhine, and, for ſome time, the two armies only obſerved one another. At length, Prince Lewis croſs'd the Rhine, in his turn; of which the French general being adviſed, he march'd towards Landau. The Prince, on the other hand, advanced, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall places, and of all the paſſes, as far as Croon-Weiſſemburg. Here it was expected that the Germans would have purſued their good fortune, and have forced the French to a battle, or, at leaſt, have ſecured winter-quarters, on that ſide the Rhine: but they did neither; on the contrary, the Imperialiſts repaſs'd the Rhine, a few days after, and were contented with carrying away 14,000 head of cattle, and having deſtroy'd a vaſt quantity of forrage in the country, and ſome magazines belonging to the

And Germany.

(1) The French King was ſo ſenſible of this ſervice, that he writ a letter, which he order'd to be read at the head of the army, in which he return'd thanks, in the firſt place, to the Princes of the blood, next to the marſhal de Luxemburg, as having a principal ſhare in the conduct, then to the reſt of the marſhals of France, and all the general officers; and, laſtly, to all the French and Swiſs infantry, regiment by regiment, acknowledging how much he was beholden to their zeal and incredible diligence. Hiſtory of King William, vol. 2. p. 392.

If the account given us by the continuator of Rapin in French, of the marches of theſe two armies, be to be depended on, there muſt have been an impardonable neglect, if not ſome treachery, on the ſide of the confederates: for, according to him, the allies, who march'd firſt, had but eighteen leagues to go, in a plain even way; whereas the French, who did not ſtir, till they had notice of the march of the confederates, had forty-two leagues to march, in a way cut by ſeveral rivers and brooks, which could not but very much retard their march; notwithſtanding all which difficulties, they arrived firſt, at the important paſs, and had time to retrench themſelves there. And, indeed, it was but too common, for King William's well laid deſigns to be fruſtrated, by ſome ſuch unaccountable means or other. Our author here lays the blame, and ſeemingly with reaſon, on the ſupinity, and too great ſecurity of the officers of the confederate army; and particularly on the two generals who were order'd to ſecure the paſſage over the Scheld. Book 25. p. 200.

(2) By this conqueſt, the French were totally expelled out of the biſhopric of Liege: for St. Dinant was, at that time, a part of France. This ſiege was particularly remarkable for the fine and numerous artillery which was imploy'd at it; and the dexterity with which it was managed. It conſiſted of 120 cannon and mortars, and during this ſhort ſiege, 25,000 cannon-balls, and between ſeven and eight hundred bombs were thrown into the place.

French,

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French, with which they put an end to the campain: but to return to the King.

The King returns to England.

His Majeſty, as I have ſaid above, having finiſh'd the campain, in Flanders, imbark'd on the William and Mary-yacht, in the Maeſe, the 8th of November, being attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of the lord-marquis of Caermarthen, and the next day, about noon, he landed at Margate, and lay that night at Canterbury. The Queen met him, the next day, at Rocheſter, and, the ſame night, between eleven and twelve their Majeſties came to Kenſington.

The parliament meets.

The 12th of November, the parliament being met, according to their laſt prorogation, the King went to the houſe of lords, and being attended by the commons, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

"That he was glad to meet them, when he could "ſay their affairs were in a better poſture, both by "ſea and land, than when they parted laſt. That "the enemy had not been in a condition to op"poſe the confederate fleet, in theſe ſeas; that the "ſending ſo great a force into the Mediterranean "had diſappointed their deſigns, and left the na"tion a proſpect of farther ſucceſs; and that with "reſpect to the war by land, he thought he might "ſay, that, this year, a ſtop had been put to the "progreſs of the French arms.

He then addreſs'd himſelf to the houſe of commons; "of whoſe good affection to him, and of "whoſe zeal for the public (he ſaid) he had ſo "much experience, that he could not doubt of "their aſſiſtance at this time; he earneſtly recom"mended to them; firſt, to provide ſuch ſupplies "as might inable him to proſecute the war with "vigor, which was the only means to procure peace "to Chriſtendom, with the ſafety and honor of "England. Secondly, to continue the act of "tonage and poundage, which expired at Chriſt"mas, and which was the more neceſſary at this "time, in regard the ſeveral branches of the re"venue were under great anticipations; and laſt"ly, the debt for the tranſport-ſhips, imploy'd in "the reducing of Ireland, which was a caſe of "compaſſion, and deſerv'd relief.

He cloſed his ſpeech, by telling both houſes; "that he ſhould be glad they would take into their "conſideration, the preparing ſome good bill for "the incouragement of Engliſh ſea-men, which "law, they were ſenſible, would tend to the ad"vancement of trade, and of the naval ſtrength of "the kingdom, which was their common great in"tereſt, and ought to be their greateſt care."

A bill for frequent parliaments.

The firſt common buſineſs of parliament being over, the commons adjourned to the 19th. When, the next thing they did, was to order mr. Harley to prepare and bring in "a bill for the frequent meeting "and calling of parliaments;" a bill they had been ſo earneſt upon in the foregoing ſeſſion, and which they ſeemed reſolved to ſtickle for in this. The bill was preſented accordingly, the 22d of November, the 13th of December, it was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, who, on the 18th, gave concurrence to it, without any amendment.

A ſupply voted.

The 21ſt of November, the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply to their Majeſties; and having afterwards examined the eſtimate for the next year's ſervice for the war; the account of the mony paid to the fleet, to the army, to the allies, and for forage, and the quota's that the confederates were ſeverally to furniſh, they reſolved, the 30th, "that "the ſum of 2,382,712 l. be granted for the main- "tenance of the navy;" and, on the 4th of December, "that the ſum of 2,500,000 l. be grant- "ed for the ſupport of the land-forces, for the "ſervice of the year 1695.

WILLIAM & MARY. AN' 1694.

To raiſe theſe vaſt ſums, it was reſolved, firſt, "that an aid of 4 s. in the pound be granted to "their Majeſties, to be laid and levied, in the ſame "manner as formerly;" and, ſecondly, "that the "ſubſidies of tonage and poundage be continued, "for the term of five years longer, begining on "the 26th of that month of December." The King ſoon went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal ſanction to the bill, that had been brought in and paſſed, according to this ſecond reſolution. At the ſame time his Majeſty, to the general ſatisfaction of the commons, gave likewiſe, his royal aſſent to the act for triennial parliaments (1).

Death of archbiſhop Tillotſon.

About this time died, at his palace at Lambeth, dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age. After the deprivation of archbiſhop Sancroft, he ſucceeded him, in that eminent ſtation, in May 1691. As his piety, learning, charity, and moderation, had gained him the eſteem of ſuch as looked upon the toleration of the Diſſenters, to be the beſt means to ſecure, and even to inlarge the church of England, and, on the other hand, as his conſtant care and ſtedfaſt zeal for the national church, of which he was ſo eminent a pillar, indeared him to all true ſons of that community, ſo his death was greatly lamented by all ſincere lovers of unity and peace among Chriſtians. The purity of his morals, which ſhined thro' all his ſermons, were no more than a copy of his life and converſation; and as the latter may juſtly be laid down as a model, for the imitation of all Proteſtant prelates, ſo the purity of his ſtile, in the former, will ever be a ſtanding pattern to all who aim at writing true Engliſh. He was ſucceeded by dr. Tenniſon biſhop of Lincoln.

His character.

Death of Queen Mary.

This truly worthy prelate was not long ſurvived by his royal miſtreſs, Queen Mary, whoſe character ſhone as bright, in every reſpect, among thoſe of her high ſtation, as his among thoſe of his eminent dignity. She was taken ill, at her palace at Kenſington, on Friday the 21ſt of December, and the diſtemper, which appeared to be the Small-pox, grew, in a few days, ſo violent, and was accompanied by ſuch mortal ſymptoms, that in ſpight of the moſt exquiſite care of her phyſicians, her Majeſty departed this life, on Friday, the 28th, about one in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign, leaving the King under an inexpreſſible grief and affliction, and the whole kingdom under the deepeſt and moſt ſenſible ſorrow, for the loſs of a Princeſs poſſeſſed of ſo much piety, clemency, goodneſs, and of every other great and exemplary royal virtue.

Oppoſition made to the validity of the King's title, after the Queen's death.

The death of Queen Mary, tho' it gave occaſion to what we may call a new reign; yet made no alteration but in the royal title, which now, inſtead of that of William and Mary, was changed to William III. There were not, indeed, wanting reſtleſs ſpirits, who, notwithſtanding the order of ſucceſſion, ſettled and eſtabliſhed at the revolution, pretended to inſinuate, that the Princeſs of Denmark ought immediately to ſucceed her ſiſter, who alone had a right to the throne, and as King William acceeded to it, in her right only, that right ceaſed by her death, and of courſe devolved to the next heir. Theſe pretenſes, being

(1) By this bill it was inacted, that a parliament ſhould be held once in three years at leaſt, and that no parliament ſhould continue longer than three years, from the day appointed by the writs for their meeting.

The ſame day this act paſſed the royal aſſent, mr. Dyer, a news-letter-writer, was reprimanded by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, for preſuming to intermeddle with their proceedings.

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directly oppoſite to an expreſs act of parliament, fell away of courſe: but the ſame party which made this oppoſition to King William's right, being defeated in their expectations, raiſed another objection, which, at firſt view, ſeemed to carry ſomething more of reaſon with it, viz. that the preſent parliament having been convened in the name of William and Mary, was of courſe diſſolved, by the death of this Princeſs. This poſition, had it taken place, might, at this time, have been of infinite prejudice to the King and nation. All public affairs muſt have been ſuſpended, at a time when every interruption would have been pernicious. New elections might have cauſed great diſorders throughout the whole kingdom, and a new parliament might have been of yet worſe conſequence: but it happily appeared, that the ſame act, which veſted King William and Queen Mary with the royal dignity, veſted King William with the ſole and whole adminiſtration of the government, which fully anſwered this objection, and put an end to that deſtructive project.

And to the eſſence of the ſaid parliament.

But in vain.

In the mean time, both houſes of parliament, to ſhew their deteſtation of theſe principles, attended his Majeſty, the laſt day of the year, with their addreſſes of condolance, on this melancholy occaſion.

The lords addreſs of condolance.

"The lords humbly aſſured his Majeſty, with "inexpreſſible grief, of the deep ſenſe they had of "the loſs his Majeſty and the whole kingdom "ſuſtained by the death of that excellent Princeſs, "the Queen: beſeeching his Majeſty, that he "would not indulge his grief, to the prejudice of "the health of his royal perſon; in whoſe preſervation, not only the welfare of his own ſubjects, but of all Chriſtendom, was ſo nearly concerned. They alſo begged leave to renew to his "Majeſty the hearty and ſincere aſſurances of "their utmoſt aſſiſtance, againſt all his enemies, "both at home and abroad, and of all other "demonſtrations of the greateſt duty and affection, "that could poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful "ſubjects.

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwer'd: "That "he heartily thank'd them for their kindneſs to "him: but much more for the ſenſe they ſhew'd "of their great loſs, which was above what he "could expreſs.

The commons "condoled, with unſpeakable "grief of heart, the irreparable loſs of that moſt "excellent Princeſs, to enumerate whoſe virtues "(ſaid they) were to aggravate our ſorrow.

Addreſs of the commons.

"We cannot (added they) but bleſs God for the "preſervation of your Majeſty to us, on whoſe "life the welfare and happineſs of this kingdom, "and the liberties of Europe, do, in ſo great a "meaſure, depend; humbly beſeeching your "Majeſty, ſo to moderate your grief, under this "affliction, as not to prejudice or indanger your "health, and that your Majeſty would pleaſe to "take ſuch farther care of your royal perſon, that "we may all injoy the bleſſing of your Majeſty's "long life, and happy reign: we do alſo (ſaid they "in the concluſion) look upon it as a duty we "owe, to your Majeſty, to ourſelves, and to "thoſe we repreſent, to take this occaſion of "aſſuring your Majeſty, that we, your faithful "commons, will always, to the utmoſt of our "power, ſtand by, ſupport and defend your Ma-"jeſty, and your government, againſt all your "enemies, both at home and abroad."

To which, the King made anſwer; "that he "took very kindly their care of him, and the pub-"lic: eſpecially at this time, when he was able "to think of nothing but their great loſs.

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His Majeſty's anſwer.

Theſe addreſſes of condolance were, ſoon after, followed by the like from the city of London, and moſt corporations throughout his Majeſty dominions. But nothing gave greater ſatisfaction to the King, than a letter he received from her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Ann, of Denmark, in which, "ſhe deſired him to accept of her ſincere and hear-"ty ſorrow, for his great affliction, in the loſs of "the Queen: and did aſſure his Majeſty, that ſhe "was as ſenſibly troubled with his misfortune, as "if ſhe had never been ſo unhappy to fall under "her diſpleaſure. She earneſtly deſired his Ma-"jeſty to give her leave to wait upon him, as ſoon "as it could be, with no inconveniency to him, "and without danger of increaſing his affliction, "that ſhe might have an opportunity, in perſon, "not only of repeating this, but aſſuring his Ma-"jeſty, of her real intention, to omit no occaſion "of giving him conſtant proofs of her ſincere re-"ſpect and concern for his perſonal intereſt and "ſafety." By this all apprehenſions were removed of the Princeſs's forming a party againſt his Majeſty, and he took theſe offers of friendſhip ſo kindly, that he is ſaid to have immediately made her a preſent of the greater part of the late Queen's jewels (1).

An' 1695.

Princeſs Ann's letter to King William.

Having given a brief account of the univerſal ſorrow occaſioned by the death of this excellent Princeſs, it might be expected, that I ſhould draw a ſketch of her character: but as that has been ſo often done by others already, and it is ſo univerſally known, as well as admired, I ſhall only ſum it up, in theſe few words: "that ſhe was a tender and "reſpectful wife, a kind friend, a gentle miſtreſs, a "gracious Queen, a good Chriſtian, and the beſt "of women; and as ſhe was the glory and delight "of this happy iſland, ſo her memory will ever "be bleſſed, and live among us."

Character of the Queen.

The royal corps having lain in ſtate, at Whitehall, till the 5th of March, was that day inter'd, with great magnificence. Not only her Majeſty's houſhold ſervants, but all the judges, ſerjeants at law, lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and, what raiſed that mournful pomp to the higheſt pitch of ſplendor, both houſes of parliament, attended the remains of that incomparable Princeſs, from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abby, the ducheſs of Somerſet being chief mourner. The archbiſhop of Canterbury having preach'd a funeral oration, in honor of her late Majeſty's bleſſed and pious memory, the royal corps was afterward depoſited in a vault in King Henry the VIIth's chapel.

Her funeral.

But to return to the proceedings in parliament. The bill I mentioned above, "for the frequent "meeting of parliaments," having happily received the royal aſſent, before the death, and even before the ſickneſs of the Queen, was a favorable incident for King William: for had he not given his aſſent to that bill, till after the Queen's death, people would have been apt to judge, that the neceſſity of his affairs had obliged him to it. But now, the commons, being ſatisfied in that point, went unanimouſly about the ſupply, and other affairs of importance.

Proceedings in parliament.

The 12th of January, it was ordered; that a "ſtate of the revenue, with the loans, debts, and "charges thereupon, and likewiſe an account of "the eſtabliſhment, charge and expenſe of the

Ways and means.

(1) It is ſaid that the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, dr. Tenniſon, laying hold of this favorable opportunity to reconcile the Royal family, repreſented to his Majeſty, both her Royal Highneſs's, and her Royal Conſort Prince George of Denmark's prudent and loyal conduct, during their receſs from court; urging, that by their intereſt, they might have given his Majeſty conſiderable diſturbance; but they were ſo far from any ſuch deſign, that thoſe members of either houſe of parliament, who had places under their Highneſſes, had always appeared foremoſt, in promoting his Majeſty's intereſt. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 2.

civil

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" civil liſt, ſhould be laid before the houſe, by " the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and thoſe for " taking and ſtating the public accounts." The ſaid ſtate and account having been communicated accordingly, and examined in the houſe, " the bill " for granting to his Majeſty an aid of four ſhil- " lings in the pound" was brought into form, and another bill tacked to it; " for applying the yearly " ſum of 30,000 l. for five years, out of the duties " ariſing by an act of this preſent ſeſſion of parlia- " ment, for granting to his Majeſty a ſubſidy of " tonage and poundage, &c." Theſe two bills, thus made into one, were read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, on the 7th of February, and ſent back by their lordſhips, without any amendments, on the 11th. The King went, the ſame day, to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction to that, and two other acts, viz. " one for exempting of apothecaries ſerving " upon juries, and other pariſh and ward-offices; " and another for rebuilding the town of Warwick, " and for determining differences touching houſes " burnt or demoliſhed, by reaſon of the late dread- " ful fire there.

Lancaſhire plot examin'd into.

The 6th of February, the houſe of commons, after ſeveral hearings, ſtrict examinations and long debates, which had continued, at the ſeveral appointed times, for the ſpace of eleven weeks, proceeded farther in reading ſeveral informations and papers, delivered in to the houſe, by mr. Aaron Smith, touching certain proceedings and trials in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire (1). After reading of theſe and ſeveral other, as well written as printed papers, the houſe came to the following reſolutions, viz. that it did appear to the houſe; firſt, " that there " was ſufficient grounds for the proſecution and " trials of the gentlemen at Mancheſter, " and " ſecondly, that there was a dangerous plot carried " on againſt the government."

The ſame complaints were afterwards laid before the houſe of peers, where, after examining ſome witneſſes, and many debates, the queſtion being put; " whether the government had ſufficient cauſe " to proſecute the Lancaſhire and Cheſhire gentle- " men?" it was carried in the affirmative.

Proceedings againſt briberies.

Tho' this buſineſs occaſioned a great noiſe, yet that was nothing to what inſued upon the ſtrict inquiry made by the houſe of commons into bribery, and the timely check they gave to that ſcandalous and moſt dangerous corruption, which had tainted not only the agents of the army, and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, but alſo the ſpeaker of that auguſt aſſembly, and was even crept into his Majeſty's privy-council: which inquiries, tho' they afterwards went a great length, were begun on a very trivial occaſion.

The 12th of January, the inhabitants of Royſton in Hertfordſhire, came by petition before the houſe of commons, ſeting forth, " that the officers and " ſoldiers exacted ſubſiſtence-mony of them, in " their quarters." The petitioners, and likewiſe mr. Tracy Pauncefort, agent of colonel Haſtings's regiment, and the officers complained of, being examined, it was unanimouſly reſolved, the twenty-third of that month, " that the officers and ſoldiers " of the army demanding and exacting ſubſiſtence- " mony, in their quarters, or upon their march, " is arbitrary and illegal, and a great violation of " the rights and liberties of the ſubject," and thereupon ordered, " that the commiſſioners for taking " and ſtating the public accounts do lay before the " houſe their obſervations of the abuſes and ill " practiſes commited by the agents of the regiments " of the army, and that the ſaid agent Pauncefort " ſhould forthwith lay before the houſe a particu- " lar account of all the monies received by him, " from the earl of Ranelaugh, and the times of " ſuch receipts, ſince the 28th of May laſt; and " how he had paid the ſame, and when, and to " whom, and what remained in his hands.

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The 25th, Mr. Harley, from the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the public accounts, preſented to the houſe, purſuant to the above orders, their obſervations of the ill practiſes commited by the agents; which being taken into conſideration, and mr. Tracy Pauncefort, upon bringing in his account, the 29th, being, together with colonel Haſtings, major Montcal, and ſome other officers and agents examined, it was reſolved, by the houſe, " that agent Tracy Pauncefort, for neglecting to " pay the ſubſiſtence-mony, to the officers and ſol- " diers that quartered at Royſton, having monies " in his hands to do the ſame, be taken into the " cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the " houſe." The 12th of February, mr. Tracy Pauncefort was again examined, but refuſing to anſwer to ſeveral queſtions, tho' required to do it, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity, it was unanimouſly reſolved: " that by his obſtinate refuſal, to an- " ſwer to a matter of fact demanded of him by the " houſe, he had violated the privileges, and con- " temned the authority of the houſe, and the fun- " damental conſtitution thereof. For which offenſe he was immediately commited priſoner to the Tower. The 15th, he petitioned the commons for his diſcharge, but being thereupon again examined, and not given then ſuch anſwers as were ſatisfactory, he was remanded thither.

The next who was brought upon the ſtage, was mr. Edward Pauncefort, brother of mr. Tracy Pauncefort, who, being ſummon'd, was, on the 16th of February, examined by the houſe; after which, it was reſolved; " That he, for contriving " to cheat colonel Haſtings's regiment of five hun- " dred guineas, and for giving a bribe to obtain the " King's bounty, be taken into the cuſtody of the " ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe." He was immediately follow'd by mr. Henry Guy, a member of the houſe, in whoſe caſe, upon conſideration of the foremention'd obſervations, it was the ſame day reſolved, " That he, for taking a bribe of " two hundred guineas, be commited priſoner to " the Tower." Upon this, the houſe, on the 26th, in order to redreſs the notorious abuſes, ill practiſes, and intolerable exactions of the colonels and their agents, upon the inferior officers and common ſoldiers, agreed upon an humble repreſentation to the King, in which they laid before his Majeſty:

Repreſentation of the commons to the King.

1 " That ſome of the agents had detained the " mony due to the ſoldiers, in their hands, and " made uſe of it for their own advantage; inſtead of " immediately applying it to the ſubſiſtence of the " officers and ſoldiers, for whom they were in- " truſted.

2. " That by their intolerable exactions, and great " extortions, upon the officers and ſoldiers, for " paying mony, by way of advance, and by their " charging more for the diſcount of tallies, than

(1) It will be neceſſary to obſerve, in order to give the reader an idea of this affair: that towards the begining of this ſeſſion, ſeveral gentlemen of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, who had been tried at Mancheſter, for the Lancaſhire-plot, and acquited, inſtead of acknowledging their good fortune, and the lenity of the government, indeavored to repreſent thoſe proſecutions, as a ſtate-trick, and the contrivance of ſome courtiers to inrich themſelves by the ruin of others: They, therefore, ſubmited the whole matter to the examination of the houſe of commons; and this was the occaſion of the debates I have mentioned, and the reſolutions which inſued.

they

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" they actually paid, it appear'd ; that thoſe who " ſerved in his Majeſty's armies, notwithſtanding " they had greater pay, than is given in any " other part of the world, were yet reduced to " inconveniencies and extremities, which ought not " to be put upon thoſe, who venture their lives for " the honor and ſafety of the nation.

3. " That, in particular, colonel Haſtings had " compell'd ſome officers of his regiment, to take " their cloaths from him, at extravagant rates, by " confining and threatning thoſe, who would not " comply therewith ; by which the authority, that " might be neceſſary to be lodg'd in the colonel, " over the inferior officers, in ſome caſes, was miſ- " applied, and extended ſo as to promote a private " advantage of his own, without any regard to " his Majeſty's ſervice, or to the diſcipline of the " army.

4. " That colonel Haſtings's agent had preſumed " fraudulently to detain five hundred guineas out of " a bounty given by his Majeſty, to the officers " of that regiment, under pretenſe of giving them " as a bribe to obtain the ſame, to the diſhonor of " his Majeſty, and injury of the officers: and had " taken two-pence per pound out of the mony due " to the officers and ſoldiers ; for which deduction, " there being no warrant, the colonel, whoſe ſer- " vant the agent is, was anſwerable.

5. " That colonel Haſtings's agent had refus'd or " neglected to give an account of the pay due to " the captains of his regiment, and their compa- " nies, which tended, apparently, to the defraud- " ing the officers and ſoldiers.

6. " That ſome of the agents aſſumed to them- " ſelves, the liberty of making great deductions, " which ſince they knew not how to juſtify, they " indeavor'd to cover, by puting them under the " ſhelter of the uncertain head of contingencies, " which gave them the better opportunity of hid- " ing the frauds and abuſes, that would otherwiſe " be more liable to be detected.

7. " That colonel Haſtings had diſcharg'd an " enſign, by puting another into his room, con- " trary to the true diſcipline of an army ; from " which the colonels have no right to exempt them- " ſelves, to inlarge their own authority, to the " prejudice of his Majeſty's ſervice, and of the " officers that ſerve under them. "

8. " That colonel Haſtings had taken mony " for the recommending to commands in his regi- " ment, to the great diſcouragement of the officers " who were to ſerve in his Majeſty's armies, who " ought to be ſuch as deſerved their commands, " and not ſuch as paid for them: which things " they moſt humbly repreſented to his Majeſty, " in confidence of having them redreſs'd, by his " Majeſty's juſtice and wiſdom.

His Majeſty's anſwer.

This repreſentation being preſented to the King, the 4th of March, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer; " that he would conſider it, " and take all care poſſible to have the grievances " redreſs'd. "

In order thereto, colonel Haſtings, againſt whom the facts were notoriouſly proved, was immediately caſhier'd, and his regiment given to ſir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. But I do not find, that any other offenders were puniſhed on this account: however, to prevent the like irregularities for the future, on the 13th of March, his Majeſty's declaration was publiſhed, for the ſtrict diſcipline of the army, in which, particularly, " all " officers and ſoldiers, were ſtrictly forbid, to exact " or demand ſubſiſtence-mony in their quarters, or " on their march" (1).

Proclamation for ſtrict diſcipline.

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The commons did, indeed, proceed to call before them ſeveral of the contracters for cloathing of the army, in order to come at a farther knowledge of the male-practiſes of the colonels and their agents. Mr. James Craggs, in particular, was ſummoned to attend the houſe of commons, but upon refuſing to produce his books, or to be examined upon oath, and thereby obſtructing the inquiry of the houſe, into the diſpoſal of the public mony, it was reſolved, on the 7th of March, " that he be " commited priſoner to the Tower of London." The 26th, mr. Harley reported the farther examination of mr. Edward Pauncefort, and that mr. Richard Harnage, another of the contracters for cloathing the army, had refuſed to be examined upon oath, upon which it was ordered, " that " a bill be brought in, to oblige mr. Edward " Pauncefort, to diſcover how he diſpos'd the " monies paid into his hands, relating to the army, " and for puniſhing him in caſe he ſhould not make " ſuch diſcovery, and that mr. Tracy Pauncefort, " mr. James Craggs, and mr. Richard Harnage, " be included in the ſaid bill." The 1ſt of April, mr. Harnage was alſo order'd to be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe.

Contracters for cloathing of commited.

Theſe inquiries came, however, to little or nothing; whether it was, that ſo many great perſons were concern'd in theſe frauds, as had influence to prevent any farther proceedings, or whether the offenders, who were very numerous (2), found means to bribe ſome leading men, or whether the diſcovery of more notorious corruptions (of which I ſhall quickly give an account) took off the attention of thoſe who were to proſecute the officers and agents, to purſue more noble game, I ſhall not determine: but certain it is, they were never puniſh'd according to their deſerts: and it is as certain, that ſuch like frauds, and other ill-managements of the revenue, contributed greatly to that heavy debt, which the nation yet ſtrugles under, and that two thirds of the vaſt ſupplies, which were yearly given, honeſtly and prudently manag'd, would have gone as far, as thoſe enormous ſums.

Theſe inquiries not duly purſued.

The commiſſioners for licenſing hackney-coaches, were, likewiſe, about this time, accuſed of bribery, and three of them, viz. Henry Killegrew, Henry Villers, and Richard Gee, eſqs; upon an addreſs of the houſe of commons to his Majeſty, for that purpoſe, remov'd from the commiſſion.

Commiſſioners for Hackney-coaches removed.

But I proceed to diſplay a ſcene of iniquity among perſons of a higher rank. The Eaſt-india-company had been ſeveral times ſtruck at. Great complaints were made of their patent, as an illegal monopoly. Another company was propos'd to be erected by parliament, or, at leaſt, the trade laid open to all his Majeſty's ſubjects; but they had always found means, when they were hardeſt purſued, to ſoften thoſe gentlemen, who appear'd moſt zealous againſt their patent. It was particularly obſerv'd, that thoſe, who, in former ſeſſions, had been their greateſt enemies, were, in this ſeſſion, become their advocates. The ſuſpicions, that great ſums had been diſtributed among ſome leading members, in behalf of the company, were at length, ſo great, that the houſe of commons, thought fit, on the

Briberies in the caſe of the Eaſt-india-company inquir'd into.

(1) The King had before, on the 19th of February, in council, ordered the chief officers of the army, to meet twice a week, at the great chamber in the horſe guards, at Whitehall, to receive and examine all informations and complaints, that ſhould be brought before them, of any wrong or injury done, by any officer or ſoldier of his Majeſty's land-forces, in order to redreſs the ſame.

(2) It has been ſaid, that there was ſcarce a colonel or general-officer in the army, but had ſome profit out of theſe frauds. Salmon's modern hiſtory, vol. 24. p. 165.

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A committee appointed for that purpose.

7th of March, to appoint Paul Foley, esq; sir Richard Onslow, John Pollexfen, esq; sir John Thomson, Foot Onslow, esq; Thomas Pelham, esq; Sir Samuel Bernadiston, Thomas Wharton, esq; and Francis Gwin, esq; to be a committee to inspect the books of the East-India-company, and impower'd them to send for persons and papers.

Report of the committee.

The 12th of March, mr. Foley, from that committee, reported; that as soon as they came to the East-India-house, they called for an account of all monies paid for the special service of the company; upon perusal of which observing, that the greatest payment was in the year 1693, they searched for the orders for issuing that mony, the chief of which were, one dated the 13th of April 1693, another dated the 24th of November 1693, and another the 22d of January 1693-4, in pursuance of which, the sums of 22,275, l. 24,983 l. and 30,000 l. were severally paid out of the cash, amounting in all to 77,258 l. beside several smaller sums, amounting in the whole to 10,144 l. which, with the former sum, makes 87,402 l. all issued in the year 1693, while sir Thomas Cooke was governor, and Francis Tyssen, esq; deputy-governor, for the special service of the house, and obtaining a new charter. That they found by examination of most of the persons present at the committee of the East-India-company, where the said orders were made: the governor, in the said committees, did only, in general, inform what sums he had disbursed without naming the particulars, to whom, or to what service, which several of them said was a new course, since sir Thomas Cooke came to be deputy-governor or governor. That in a state of the company's cash, dated at the East-India-house, the 7th of March 1694-5, and drawn up by several members of the company impowered for that purpose, near all the aforesaid sums were observed to be paid, and placed to the company's account of charges general, paid out of cash, viz. in 1688, and 1689, sir Benjamin Bathurst governor, and sir Josiah Child, deputy-governor, 2230 l. 14 s; in 1690 and 1691, sir Joseph Herne governor, and sir Thomas Cooke deputy-governor, 13,532 l. 9 s; in 1692 and 1693, sir Thomas Cooke, governor, and mr. Tyssen, deputy governor, 87,402 l. 12 s; in the whole 103,165 l. 15 s. That upon examination of the company's cash-book, having found the ballance, the 31st of October 1694, was 124,249 l. they demanded of mr. Portman, the cashier, if he had the same in cash? that he replied he had not, but instead thereof, laid before them in writing, that 90,000 l. were lent upon sir Thomas Cooke's notes, which he produced, with other particulars, that made up the above-mentioned balance. That, in his note, sir Thomas Cooke owned the receit of 90,000 l. which he had disbursed and paid for 99,197 l. stock in the East-India-company, for their account: tho' they did not find any warrant for the said sum, or any of that stock transferred in the company's books, for their account, exceeding 18,300 l. the 16th of January 1694-5. They reported farther, that they found a contract dated the 26th of February, 1693, for 200 ton of salt-petre, to be brought home in the ship Seymour, from India, to pay 12,000 l. for the same, and 25 l. freight, per ton, beside all charges here. That 2000 l. which was the sum sent out to purchase the said salt-petre, was actually paid out of the company's cash, and that a bond for the remaining 10,000 l. was given under the seal of the company, payable the 31st of March 1695, whether the ship arrived in safety or not, with this limitation only, that if 200 ton of salt-petre be not laden on the said ship, than to repay in proportion to the want thereof: so that the result of this contract was, that the company run the adventure of 12,000 l. for that which cost only 2000 l. and must consequently lose 12,000 l. if the ship miscarried. And, on the contrary, the seller got 10,000 l. clear, without disbursing, or running the hazard of one penny, and what is yet more, a certain loss of 9, or 10,000 l. would attend it, if the ship arriv'd in safety. That the committee having examin'd the members of the company concerning this contract, they own'd it to be true, that the 2000 l. was paid, and the 10,000 l. bond given to mr. Thomas Colston. That about the same time this contract was made, so many of the Interlopers as would sell their shares in the Interlopers to the East-India-company, were allow'd their first cost, and 25 per cent. advance, which was done by giving them credit for so much in the East-India-company's books. That the committee found sir Samuel Dashwood, sir John Fleet, John Perry, esq; sir Joseph Herne, and sir Thomas Cooke were present at the court of committees, when the orders above-mentioned were made; but they being all members of the house of commons, the committee did not think fit to examine them. That the rest of the committees, who were present at making those orders, and most of whom had been examined, could give no account of the disposal of the mony issued out during the time of sir Joseph Herne and sir Thomas Cooke's government; but only that the same was paid for special service, and that a great part thereof was put into the hands of sir Basil Firebrass. That one of them, viz. sir Benjamin Bathurst, said, sir Joseph Herne had the greatest part of the 13,932 l. 9 s. to dispose of, and sir Benjamin Bathurst would have call'd for an account thereof, but sir Thomas Cooke desir'd he would not. That the company's committee of nine had often call'd upon sir Thomas Cooke, to give an account to whom he had distributed the mony he received, which he had sometime promis'd, and afterwards declined it: so that the secret of that service, and the placing of that mony, lay principally with sir Thomas Cooke and sir Joseph Herne. That sir Benjamin Bathurst, finding so great a sum as 30,000 l. charged for secret services, he had some warm discourse with sir Thomas Cooke about it, to know how it was disburs'd: but Sir Thomas refus'd to give him any particulars, and told him, he should remember he was bound by his oath to the company, to keep their secrets. To which, sir Benjamin replied; he was under the same obligation, to be true to the interest of the company. Sir Benjamin Bathurst farther said, that about April 1694, understanding that they were in want of mony, he look'd into the cash-book, which casting up, he found a considerable sum in cash, and taking some persons with him, discoursed sir Thomas Cooke about it, who said the 90,000 l. he had received, was to gratify some persons, in case the bill should pass. As for the contract about salt-petre, sir Benjamin Bathurst said, it was made by sir Thomas Cooke and sir Basil Firebrass, but he knew nothing of it, 'till it came into court. The committee farther reported, that sir Basil Firebrass, being examined, owned he had received upwards of 16,000 l. which was for buying shares of stocks, and of which the company had allow'd: but said, he knew no ground the committee of nine had to say, that a great part of the other sums were put into his hands. He confessed he invited several persons to come into the company, and offered to lay down mony for several, and that if they liked it not, at the year's end, he would then take it off their hands, which offer he made to some members of parliament, among others, and gave an account to the company of his doing so, who promised to indemnify him. That concerning the accommodation with the Interlopers, the company had a letter from the lord Nottingham, that

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that it was the King's pleaſure, that they ſhould come to an agreement, with the Interlopers. That the propoſal to them was 25 per cent. for bringing in their ſtock to the company, and one half of the profit beſide, which one half of the Interlopers accepted; but mr. Godfrey, and ſome others, ſtanding upon 30 per cent, mr. Colſton went off with them, and did not come into the company. That mr. Ward ſaid, it was agreed by the Interlopers, that only 2000 l. ſhould be imploy'd in buying ſalt-petre; that mr. Colſton was to have the advantage of it, which he believed was not for mr. Colſton himſelf, but for ſome other gentlemen; and laſtly, that the original inducement, to the leave of the Interlopers going out, was that agreement with mr. Colſton.

Bribery in the caſe of the orphans bill examin'd into.

This committee being, likewiſe, appointed, to inſpect the books of the chamberlain of the city of London, to ſee what ſums had been diſtributed among the members of the houſe of commons, for facilitating the paſſing of the orphans bill; they reported, that they found an order made by the committee of the common-council of the city, dated the 12th of February 1693-4. directing the chamberlain to pay ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, 1000 guineas, ſo ſoon as a bill was paſs'd into an act of parliament, for ſatisfying the debts of the orphans, and other creditors of the ſaid city; which ſum was paid and deliver'd to ſir John Trevor, on the 22d of June 1694, in the preſenſe of ſir Robert Clayton and ſir James Houblon. That they found another order, dated the 26th of April 1694, for paying Paul Jodrel, eſq; clerk of the houſe, 100 guineas, for his pains and ſervice, in aſſiſting the orphans bill to paſs the parliament: that ſeveral other ſums were entered in the chamberlain's book, paid to mr. Barret, the city-ſolicitor, to defray the charge of drawing the bill, and making copies thereof, and of the petitions and orders relating to the ſame; among which payments were five guineas paid to mr. ſolicitor-general for his advice, five guineas to mr. Harcourt, twenty-three guineas, to mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee, for his pains and ſervice, and ſixty pounds to mr. Jodrell; and they underſtood that the orphans had given bond to mr. Smith and to mr. Charles Nois, to allow them twelve pence in the pound, when the bill paſs'd: that the ſaid Nois and Smith produced to the committee of the common council, a bill of their charges, amounting to 3457 l. 16 s. and alledged that they were then 10000 l. out of purſe. Upon which report, the commons reſolved, "that their ſpeaker, ſir John Trevor, receiving a "gratuity of 1000 guineas, after paſſing the or- "phans bill, was guilty of a high crime and miſ- "demeanor;" and he was obliged, after having been forced to hear all that could be ſaid to his diſadvantage, to put the ungrateful queſtion himſelf. He did not, however, think fit to offer any thing in his defenſe, but ſending the mace, the next day, to the houſe, abſented himſelf, upon which, on the 14th, Paul Foley, eſq; was choſen ſpeaker in his room (1). The 16th, the commons reſolved, "that ſir John Trevor, being declar'd guilty of a "high crime and miſdemeanor, be expelled the "houſe." The 18th, they paſſed a vote; "that "whoever ſhould diſcover any mony, or other gra- "tuity, given to any member of the houſe, for "matters tranſacted in the houſe, relating to the "orphans bill, or the Eaſt-India-company, ſhould "have the indemnity of the houſe for ſuch gift." And ordered, that mr. Charles Nois, and ſeveral others, ſhould attend the houſe, the next day. Mr. Nois attended, accordingly, and being examined, it was reſolved, "that he having pretended, to "ſeveral perſons, that he was out of purſe, or in- "gaged to give great ſums of mony to ſeveral mem- "bers of the houſe, in order to paſs the orphans "bill, which, on his examination he denied to "have given or promiſed, had been an occaſion of "ſcandal to the houſe, and the members thereof:" and it was thereupon order'd, that the ſaid Nois be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, attending the houſe. Mr. Bird, an attorney, was alſo brought upon his knees, at the bar of the houſe of commons, and reprimanded, for having offer'd bribes to ſeveral members. The 26th, the commons reſolved, "that mr. Hungerſord, one of "their members, having received twenty guineas for "his pains and ſervice, as chairman of the com- "mittee of the houſe, to whom the orphans bill "was committed, was guilty of a high crime and "miſdeameanor, and that he be expell'd the houſe.

Enquiries concerning the affairs of the Eaſt-India company continued.

The ſame day, they ordered, "that ſir Thomas "Cooke, a member of that houſe, having refuſed "to give an account how the 87,402 l. mentioned "in the report of the committee, was diſtributed, "be commited priſoner to the Tower of London; "and that a bill be brought on to oblige him to "ſuch account." This bill was preſented and read the firſt time, the 28th; and, on the 6th of April, ſir Thomas having, according to his petition for that purpoſe, been previouſly heard by his counſel, againſt the bill, it was read the third time, paſſed, and ſent up to the houſe of peers, for their concurrence.

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WILL' III. AN' 1695.

Continuation of the Eaſt-India-company's affairs.

The 23d of April, ſir Thomas Cooke appeared accordingly before the committee, and being ſworn, he delivered to them, in writing, his diſcovery of the diſpoſal and application of 67,000 l. and 90,000 l. In his account of the former, he mentioned 10,000 l. to be delivered to Francis Tyſſen, eſq; 12,000 l. to mr. Richard Acton; 338 l. to mr. Nathaniel Molyneux; 220 l. to ſir John Chardin; 350 l. to Paul Dominicque, eſq; 382 l. to captain John Germain; 1000 guineas to colonel Fitz-Patric; 545 l. to Charles Bates, eſq; and 40,000 l. to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, all which, were ſaid to be paid for ſpecial ſervice of the Eaſt-India-company, to defray the charges, and acknowledge the pains and ſervices of the afore-mentioned perſons, and their friends, on ſolliciting to prevent a new ſettlement of the Eaſt-India-company; or to indeavor the eſtabliſhment of the old, or in conſideration of loſſes they had by the Eaſt-India-ſtock. Beſide 500 guineas paid to the attorney-general, 200 to the ſolicitor-general, and 200 more to mr. Sambrock, for their trouble and charges in paſſing the charters, and other affairs relating to the company. As for the ſum of 90,000 l. mentioned in the bill, it was ſaid to be laid out in buying Eaſt-India-ſtock of ſeveral perſons, for account of the Eaſt-India-company.

The committee, conceiving this account to be imperfect, let ſir Thomas Cooke know, that a more particular account of theſe matters was required of him; upon which he ſaid farther; that as to the firſt ſum of 10,000 l. paid to mr. Tyſſen, in tallies in 1692, no directions were given him how he was to diſpoſe of it; but it was in expectation of having the charter of the Eaſt-India company confirmed: that it was intended for the ſervice of the King; tho' he could not ſay the King had it, he believed mr. Tyſſen told him, that he delivered it to ſir Joſiah Child, who preſented it to his Majeſty, as a cuſtomary preſent, for the like had been done in former reigns, as appeared by their books. That as to the 12,000 l. it was paid to mr. Richard Acton, who declared he had ſeveral friends capable of doing great ſervice to the company's affairs, and ſeveral of them would ſpeak to parliament-men. That he could not name them, but the end aimed at was to get an act of parliament; that this mony went no farther than the houſe of commons; and that he found no fruit of that diſtribution. That as to the 338 l. paid to mr. Molineux, he pretended this mony was to be diſpoſed of to the lord Rivers; but ſince his confinement, he owned that lord never had it, and that he kept it for his own uſe. That as to the 1000 guineas to the late mr. Fitz-patric, he pretended he had great intereſt with the lord Nottingham, and doubted not but he could do great ſervices, provided he had ſuch a ſum: but he believed Fitz-patric kept the mony himſelf. That the 545 l. was to be paid to Bates, when the charter was ſettled, and was paid accordingly in October 1693. That ſir Baſil Firebraſs had told him, Bates had acquaintance with ſeveral lords, and named the duke of Leeds, then marquis of Caermarthen. That as to the 40,000 l. paid to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, the firſt 10,000 l. which was paid him about November 1693, he believed he kept himſelf, to recompenſe his loſſes in the interloping trade, and for the other 30,000 l. he ſuppoſed he diſtributed it to

(1) By this act, any perſon, on payment of 63 l. over and above the 100 l. formerly paid, might have a reverſion in a 14 l. per ann. annuity, for ninety-ſix years, reckoning from the preſent year; his intereſt to commence, after the eſtates for lives were expired.

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that it was the King's pleaſure, that they ſhould come to an agreement, with the Interlopers. That the propoſal to them was 25 per cent. for bringing in their ſtock to the company, and one half of the profit beſide, which one half of the Interlopers accepted; but mr. Godfrey, and ſome others, ſtanding upon 30 per cent, mr. Colſton went off with them, and did not come into the company. That mr. Ward ſaid, it was agreed by the Interlopers, that only 2000 l. ſhould be imploy'd in buying ſalt-petre; that mr. Colſton was to have the advantage of it, which he believed was not for mr. Colſton himſelf, but for ſome other gentlemen; and laſtly, that the original inducement, to the leave of the Interlopers going out, was that agreement with mr. Colſton.

Bribery in the caſe of the orphans bill examin'd into.

This committee being, likewiſe, appointed, to inſpect the books of the chamberlain of the city of London, to ſee what ſums had been diſtributed among the members of the houſe of commons, for facilitating the paſſing of the orphans bill; they reported, that they found an order made by the committee of the common-council of the city, dated the 12th of February 1693-4. directing the chamberlain to pay ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, 1000 guineas, ſo ſoon as a bill was paſs'd into an act of parliament, for ſatisfying the debts of the orphans, and other creditors of the ſaid city; which ſum was paid and deliver'd to ſir John Trevor, on the 22d of June 1694, in the preſenſe of ſir Robert Clayton and ſir James Houblon. That they found another order, dated the 26th of April 1694, for paying Paul Jodrel, eſq; clerk of the houſe, 100 guineas, for his pains and ſervice, in aſſiſting the orphans bill to paſs the parliament: that ſeveral other ſums were entered in the chamberlain's book, paid to mr. Barret, the city-ſolicitor, to defray the charge of drawing the bill, and making copies thereof, and of the petitions and orders relating to the ſame; among which payments were five guineas paid to mr. ſolicitor-general for his advice, five guineas to mr. Harcourt, twenty-three guineas, to mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee, for his pains and ſervice, and ſixty pounds to mr. Jodrell; and they underſtood that the orphans had given bond to mr. Smith and to mr. Charles Nois, to allow them twelve pence in the pound, when the bill paſs'd: that the ſaid Nois and Smith produced to the committee of the common council, a bill of their charges, amounting to 3457 l. 16 s. and alledged that they were then 10000 l. out of purſe. Upon which report, the commons reſolved, "that their ſpeaker, ſir John Trevor, receiving a "gratuity of 1000 guineas, after paſſing the or-"phans bill, was guilty of a high crime and miſ-"demeanor;" and he was obliged, after having been forced to hear all that could be ſaid to his diſadvantage, to put the ungrateful queſtion himſelf. He did not, however, think fit to offer any thing in his defenſe, but ſending the mace, the next day, to the houſe, abſented himſelf, upon which, on the 14th, Paul Foley, eſq; was choſen ſpeaker in his room (1). The 16th, the commons reſolved, "that ſir John Trevor, being declar'd guilty of a "high crime and miſdemeanor, be expelled the "houſe." The 18th, they paſſed a vote; "that "whoever ſhould diſcover any mony, or other gra-"tuity, given to any member of the houſe, for "matters tranſacted in the houſe, relating to the "orphans bill, or the Eaſt-India-company, ſhould "have the indemnity of the houſe for ſuch gift." And ordered, that mr. Charles Nois, and ſeveral others, ſhould attend the houſe, the next day. Mr. Nois attended, accordingly, and being examined, it was reſolved, "that he having pretended, to "ſeveral perſons, that he was out of purſe, or in-"gaged to give great ſums of mony to ſeveral mem-"bers of the houſe, in order to paſs the orphans "bill, which, on his examination he denied to "have given or promiſed, had been an occaſion of "ſcandal to the houſe, and the members thereof;" and it was thereupon order'd, that the ſaid Nois be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, attending the houſe. Mr. Bird, an attorney, was alſo brought upon his knees, at the bar of the houſe of commons, and reprimanded, for having offer'd bribes to ſeveral members. The 26th, the commons reſolved, "that mr. Hungerſord, one of "their members, having received twenty guineas for "his pains and ſervice, as chairman of the com-"mittee of the houſe, to whom the orphans bill "was committed, was guilty of a high crime and "miſdeameanor, and that he be expell'd the houſe.

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Continuation of the Eaſt-India-company's affairs.

The 23d of April, ſir Thomas Cooke appeared accordingly before the committee, and being ſworn, he delivered to them, in writing, his diſcovery of the diſpoſal and application of 67,000 l. and 90,000 l. In his account of the former, he mentioned 10,000 l. to be delivered to Francis Tyſſen, eſq; 12,000 l. to mr. Richard Acton; 338 l. to mr. Nathaniel Molyneux; 220 l. to ſir John Chardin; 350 l. to Paul Dominicque, eſq; 382 l. to captain John Germain; 1000 guineas to colonel Fitz-Patric; 545 l. to Charles Bates, eſq; and 40,000 l. to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, all which, were ſaid to be paid for ſpecial ſervice of the Eaſt-India-company, to defray the charges, and acknowledge the pains and ſervices of the afore-mentioned perſons, and their friends, on ſolliciting to prevent a new ſettlement of the Eaſt-India-company; or to indeavor the eſtabliſhment of the old, or in conſideration of loſſes they had by the Eaſt-India-ſtock. Beſide 500 guineas paid to the attorney-general, 200 to the ſolicitor-general, and 200 more to mr. Sambrock, for their trouble and charges in paſſing the charters, and other affairs relating to the company. As for the ſum of 90,000 l. mentioned in the bill, it was ſaid to be laid out in buying Eaſt-India-ſtock of ſeveral perſons, for account of the Eaſt-India-company.

The committee, conceiving this account to be imperfect, let ſir Thomas Cooke know, that a more particular account of theſe matters was required of him; upon which he ſaid farther; that as to the firſt ſum of 10,000 l. paid to mr. Tyſſen, in tallies in 1692, no directions were given him how he was to diſpoſe of it; but it was in expectation of having the charter of the Eaſt-India company confirmed: that it was intended for the ſervice of the King; tho' he could not ſay the King had it, he believed mr. Tyſſen told him, that he delivered it to ſir Joſiah Child, who preſented it to his Majeſty, as a cuſtomary preſent, for the like had been done in former reigns, as appeared by their books. That as to the 12,000 l. it was paid to mr. Richard Acton, who declared he had ſeveral friends capable of doing great ſervice to the company's affairs, and ſeveral of them would ſpeak to parliament-men. That he could not name them, but the end aimed at was to get an act of parliament; that this mony went no farther than the houſe of commons; and that he found no fruit of that diſtribution. That as to the 338 l. paid to mr. Molineux, he pretended this mony was to be diſpoſed of to the lord Rivers; but ſince his confinement, he owned that lord never had it, and that he kept it for his own uſe. That as to the 1000 guineas to the late mr. Fitz-patric, he pretended he had great intereſt with the lord Nottingham, and doubted not but he could do great ſervices, provided he had ſuch a ſum: but he believed Fitz-patric kept the mony himſelf. That the 545 l. was to be paid to Bates, when the charter was ſettled, and was paid accordingly in October 1693. That ſir Baſil Firebraſs had told him, Bates had acquaintance with ſeveral lords, and named the duke of Leeds, then marquis of Caermarthen. That as to the 40,000 l. paid to ſir Baſil Firebraſs, the firſt 10,000 l. which was paid him about November 1693, he believed he kept himſelf, to recompenſe his loſſes in the interloping trade, and for the other 30,000 l. he ſuppoſed he diſtributed it to

(1) By this act, any perſon, on payment of 63 l. over and above the 100 l. formerly paid, might have a reverſion in a 14 l. per ann. annuity, for ninety-ſix years, reckoning from the preſent year; his intereſt to commence, after the eſtates for lives were expired.

ſeveral

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ſeveral perſons. That as to the ſums paid to ſir John Chardin and mr. Dominicque, he believed they were expended in the company's ſervice, and as to the 382 l. to captain Germain, it was paid him to bring him off from the Interpolers, and to ingage him in the company's intereſt.

Farther examinations.

This examination being reported to the houſe of commons, by mr. Comptroler, on the 24th of April, ſome debates aroſe, thereupon, and one of the members acquainted the houſe, "that the earl "of Rivers proteſted, he never received a penny, "and that, according to his lordſhip's motion, the "lords had ſent for mr. Molyneux, to be examined." Another member obſerved, "that as to "all the little ſums, ſir Thomas Cooke knew very "well to whom they were delivered, but he could "never learn to whom ſir Baſil Firebraſs diſtributed "the monies he received; for ſir Baſil would not "give an account of that matter, tho' often "aſked by him to do it; but that, on the other "hand, Acton would have told ſir Thomas, and he "would not hear him." A third member ſaid, "ſir Thomas Cooke's account contained nothing but "generals; not one date, not one time, &c. That as to the 10,000 l. to mr. Acton, "he offered to "tell him the particulars, and he was unwilling to "hear him, but did not doubt Acton would give "a particular and ſatisfactory account of all diſ"tributed by him;" and yet, in the ſame moment being aſked where, and in what condition this Acton was, he declared; "that he was a diſ"tracted man, not able to give the houſe any ac"count at all;" a fourth member ſaid, "no man "is innocent, if every man be guilty; we can"not be innocent, if we do not lay our hands "on theſe men, that have betrayed us, and the "company, and I hope themſelves; let us go as "far as we can, and then we ſhall not be in fault:" he therefore, moved, "that Firebraſs and Acton "be ordered to attend the houſe the next day." This motion was ſeconded by another member, who moreover, moved, "that they forget not a "member of their own, who was accuſed for receiv"ing a conſiderable ſum."

It was agreed, between the two houſes, the ſame day, that all future examinations of the perſons mentioned in the report, relating to ſir Thomas Cooke, ſhould be before a committee of both houſes. Accordingly, the 25th, ſir Baſil Firebraſs was examined before that committee, where he depoſed; "that the 40,000 l. paid him by ſir Thomas "Cooke, was for himſelf, and for no other perſon: "the firſt 10,000 l. as a gratuity for his loſſes, ſome "time before the charter for the Eaſt-India-com"pany paſſed; 10,000 l. by virtue of a contract "with ſir Thomas Cooke, for favors and ſervices "done, and the reſt for the difference of the value "of ſtock upon its falling 50 per cent." However he confeſſed, the next day; "that he gave two "notes for 5500 guineas, to mr. Atwell, payable "to mr. Bates, or bearer, he believing the ſaid "mr. Bates might be ſerviceable, in geting the "charter paſſed, as he was acquainted with ſeveral "perſons of honor and quality: that one of theſe "notes was for 3000 and the other for 2500 gui"neas. That the latter was paid after the charter "for reſtoring the Eaſt-India-company paſſed, and "the other, after the charter for regulation paſſed. "That Bates did ſeveral times introduce him to "the lord preſident, now duke of Leeds, who "made ſome ſcruples in point of law, which were "removed by the attorney-general. That 4400 "guineas were brought back again by Bates, who "ſaid that ſo large ſum might make a noiſe (1), "and that the reſt ſtill remained in Bates's hands. "But that theſe ſums were not to be accounted as "any part of the 40,000 l. above-mentioned, "which he always underſtood to be wholly for his "own uſe and benefit. That colonel Fitz-patric "pretended great intereſt in the lord Nottingham, "and received 1000 guineas, promiſing to prevail "on that lord to accept 5000 guineas, on paſſing "the charter, and 5000 more on geting an act of "parliament; but that the earl of Nottingham "abſolutely refuſed to accept of them. That he "heard, a note, ſigned by ſir Joſiah Child and ſir "Thomas Cooke for 50,000 l. was lodged in "mr. Tyſſen's hands, about a year, to be paid in "caſe the act paſſed; but that, as he underſtood, "it was refuſed by the lord Portland, to whom "Tyſſen had offered it."

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Mr. Richard Acton, being examined, ſaid, "he received of ſir Thomas Cooke 12,000 l. "whereof 2000 were for his trouble in attend"ing two ſeſſions, but that, if the bill for the new "company had paſſed, he was to have had nothing. "That he had diſtributed the 10,000 l. to per"ſons who had intereſt with members, and par"ticularly he had given part of it to be diſtributed "to mr. Craggs, mr. Wallis, mr. Ridley, mr. "Dominicque, and others, and that colonel Gold"well and colonel Dean, who were ſince dead, "were the only perſons to whom he had diſtributed "mony himſelf."

The 26th, mr. Bates being examined, "ac"knowleged, that he had received the 5500 gui"neas, and had offered them to the lord preſident "who refuſed them. That thereupon, becauſe he "could not well tell the mony himſelf; he had "aſked the duke to lend him his ſervant Robart, to "receive the mony for him, which he did, and "bringing it to him, he kept it in his poſſeſſion, "'till he returned 4400 guineas of it to ſir Baſil, and "as to the remainder, he had ſpent part of it." However, upon a re-examination, ſoon after, "he "allowed, that the 4400 guineas, which he paid "back, where brought to him by monſ. Robart.

Upon re-examination of ſir Baſil Firebraſs, "he "ſaid, that 500 guineas were only deſigned for "Bates, and for the reſt, he always ſaid it was "for his friend at St. James's, without naming "any body, but inſiſted upon 5000 guineas for "that friend, when a leſſer ſum was offered, pre"tending, more than the firſt ſum propoſed had "been offered him by the other ſide; that it was, "at length, agreed, that if the duke did act in favor "of the company, he ſhould have 2000 and "3000 guineas, and Bates 500 for himſelf. That "from the time the notes were given, for the "5500 guineas, they had free acceſs to the lord "preſident, and found him eaſy and willing to "give the company his aſſiſtance. That he in"tended to have diſtributed the 30,000 l. afore"mentioned, in the following manner, viz. 10,000 l. "to ſir Edward Seymor, ſir John Trevor, and "mr. Guy, in caſe the charters and the act of par"liament paſſed; 10,000 l. to the merchants in"terlopers, and to keep the remaining 1,0000 l. "himſelf: that he deſigned to divide 5000 l. more "between ſir Edward Seymour, ſir John Trevor "and mr. Guy: but that as ſir Edward Seymour "refuſed to accept his ſhare of it, he thought "himſelf in honor bound, to pay the two thirds to "ſir John Trevor and mr. Guy, but intended to "keep what ſir Edward refuſed for himſelf: and "that ſir John Trevor gave him a hint of his ex"pectations, ſome time afterwards."

Sir Joſiah Child being examined, ſaid, "he "never diſpoſed of ten pounds of the Eaſt-India"company's mony: that he did indeed, propoſe

(1) It was obſerved that this reſtitution was not made 'till after the diſcovery; and when the matter was under examination.

"to

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" to make a preſent of 50,000 l. to his Majeſty,
" if he would ſo far wave his prerogative, that an
" act of parliament might be made for the eſta-
" bliſhment of the company; but that mr. Tyſſen
" had told him, the King would not meddle in
" that matter, as the lord Portland had informed
" him."

Debates of the houſe of of commons thereupon.

The 27th, theſe examinations were reported to the houſe of commons, when a member ſtood up, and argued the neceſſity of ſearching this matter to the bottom, and of providing laws, to prevent, for the future, the members of that houſe taking mony. " Ten thouſand pound, he ſaid, had been pretend-
" ed to be given to the King, and 50,000 offered
" to buy an act of parliament." Another ſaid;
" there never were greater, nor more general in-
" ſtances of corruption, he therefore inſiſted on
" the neceſſity of a ſpeedy remedy, and that it was
" highly requiſite the houſe ſhould ſhew the world
" they were in earneſt. That it was not to be
" wondered, ſuch arts had been uſed to put a ſtop
" to their diſcovery, ſince they found ſo great a
" man at the bottom: but (added he) no perſon is
" in ſo high a poſt, that this houſe cannot reach; no
" man's practiſe or art ſo deep, that this houſe
" cannot diſcover. Here have been all imaginable
" indeavors uſed to obſtruct the inquiry: firſt, his
" Majeſty's name was made uſe of at the committee,
" with hopes, perhaps, that might put a ſtop to
" any farther ſearch; and if it were made uſe of
" there, there was reaſon to expect it had been
" elſewhere. But that appeared to be ſo far from
" being a matter of reflection on the King, that ſir
" Joſiah Child often complained of it, as a rude-
" neſs to his Majeſty, that what other Kings had
" yearly as a preſent, they had not offered his Ma-
" jeſty in three years: it was indeed, if not a
" matter of right, a matter of cuſtom. As for
" the earl of Portland, who may be named for his
" honor, on this occaſion, when the great ſum of
" 50,000 l. was preſſed upon him, he abſolutely
" refuſed it, and told them", he would for ever, be their enemy and oppoſer, if they offered any ſuch thing to him. " Having thus mentioned the
" innocent, I muſt, continued he, ſay ſomewhat
" of the guilty; a ſtop having been put, the duke
" of Leeds muſt be applied to: certainly, there
" never was a more notorious bribery, and that in a
" perſon, whom we might have expected to have
" been free from ſuch a crime, if you reſpect either
" the greatneſs of his place, or of his former ob-
" ligation. It is fit to ſpeak plainly on ſuch occa-
" ſions; the houſe ought to indeavor to remove
" ſuch a perſon from the King's council and preſenſe.
" What ſecurity can the nation have when we are
" bought and ſold to one another? We have ſeen
" our deſigns defeated, our attempts betrayed,
" and what wonder is it? Can any man think it
" more ſtrange that our counſels ſhould be ſold
" abroad, than that charters ſhould be ſold at
" home? Certainly, a man may reaſonably believe,
" that he who will ſell the ſubjects, will ſell the king-
" dom, if he can have a ſufficient bribe. What
" Prince can be ſafe in ſuch counſels, which are
" given for private advantage? Several propoſals
" (ſaid he, to conclude) may here be offered for
" remedy. One, that this houſe ſhould addreſs
" his Majeſty, to remove the duke of Leeds;
" but, with ſubmiſſion, an addreſs is too mean,
" too low a thing for this houſe to do, at this time,
" and upon ſuch an occaſion; I, therefore, move
" that we may lodge an impeachment."

This remarkable ſpeech, tho' in the main, it was approved of, was thought, however, by ſome, to be too fraught with reflections: one member, in particular, ſtanding up, ſaid; " he wondered,
" the gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, ſhould ſay what,
" he hoped, he did not believe, that this great man
" ſhould have ſold our counſels to France." The other, thereupon, roſe again, and ſaid; " It was
" with ſome uneaſineſs he ſtood up, for he did not
" take pleaſure to rake in a dunghill: that he was
" far from ſaying the duke had betrayed our coun-
" ſels; but argued only from a poſſibility; that
" it was as reaſonable to believe one as the other;
" and that when honor and juſtice were not the rule
" of men's actions, there was nothing incredible
" that might be for their diſadvantage." However, ſeveral members ſeconded the motion for an impeachment, and ſome added; " that ſuch actions
" as theſe were a blemiſh, if not a ſcandal, to the
" revolution itſelf." And it being demanded,
" by what law, it was a crime to take mony at
" court?" it was anſwered; " that if there was
" not a law, it was time there ſhould be one, to
" prevent it; that the law of God was againſt the
" duke, and that there were parliaments to puniſh
" ſuch crimes." It was again ſuggeſted: that it ſeemed doubtful, whether there was matter in this report for an impeachment, and therefore, before the houſe went that length, they ought to put the queſtion upon the report, to know whether it be a crime? ſome of the duke's friends objected, hereupon; " that there was no law, and conſequent-
" ly no tranſgreſſion", and therefore moved for excuſing him. However, the queſtion being put that " there did appear, in the report made from
" the committee of both houſes, ſufficient matter
" to impeach Thomas, duke of Leeds, of high
" crimes and miſdemeanors," it was carried in the affirmative. Mr. Comptroler was, hereupon, order-ed to go up to the lords, and at their bar, in the name of the houſe, and of all the commons of England, to lodge the ſaid impeachment, which, in due time, they would make good.

The duke of Leeds's ſpeech to the lords.

The lord-privy-ſeal having, in the mean time, made the report to the lords, the duke of Leeds, to excuſe his conduct, ſaid, " That as he had for-
" merly proteſted himſelf to be clear in this matter,
" ſo he ſtill denied, upon his faith and honor, that
" he was guilty of any ſuch corruptions, as were
" ſuggeſted againſt him, and that, if the whole
" truth were laid open, it would tend to his honor
" and advantage. That he would be very free, in
" telling their lordſhips now before-hand, all that
" paſſed, in which he was any ways concerned.
" That mr. Bates introduced ſir Baſil Firebraſs to
" him, and that he had conferences with ſir Baſil,
" upon the ſubject of the Eaſt-India-company,
" which he was concerned for: that mr. Bates,
" ſome time after, informed him, he was to have
" a ſum of mony of ſir Baſil Firebraſs, and deſired
" his lordſhip to lend him one of his ſervants (mr.
" Bates keeping only a footman) to receive the
" mony; and ſo he lent him monſ. Robart: that
" he knew nothing of the ſum; but afterwards mr.
" Bates came to him, and told him, he had receiv'd
" 5000 guineas, and that in acknowledgment of
" the many favors he had received from his lord-
" ſhip's hands, he humbly deſired him to accept the
" ſame; which he refuſing, Bates preſs'd him ear-
" neſtly, to take one half, or a quarter; which he
" ſtill refuſed, declaring he would not touch a
" penny of them; that, however, he told him,
" ſince he had taken them, he thought there was
" no need of returning them; that they were his
" own, and wiſh'd him good luck with them: and
" thus (concluded the duke) I was but a ſhadow to
" mr. Bates.

His ſpeech to the houſe of commons.

While the duke was thus indeavoring to clear himſelf in the houſe of lords, private notice was brought him, that the commons were preparing an impeachment againſt him. He, thereupon, went immediately to the door of that houſe, and deſired

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to be heard, which being granted, he was admited, and a chair was placed for him within the bar. His grace, being ſeated, put on his hat, then roſe, and uncovering himſelf, made a ſpeech to the houſe, in which, in the firſt place: "he thank'd them heartily "for this favor of hearing him; and then proceeded, "declaring his innocence, and that he had attended "ſooner had he known what the houſe was upon: "that the occaſion of his coming was from the two "votes, upon the report from the committee of both "houſes: that he had done all he could to be in-"formed of the particulars, but could not: that "hearing of a report, a monſtrous long report, "and finding himſelf concerned, he was earneſt "to be heard, to the end he might not ly under "the diſpleaſure, of either, or both houſes. He ſaid, "it is a bold word, but it is a truth," this houſe had not now been ſitting here, but for me. He added, "that he was formerly purſued by this "houſe, in two points; for being for the French "intereſt, and for Popery: that he had then juſti-"fied himſelf, if he might have been heard, hoped "he had ſince, and would by all the actions of his "life. That one Firebraſs, by the means of mr. "Bates, was introduced to him: that he had long "known mr. Bates, and if he was not much de-"ceived in him, he could not believe that gentle-"man would have tranſacted ſuch a matter, if put "upon it: that the evidence was but hear-ſay, and "he hop'd they would not condemn on hear-ſay: "that there was a treaty-part, as well as a mony-"part: that as to the mony-part, much of it was "falſe, and what was true he made no ſecret; "that he could, and did ſay, upon his faith and "honor, that neither directly nor indirectly, he "never touch'd one penny of the mony. That he "obſerved, a great deal of pains had been taken, "to hook in this matter by a ſide-wind; that this "Firebraſs thought his merit would deſerve 10,000l. "and 30,000 l. and that this 5500 guineas was no "part of the 40,000 l. That the witneſſes were call'd "in by the committee; but that Firebraſs, after "his firſt hearing, deſired of himſelf to be called "in again, contrary to all rules; which ſhewed "him, at leaſt, a very willing witneſs. That he "had a thread, which he hoped to ſpin finer, and "make it appear, that this was a deſign laid againſt "him long before the naming this committee. "That warning was given him, ſome time ſince." That this matter would be improved againſt him, and that Firebraſs had been told, he ſhould be excuſed, if he would charge the duke. His grace, to conclude, ſaid; "he ask'd no favor, but their "impartial juſtice; and that no ſevere ſenſe might "be put upon what would bear a candid one: that, "if it might be, the houſe would re-conſider what "was done; or, at leaſt, preſerve him from cruel-"ty, and not let him ly on the rack, and be blaſted, "till a parliament ſhould ſit again; and that, if "they would not re-conſider, that then he might "have ſpeedy juſtice; for he had rather want coun-"ſel, want time, or want any thing, than ly under "their, or the nation's diſpleaſure."

The duke of Leeds impeach'd.

Notwithſtanding this ſpeech, the duke was no ſooner withdrawn, than mr. Comptroller, accompanied by ſeveral members, carried up the impeachment againſt him to the houſe of lords; and the committee, which was joined with that of the lords, was ordered to withdraw immediately, and form the articles.

Debates about the duke's ſpeech.

The houſe of commons then took the duke's ſpeech into conſideration, and one of the members ſtood up, and ſaid; "the point was now, "whether the houſe would arraign the committee "of both houſes, or go on with their impeach-"ment? that the duke had made no excuſe as to "the facts; that his argument of a contrivance was, "that the 5000 guineas charged on him was no "part of the 40,000 l. Firebraſs was to account "for: that this was rather an aggravation of the "crime; for ſir Thomas Cooke had a double ac-"count, one with, and another without the 5000 "guineas; which was an indication, if there was "a contrivance, it was not by the committee, but "with ſir Thomas Cooke, to ſtifle the inquiry, "and conceal the corruption: that the ſpeedy "juſtice of the houſe was to be wiſh'd and deſir'd; "and that if there was ſuch a contrivance, "ſuch a thread as was mention'd by the noble "lord, the houſe where he was impeach'd would, "undoubtedly, clear him." Another member, among other things, obſerved; "that the duke's "friend, mr. Bates contradicting himſelf, was more "than the evidence of Firebraſs. That mr. Robart "was a ſervant of his grace's, and was fled; that "mr. Bates ſaid he kept the mony in his houſe; "that ſome times he had ſpent it, and ſome times "it was in his cloſet: that he owned the mony was "not in his houſe on Sunday, but that monſ. Robart "brought it to him, on Tueſday morning, tho' he "would never declare from whom he brought it.

Bill for impriſonment of Cook and others.

Sir Thomas Cooke's diſcoveries being, in the mean time, voted, by both houſes, unſatisfactory, they paſſed "a bill for impriſoning ſir Thomas "Cooke, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, Charles Bates, eſq; "and James Craggs, eſq; and for reſtraining them "from alienating their eſtates."

Articles againſt the duke.

The 29th of April, the articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Leeds, being read and agreed to, in the houſe of commons, were ſent up to the lords, containing in ſubſtance; "that he had con-"tracted with the Eaſt-India-company, for 5500 "guineas, to procure them a charter of confirma-"tion, and a charter of regulation; which ſum "he had actually received, either by himſelf, or by "his agents and ſervants, with his privity and "conſent."

His vindication.

The articles being read, the duke again indeavor'd to vindicate himſelf, repeating what he had before ſaid, and adding: "that this ſtorm, which "was now fallen upon him, had been long gather-"ing, and was now promoting by a faction, a "party who had only a pique againſt him, and that "the King's buſineſs had been delayed on purpoſe: "that he had an original letter, which gave him "an account of this, ſome time before it broke out, "and it appear'd only levell'd againſt him, becauſe "none elſe were proſecuted; that there appeared a "joy they could catch at this, for then they ſtopp'd; "and that ſir Baſil Firebraſs was treated with to "diſcover only this part, and then he ſhould be "excuſed from any farther diſcovery." He con-"cluded, "by praying a copy of the articles of "impeachment, and the report of the committee of "both houſes;" both which were immediately order'd him.

The duke complains of partiality.

The duke having, the very next day, given in his anſwer to theſe articles, a copy thereof was ſent to the commons, and the lords deſired "that "ſince the ſeſſion was probably drawing towards "a concluſion, they would proceed in the impeach-"ment againſt the duke:" and, the 2d of May, the duke complained to the lords of the delay of the houſe of commons, in not replying to his anſwer: he alledg'd, "that the impeachment was "only to load him with diſgrace, and that the com-"mons never intended to try him: that the party "uſed great partiality towards him, and did not "intend to inquire after others; and that they "ſhew'd their partiality and ſpleen, in their amend-"ment to the bill for impriſoning ſir Thomas Cooke, "&c. whereby they admited ſir Baſil Firebraſs "to bail, becauſe he was a witneſs againſt him."

Reſolution of the commons.

The ſame day, the commons reſolved; "that "the offer of any mony, or other advantage, to "any

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" any member of parliament, for the promoting " of any matter whatſoever, depending, or to be " tranſacted in parliament, was a high crime and " miſdemeanor, and tended to the ſubverſion of the " Engliſh conſtitution."

Mr. Robart abſconds.

Mr. Comptroler then reported, from the committee of the houſe of commons, appointed to manage the impeachment againſt the duke, that monſ. Robart, the duke's ſervant, who was a material evidence for making good the articles, had been ſummon'd to attend the committee, but could not be found; and it not being yet known where he was, they were of opinion not to proceed any farther in the matter to them referr'd, till they had the farther direction of the houſe. This reſolution was agreed unto by the houſe, and an order made, that monſ. Robart ſhould attend the houſe forthwith, and that he be ſummon'd by the ſerjeant at arms.

Farther proceedings concerning the duke of Leeds

The 3d of May, a motion being made, in the houſe of lords, to read the bill for granting to the King a duty upon glaſs, &c. The duke of Leeds told their lordſhips; " it grieved him, that he " who was as much as any man, for the diſpatch of " the mony-bills, and never oppoſed any, ſhould " now do it; but he hoped the lords would conſider his caſe, not only as his, but as it might " be any of their own; for it was in the power of " a tinker, to accuſe, at the end of the ſeſſion, and " one might ly under it, without remedy: and " ſince the commons, by miſmanagement, had de- " lay'd this mony-bill for ſix weeks, it would not " be of mighty ill conſequence, if it ſhould ly a " day or two longer; and his grace preſſed very " earneſtly, that if the houſe of commons did not " reply, the impeachment might be diſcharged: " for, if it were not, he might ly under the re- " proach thereof all his life: adding, he believed " the commons would do nothing in it; for tho' " they had appointed a committee to meet, yet they " met but once, and that for form." The ſame day the commons deſired a conference with the lords, in which their manager deliver'd a paper, importing; " that the commons would make good " their charge againſt the duke of Leeds, and were " deſirous that juſtice be done without any manner " of delay: but that in the preparation of the " evidence againſt the duke, their committee met " with an obſtruction: that monſ. Robart, who " appear'd, by the depoſitions before the com- " mittee of both houſes, to be a material witneſs, " was withdrawn ſince the impeachment was carried " up; which had been the reaſon the commons had " not yet acquainted their lordſhips, when they " could be ready to make good the ſaid impeach- " ment." This paper being read in the houſe of peers, it was unanimouſly agreed, " to addreſs the " King, that he would be pleas'd to iſſue a procla- " mation for ſtopping the ports, and ſeizing monſ. " Robart (1)."

Monſ. Robart's flight having now given the duke a fair opportunity of triumphing over his accuſers, he did not ſtick to charge the houſe of commons, with doing a thing unprecedented, " to charge a " man with crimes, before they had all the evidence " to make it good; that it was ſtrange they ſhould " ſay they wanted a material witneſs, and lay it " upon him to produce this witneſs: as if a perſon " were more oblig'd to produce evidence to accuſe " himſelf, than to anſwer ſuch queſtions by which " he accuſes himſelf." his grace then acquainted their lordſhips; " that in truth, he had ſent monſ. Robart " to ſee his daughter Leiceſter, and order'd him to " call at Minns, to ſee his daughter Plimouth, where " the meſſenger of the houſe of commons might " have known he was gone, if he had ask'd. That " his grace ſent a meſſenger on purpoſe to Robart; " that Robart return'd about two o'clock on Sunday " morning; but being inform'd, that his lord was " impeached, and mr. Bates in priſon, he was there- " upon frighted, and went towards Harwich, de- " ſigning for his own country, Switzerland, thro' " Holland: that his grace knew, by the temper of " the man, and by a particular knowledge he had " of him, and of the thing, that he would not be " ſeen here again in haſte; ſo that, my lords (con- " tinued his grace) if this man be inſiſted upon, as " a material evidence, and that my trial is to be " delayed, 'till this perſon is forth coming, when " am I likely to be tried? I humbly move your " lordſhips, that you will come to ſome reſolution, " if this matter be not immediately proceeded upon, " ſo that I may be tried before the ending of this " ſeſſion, that the impeachment ſhall fall." Some lords, indeed, cried, hereupon, " well mov'd;" however, the houſe had no regard to it, but proceeded to read and paſs " the bill for the duty upon " glaſs-wares, ſtone and earthen bottles; &c. (2).

I have choſen to give an account of this remarkable affair, in one connection, tho' I have been thereby obliged to poſtpone ſeveral other proceedings, in parliament, which I ſhall now reſume.

Bad ſtate of the coin inquired into.

Next to theſe grievances, which ſo much required the application of parliament for their redreſs, and took up ſo great a part of their time, the bad ſtate of the coin was a heavy burden upon the nation, and call'd aloud for their help. The current ſilver coin of this nation had, for many years, been ſo clipp'd, debas'd and adulterated, that five pound in ſilver ſpecies, was ſcarce worth forty ſhillings according to the ſtandard; and ſcarce one piece in four but what was either iron, braſs or copper waſh'd over or plated (3). In ſhort, it was come to ſuch a paſs, that the remedy could be no longer delay'd, without the apparent and inevitable ruin of the nation. The houſe of commons, therefore, on the 8th of January, appointed a committee to receive propoſals to prevent clipping of the coin of this kingdom, for the future, and the exportation of ſilver. This committee having met ſeveral times, mr. Scobel reported their opinion: viz.

1. " That the beſt way to prevent clipping the " ſilver coin, was to new-coin the ſame into mill'd- " mony.

2. " That 1,000,000 l. was a ſufficient ſum to " to make good the deficiency of the preſent clipp'd " coin of this kingdom.

3. " That the mony, hereafter to be coined; " ſhould be of the preſent weight and fineneſs.

4. " That the crown-piece ſhould go for five " ſhillings and ſix-pence, and the half crown for two " ſhillings and nine pence.

(1) The duke of Leeds made no oppoſition to this addreſs, and the proclamation was publiſh'd accordingly, but it was not 'till nine days afterwards, when the duke had long before declar'd to the houſe of lords, he would not be ſeen here again in haſte. Hiſtory of King William III. vol. 3. p. 46.

(2) The above inſulting ſpeech, as I think it may, not improperly, be called, ſhews the duke thought himſelf now above the reach of the commons; and I have been the more particular in my relation of the whole matter, as I think it an inſtance of one of the moſt artful evaſions of an impeachment we ſhall meet with, eſpecially, where circumſtances were ſo glaring, and the duke did not ſeem to have a majority on his ſide, in the houſe of peers, no more than in the commons. The paſſing theſe matters over ſlightly, has given occaſion to a modern hiſtorian to accuſe biſhop Burnet of partiality.

(3) It was generally thought, that this miſchief had, of late, been induſtriouſly promoted, and ſecretly carried on by the enemies of the government, the dangerous conſequences of which were at firſt either not heeded, or wilfully neglected: and, indeed, the nation ſuffered unſpeakably by this evil, as well in carrying on the war as in trade.

5. " That

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5. " That all mony to be coined, under the denomination of the half crown, ſhould have a " remedy of ſix pence in the ounce.

6. " That for as much of the preſent coin as any " perſon brought into the Mint, he ſhould have " weight for weight, and the overplus by a bill or " ticket, at per cent, on a fund to be appro- " priated for that purpoſe.

7. " That the preſent laws againſt clipping be " inforced by ſome additions.

8. " That all perſons whoſe profeſſions require " ſuch like tools or engines, as may be made uſe of " for coining or clipping, be obliged to regiſter " their names and places of abode; and that it " ſhould be penal on ſuch as ſhould neglect to do " the ſame.

9. " That it be penal on all ſuch perſons on " whom clippings are found.

10. " That it be penal on all ſuch perſons as give " more for any ſilver coin, than it ought to go for " by law.

11. " That no preſſes, ſuch as are uſed for coin- " ing, be in any other place, than his Majeſty's " Mint.

12. " That it be penal in all ſuch perſons, as " ſhould import any clipp'd or counterfeit mony.

13. " That it be penal in any perſon to export " Engliſh bullion, and the proof to ly upon the " exporter.

14. " That it be penal in any perſon, to counter- " feit any foreign mark upon bullion."

Bill to prevent cliping and coining.

This report lay ſome time neglected in the houſe of commons, till the lords having paſs'd " an act " to prevent the counterfeiting and clipping the cur- " rent coin of the nation; " and ſent it down to the commons for their concurrence, they added ſeveral of theſe articles to it, by way of amendments, to which the lords agreed, and ſo the act received the royal ſanction.

Debates about the fleet.

I have already given the reader an account of the honor and advantages which accrued to the nation, by ſending the fleet to the Streights; however there were not wanting ſome members of the houſe of lords, who indeavored to ſhew the danger and inconvenience of it; but the major part of that auguſt aſſembly entertain'd far different ſentiments, as appeared by their addreſs of thanks, to his Majeſty, for ſo ordering it.

Addreſs of the commons about coals.

The price of coals being about this time, very exorbitant (1), which reduced the poorer ſort of people to a ſtarving condition, the commons unanimouſly voted, on the 6th of April, that an addreſs be preſented to the King, to deſire he would pleaſe to iſſue his royal proclamation, that the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London ſhould forthwith put in execution the laws for regulating the price and meaſures of coals, and that his Majeſty would order convoys for the coal-ſhips. At the ſame time, they ordered a bill to be brought in to inforce and make more effectual the ſaid laws relating to coals (2).

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Addreſs of the commons concerning the allies.

The 18th, the commons took into conſideration the great expenſe the nation was at to carry on the war, and to ſupport the grand confederacy; on which occaſion, they reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented to the King, " that his Majeſty would be " pleas'd, in his great wiſdom, to take care, for the " future, that this kingdom be put upon an equal " foot and proportion with the allies, in bearing " the charge of the preſent war. " An addreſs, to that purpoſe, having been preſented accordingly, his Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer. " That in this, " as in every thing elſe, he ſhould always indeavor " to have a due regard to the intereſt and honor of " this nation.

The King's anſwer.

The 3d of May, the houſe of commons having read the report from the committee of both houſes, appointed to inquire into bribery, &c. proceeded to impeach ſome other perſons, and in particular ſir John Trevor: but they were interrupted by the black-rod, and commanded to attend the King in the houſe of peers: where his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to " an act for a duty on glaſs, &c; " an act to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the " coin of this kingdom; an act for impriſoning ſir " Thomas Cooke, ſir Baſil Firebraſs, Bates, Craggs, " and others; an act for reverſing the attainder of " Jacob Leiſler and others; and an act for the " King's gracious and free pardon, but with the " exception, among others, of all perſons who had " been, or ſhould be impeach'd in parliament, " during the preſent ſeſſion.

Acts paſs'd.

After this, his Majeſty told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he was come to give them thanks, for " the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war, " and, at the ſame time, to conclude this ſeſſion, " which could not be continued longer, without " manifeſt prejudice to the ends for which thoſe " ſupplies were given, the ſeaſon of the year making " it ſo neceſſary for him to be abroad, that it were " to be wiſh'd the buſineſs at home would have " allowed him to have been there ſooner. That " he would take care to place the adminiſtration of " affairs, during his abſenſe, in ſuch perſons, on " whoſe care and fidelity he could intirely depend; " and that he doubted not but every one of the " lords, and the gentlemen of the houſe of com- " mons, in their ſeveral ſtations, would be aſſiſting " to them; which was what he required of them, " and that they ſhould be more than ordinarily " vigilant, in preſerving the public peace."

The parliament prorogued.

Then the lord-keeper, by his Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 18th of June (3).

(1) This dearth was occaſioned by the length and rigor of the winter-ſeaſon, by the ſcarcity of ſeamen, on account of the fleet being in the Streights, and by a want of convoys for the coal-ſhips, to ſecure them from the French privateers, which took the advantage of the fleet being in the Mediterranean, and a neglect of keeping cruiſers conſtantly on our coaſts, to infeſt the narrow ſeas.

(2) His Majeſty's proclamation was, accordingly, iſſued out three days after; but as for the bill it lay neglected, after it had been read a ſecond time, and ſo was loſt.

(3) The parliament was, this ſeſſions, ſo taken up with the affairs of bribery, that a greater number than ordinary of bills lay neglected, or unfiniſh'd.

1. " A bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament; " which was begun in the houſe of commons, and there rejected after the third reading. 2. " A bill for regulating trials, in caſes of high-treaſon; " which, having paſſed the lower houſe, was amended by the lords, and occaſion'd ſeveral farther conferences and debates, between both houſes. 3. " A bill for " regiſtering memorials of deeds, conveyances and wills; " which was obſtructed by the lawyers in the houſe of commons, as tending to abridge law-ſuits, and, therefore leſſening their income. 4. " A bill for the incouragement of privateers. 5. A bill " for the incouragement of ſeamen. 6. A bill to diſable perſons from voting in elections of members to ſerve in parliament, " who ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to the government; " which never came to a ſecond reading. 7. " A bill for the better " diſcovering of Bankrupts eſtates; " which was only read twice. 8. " A bill to veſt the forfeited eſtates in Ireland in his " Majeſty; " wherein as little progreſs was made. 9. " A bill to regulate printing preſſes. 10. A bill requiring certain per- " ſons to take the oaths to his Majeſty; " which having paſs'd the houſe of peers, and been ſent down to the commons, was by them rejected, after the ſecond reading. 11. " A bill for naturalizing foreign ſeamen; " which was likewiſe ſent down by the lords, but refuſed by the commons. 12. " A bill to aſcertain the aſſize of bread. 13. A bill to oblige James Craggs and Richard " Harnage to diſcover how ſome of the mony for cloathing the army had been diſpoſed of; and 14. a bill for puniſhing Tracy " Pauncefort, and his brother Edward Pauncefort, for corrupt practices; " which having been read three times by the commons, was ordered to lie upon the table.

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Lords juſtices appointed.

His Majeſty declared the ſame day in council, that he had appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir John Sommers, lord-keeper of the great ſeal; the earl of Pembroke, lord-privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of his Majeſty's houſhould; the duke of Shrewſbury, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Dorſet, lord chamberlain of his houſhold; and the lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; to be lords-juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe.

Promotions.

About this time, his Majeſty, likewiſe, made the following promotions; viz. ſir William Trumbal was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of ſir John Trenchard, deceas'd; Henry, lord Capel, was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; William de Naſſau, lord of Zuleſtein, was created baron of Enfield, viſcount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford, and Ford lord Grey of Werk, was created viſcount Glendale, and earl of Tankerville.

The King goes to Holland.

The 12th of May, the King imbarked at Graveſend on board the William and Mary-yacht, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Eſſex and Portland, and ſeveral others of quality. The next morning, they joined their convoy, under the command of ſir George Rooke, and on the 14th his Majeſty landed at Oranje-Polder, from whence he arrived, the ſame evening, at the Hague, where he was received with great acclamations of joy: and here I ſhall again leave his Majeſty for a while; and ſay a word or two of the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

His Majeſty having thought fit to call a parliament in that kingdom, they met, according to their ſummons, on the 9th of May. The marquis of Tweedale being appointed his Majeſty's high commiſſioner, the ſeſſion was opened by reading his commiſſion. Then his Majeſty's letter to the lords-temporal, and commiſſioners of the ſhires and burghs, aſſembled in parliament, was read alſo; which letter was backed by the high commiſſioner's ſpeech; and after that the earl of Anandale, lord preſident of the parliament, made likewiſe a ſpeech. As I propoſe to be but brief in my relation of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland, I ſhall reduce the propoſitions recommended, by the miniſtry, to the parliament of Scotland, to three general heads.

1. "Supplies for the inſuing year.

2. "Moderation in eccleſiaſtical affairs; his Ma-
"jeſty, at the ſame time, giving them freſh aſ-
"ſurances of his reſolutions to maintain Preſ-
"bytery.

3. "The advancement of trade, and particularly
"their eſtabliſhing plantations in Africa, America,
"and the Eaſt-Indies.

As to the firſt, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "to
"grant 1,440,000 pounds Scots, or 140,000 l.
"ſterling, for the maintenance of the land-forces,
"and for the providing and maintaining cruiſers
"and convoys, for the defenſe of their coaſts and
"trade." They alſo paſſed "an act in rela-
"tion to their kirk, in which, however, nothing
"was provided in favor of epiſcopacy, or that
"looked like a toleration of the members of that
"church." But the act which made the moſt noiſe in England, was that "for ſettling a trade and
"colonies in the Weſtern plantations (1)."

This parliament, likewiſe, made ſeveral other laws: viz. "An act againſt Popiſh parents making
"deeds or depoſitions, in prejudice of their heirs,
"who turn Proteſtants; an act in favor of the
"linnen-manufactory; an act to obviate the
"frauds of apparent heirs; an act for a manufac-
"tory of paper; an act for ſettling the poſt-
"ſtages within the kingdom of Scotland; an act
"for the ſale of bankrupts eſtates, for the uſe of
"their creditors; an act for the regulation of
"the mint; an act againſt intruders into churches
"without a legal call and admiſſion; an act
"againſt blaſphemy, and another againſt pro-
"phaneneſs; an act againſt irregular baptiſm and
"marriages; an act to raiſe 1000 men yearly,
"to recruit the Scotiſh regiments abroad; an
"act for burying in Scotiſh linnen; and laſtly, an
"act for erecting a public bank in this kingdom.

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The moſt remarkable tranſaction of this parliament was, however, their ſtrict inquiry into the ſlaughter of the Glencoe-men; of which, as it made a great noiſe, in thoſe times, I ſhall give a brief account. "In January 1694, the King ſent inſtru-
"ctions to the commander of his forces in Scotland,
"touching the Highland-rebels, who did not in
"due time accept of the benefit of his Majeſty's
"indemnity; and which contained a warrant of
"mercy to all, without exception, who ſhould
"offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in
"upon mercy; tho' the time prefixed by the pro-
"clamation of indemnity was paſſed; notwith-
"ſtanding which, contrary to his Majeſty's inten-
"tions, thirty-eight of the inhabitants of Glencoe,
"a town in the North of Scotland, after they had
"laid down their arms, were inhumanly butcher'd
"in their beds, their houſes plundered, and their
"cattle carried away."

This was in ſhort the caſe, and this piece of barbarity having given the King's enemies a handle for reflecting on his government; his Majeſty had given commiſſion to ſeveral perſons, to make inquiry into this affair, which commiſſion being produced and read, in parliament, was there approved of. Theſe commiſſioners having ſpent ſome weeks in the examination of that affair, and having, on the 10th of June, laid ſeveral papers before the parliament, as alſo, on the 24th of the ſame month, made a farther report, to which was annexed the depoſitions of witneſſes, the King's inſtructions, and ſeveral letters from the maſter of Stairs, ſecretary of ſtate; it was, on the 26th, unanimouſly voted; "that his Majeſty's inſtructions to ſir
"Thomas Levingſtone and colonel Hill, contain-
"ed no warrant for the execution of the Glencoe-
"men; that the ſaid execution was a murder;
"that the maſter of Stairs's letters did exceed the
"King's inſtructions; and, on the 28th, that ſir
"Thomas Levingſtone had reaſon to give the or-
"ders he had given." The 2d of July, colonel Hill and lieutenant-colonel Hamilton were called before the parliament, and the firſt appearing was examined and cleared; but the latter, not appearing, was ordered to be apprehended, and, on the 8th, was voted "guilty of the murder of the Glencoe-men." The houſe then proceeded againſt the other perſons who were actors therein, and agreed upon an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would ſend them home to be "proſecuted, or not, as his Majeſty
"ſhould think fit, and that he would take into his
"Princely conſideration the caſe of the Glencoe-
"men."

The 2d of July, the houſe paſſed ſentenſe againſt the earls of Middleton and Melfort, and ſir Adam Blair for high-treaſon, to forfeit their lives and eſtates, and ordered all others, who adhered to his Majeſty's enemies, and were then in France, to be

(1) It was propoſed to carry on a trade from thence to the Eaſt-Indies, by the aſſiſtance of ſome wealthy merchants, and interlopers in London, which alarmed the Eaſt-India-Company, and was afterwards the occaſion of a great miſunderſtanding between the two nations.

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prosecuted before the lords of the justiciary. The 15th, the earl of Broadalbine, being brought to the bar of the house, likewise on informations of high-treason, his lordship begged time to make his defense, which was granted him 'till the 25th. But all public affairs being concluded by the 17th, it was agreed, that the process of treason against him, should be continued 'till the next session of parliament, which was thereupon adjourned till the 7th of November next insuing. Let us now take a cursory view of the affairs of Ireland.

Affairs of Ireland.

The 27th of August, the parliament of Ireland was opened at Dublin, and the lord Capel, being attended with the usually ceremonies to the house, made a speech to the lords and commons; "In "which he first put them in mind of the great obli-"gations they owed to his Majesty, who had ap-"peared himself in their cause, fought their battles, "and, at the hazard of his own person, restored "them to their religion and estates, not doubting, "but they would make a suitable return of loyalty "and affection: he then recommended, to the house "of commons, an early care for the necessary "supplies; next, that they would find some method "for the rebuilding and repairing of churches in "the several parts of their country; and last, men-"tioned some necessary bills.

Both houses returned thanks, in their addresses to his excellency for his speech, and voted; "that "they would, to the utmost of their power, stand "by and assist his Majesty and his government, "against all his enemies, foreign and domestic:" after which they proceeded with great unanimity and dispatch, to the consideration of the matters before them. They granted the King a supply of 163,325l. to be raised by a poll-tax, an additional excise, and certain duties on merchandizes. They also passed some acts for preventing the growth of Popery, and the disarming of Papists; which done, both houses adjourned themselves for some time.

Having thus given a brief account of the proceedings of the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland, I come now to our maritime affairs of the year 1695.

Maritime affairs.

We left admiral Russel, with the fleet under his command, in the bay of Cadiz, where, according to his orders, he was to pass the winter. The latter end of December, of the foregoing year, several ships arrived there from England, which brought the admiral a commission appointing him chief commander and captain-general of their Majesties navy, (the Queen being then living) and ships to be imployed in the Narrow-seas, and in the Mediterranean; and, together with naval stores, several officers and artificers, for refiting the fleet. Soon after, captain James Killigrew was detached from the fleet, with a small squadron, consisting of the Plymouth, Falmouth, Carlisle, Newcastle, Adventure, and Southampton, to cruise. Between cape Bona, on the coast of Barbary, and the island of Pantalarea, he met, the 18th of January, with two French men of war, the Content of seventy, and the Trident of sixty guns, with whom he ingaged and lost his life in the fight: but the ships were both taken and brought to the fleet (1).

Two French men of war taken.

Dilatoriness of the Spaniards.

The usual dilatoriness of the Spaniards having occasioned the fleet to remain in the bay of Cadiz till the begining of May, nothing happened worthy our notice during that time. Some land-forces, under the command of brigadier-general Stewart, arriving, about this time, out of England, the fleet thereupon sailed, and cruisers were sent on several stations for intelligence. The 18th, they arrived at Barcelona, having been first at Allicant, where they made no stay. They sailed again the 20th, and touching at several ports, cruised about in those seas, 'till the middle of July, without having an opportunity of doing any service, but strengthening and dispatching the Turkey-convoy.

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The 19th of that month, the fleet returned to Barcelona, where the admiral ordered a survey of the condition of the ships to be made. The Spaniards, continuing to be dilatory, in all their proceedings, the admiral thought himself obliged to represent the whole matter to the court of Spain, and to let them know, how little they had complied with their promises to him at Cadiz, and how ill he thought the King his master was requited for the charges he had been at, and his readiness to serve Spain; declaring, that unless something was immediately undertaken, he would depart, and leave Spain to her own conduct and councils.

The admiral complains of it.

The viceroy of Catalonia, hereupon determined to march to Palamos, a sea-port belonging to Spain, then in the hands of France, and the admiral resolved to assist him in the siege of that place. The manner of it being concerted with brigadier-general Stewart, all the long-boats in the fleet were got ready, with a lieutenant and two gunner's mates to each, to attend sir Martin Beckman, upon the first signal that should be made, for bom-barding the place.

The siege of Palamos resolved on.

The 9th of August, the English and Dutch troops, to the number of about four thousand, the former commanded by brigadier-general Stewart, and the latter by count Nassau, were landed, without opposition, and incamped near the town; but were not furnished with the tents, and other necessaries, the Spaniards had promised. Notwithstanding which, the town and castle were bombarded, two or three days after, and with so much success, tho' the sea run high, that the better part of both was beaten down, and the remainder set on fire, in several places. But with this ended the attempt; for a vessel the admiral had sent to the coast of Provence, returning, brought two of the inhabitants of Toulon, who positively affirmed, that the French inhabitants had sixty men of war ready to put to sea, upon which the admiral thought proper to reimbark his troops, to go in search of the enemy, and advised the Spaniards to raise the siege.

English and Dutch forces landed.

The Town and castle bombarded:

But the siege raised.

The troops being re-imbarked, the fleet proceeded to the coast of Provence, where they met with such tempestuous weather, as rendered a continuance there very hazardous; upon which the admiral retired down the Streights to Cadiz, where arriving the latter end of September, he appointed sir David Mitchel, then rear-admiral of the Red, to take upon him the command of part of the fleet, and with the rest sailed for England, where he arrived the begining of November. Sir George Rooke arrived afterwards in those seas with a squadron from England, and taking the remaining part of the fleet, with sir David Mitchel, under his command, sailed for Cadiz, where he arrived the 16th of October, and lay 'till the month of March, of the insuing year, without doing any

The fleet fails to the coast of Provence.

Part of it returns to England.

Sir George Rooke arrives at Cadiz.

(1) I have seen a long account of this ingagement, written in French, by the count de Chalard, commander of the Content, by which (if we may give credit to it) it appears that the French behaved bravely (and they do our ships the justice of having done the same) and did not surrender till they were ready to sink, especially the Content, which fought that whole afternoon, and the whole next day, till four in the afternoon. By this account, it likewise appears, that our squadron put into Messina, before it returned to the fleet. The count de Chalard says, the Content, was but of four and fifty guns, and three hundred and eighty men, and the Trident of two and forty guns, and three hundred men.

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service, and then sailed for England, where he arrived the latter end of April (1).

I come now nearer home, to give an account of the attempts made by a squadron of the royal navy, under the command of the lord Berkley, upon several of the French King's ports.

The lord Berkley bombards St. Malo.

The first of these attempts was on St. Malo, before which place, his lordship arrived, with the squadron under his command, on the fourth of July, in the morning, and anchored in twenty fathom water, the Quince-rock bearing S. E. by E. near five miles distant, cape Frehelle, W. S. W. three leagues and a half, and Cancale-point, E. by S. three leagues. About three in the afternoon, the bomb and smaller vessels, standing close in, five of the former played on the Quince-rock (on which was a wooden fort, called La Conchee, that covered the place) till near eight, but with little success.

The next morning, at four, the squadron stood in, and the frigats and bomb-vessels were ordered as near the town as possible, upon which the gallies and guard-boats retreated. At half an hour past five, the squadron anchored in eighteen fathom water, the Quince-rock bearing S. by E. distant about a league, and at eight, the Charles fire-ships, commanded by captain Durley, and one of the Dutch, were ordered to run in against the rock. They placed themselves to the windward of it, and so much annoyed the enemy, that they forebore fireing, their cannon, as it was believed, being mostly dismounted, and immediately, upon blowing up of those ships, the fort took fire, and burnt two hours very violently. About nine, the squadron with the bomb-vessels got in nearer; the former battered the town, and the latter played with such success, that about ten, the fire took in several parts of the East-end of the town, and at four in the afternoon, a great fire broke out, in the West part of the town, which burnt very furiously 'till about seven, by which time nine hundred bombs and carcasses had been thrown in; tho' the French fired very furiously, from the Quince-rock, the Great and Little Bee, Fort-Royal, and Point de Ambour. Between seven and eight, the bomb-vessels, having spent the ammunition they carried in with them, were called off, and one, called the Terrible, which had received much damage, sunk, that she might not fall into the enemy's hands.

This service was performed by six English and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom-boats, and two brigantines, which lying in the midst of nine or ten batteries of the French, received the enemy's shot, and returned them as good as they gave: and the lord Berkley himself was the whole time in the hotest of the fire, incouraging the men, and giving the necessary orders.

Granville destroy'd.

The next place they resolved to proceed to was Granville, which they destroyed without the loss of a man. The lord Berkley being sailed, with the fleet, for Jersey, the care of this attempt was commited to colonel Richards, with eight bomb-vessels and eight frigats, who came before it the 8th about nine in the morning, with five English and three Dutch bomb-vessels, and several frigats, under the command of captain Bembow, who within an hour, set it all on fire, and after having continued the bombardment, 'till six in the evening, left it in flames. A feint was then made of going to Havre-de-Grace; but in the evening the squadron bore away to the fleet which was now at anchor in Guernsey-road; from whence they sailed to Portsmouth, to refit the bomb-vessels, and prepare for attacking Dunkirk.

The attack of Dunkirk resolved upon.

The squadron being come to the Downs, his lordship received orders there, to take four hundred soldiers on board; and mr. Meesters coming soon after, with his pilots, the manner how Dunkirk was to be attacked, was determined, in a council of war.

The squadron being arrived and joined, on the coast, after some difficulties, the 1st of August, early in the morning, the bomb-vessels got under sail, and stood in to bombard the wooden forts, and the Ris-bank. About nine they began to play very briskly, being protected by the frigats, against the enemy's small-craft, which was very numerous, and lay partly under the cannon of the Ris-bank. About one, the frigats, brigantines, well-boats, &c. with the fire-ships, and machines, weighed and went pretty near in, plying to and fro within shot of the enemy's forts and gallies; and about two, four smoak-ships were sent in, but without any success (2). The bomb-vessels fired 'till five, at which time, they, with the brigantines, &c. were ordered off, having only sunk three of the enemy's half gallies, and done very little damage; the enemy having made such preparations, as rendered the attempt altogether impracticable.

The attack begun.

But with little success.

Calais bombarded.

A council of war having now determined to bombard Calais, the bombardment was begun, the seventeenth, in the morning, with such success, that it was on fire, in several places, by one; and it was continued till five, in the evening, during which time, the English throwed in about six hundred shells: but (says bishop Burnet) the French did not suffer so much by these bombardments, as was expected. The country, indeed, was much alarmed by it; they had many troops dispersed all along their coast; so that it put their affairs in great disorder, and we were every where masters of the sea. F. Daniel, however, who makes light of these bombardments, says the damage sustained by all the towns they bombarded, did not amount to one thousandth part of the expense, they were at. I have seen several other, as well French as Dutch accounts of these bombardments, the former of which agree in lessening their damages, tho' with more modesty than father Daniel, and the latter agree intirely with ours.

A squadron in the West-Indies.

We had this year likewise, a squadron of men of war in the West-Indies, under the command of captain Robert Wilmot, and a body of land-forces, under the command of captain Luke Lillinston: but as this expedition was begun and ended like many others in those parts, with squables and quarrels between the chief officers, and especially between the sea and land-officers, ever jealous of each others power and profit; and as this expedition, tho' it brought considerable loss upon the enemy, was not, otherwise, of any great advantage to the nation, and was attended with very little action; and, beside, as the accounts we have of it vary very much, even in the most essential parts; I shall not detain the reader with such uncertain relations

(1) Upon the whole of this expedition, bishop Burnet however says, our fleet was, all the summer, master of the Mediterranean; the French were put under great disorder, and seemed to apprehend a descent; for Russel came before Marseilles and Toulon oftner than once. He himself indeed told me (says the bishop) he believed nothing could be done there; only the honor of commanding the sea, and of shuting the French within their ports, gave a great reputation to our affairs.

(2) The design of these smoak-ships, as they were called, was, that being burnt against the forts, they might blind the people who were in them; but one of them run a-ground, and the others were set on fire, long before they came to the forts, and the smoak was so inconsiderable, that had they been carried nearer, they would have had very little effect. This afterwards occasioned some examinations before the council, upon complaints exhibited against mr. Meesters, the inventer of them, by the lord Berkley and by mr. Meesters, against the conduct of the sea-officers.

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Campain in Flanders.

tions (1) but proceed and give an account of the affairs of the continent.

The reader has already ſeen, in the foregoing ſheets, the advantage King William obtained over France, by his early poſſeſſing himſelf of the camp of Park in 1693. That he thereby intirely diſſipated the golden dreams of that court, defeated their deſigns upon Brabant, and obliged the French King to a ſpeedy return to Verſailles: and tho' they obtained the victory of Landen, the ſame year, yet it coſt them ſo dear, that they loſt, in 1694, that ſuperiority over the allies, which they had in the preceding years. The laſt campain, as we have already ſeen, was wholly ſpent by the two armies, in obſerving one another, like enemies, whoſe forces being almoſt equal, indeavor to overmatch the oppoſite party by the advantage of the ground: It ended, however, to the honor of the confederates, by the retaking of Huy. King William being now ſenſible, that the power of France was in the decreaſe, and that, on the contrary, the allies gained ſtrength daily, reſolved to form ſome conſiderable enterprize, the following year, either in Flanders, or on the Maeſe, as opportunity ſhould beſt offer. In order to this, before he returned to England, he gave directions for the forming of large magazines, in ſeveral places, and ordered two armies to be early in the field, to keep the French in awe, on both ſides, and draw their whole ſtrength on that ſide, for which their apprehenſions ſhould be greateſt, and afterwards fall on the other, with more probability of ſucceſs. A ſiege in Flanders ſeemed to be attended with leſs difficulty than on the Maeſe, where the only place that could be attempted was Namur, and as that undertaking was looked upon as impoſſible, the French themſelves turned their greateſt precautions towards Flanders, where they drew a new line from the Lys to the Scheld, before the allies could draw a body of troops together to oppoſe them; by which, and all their other motions, it was plain, they only deſigned, this ſummer, to act on the defenſive.

The allies, who were however ſuperior to them, by near 20,000 men, formed, in the mean time, two great armies in Flanders and Brabant; one conſiſting of ſeventy battalions of foot, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, which were to be commanded by the King in perſon, and under him by the old Prince of Vandemont; the other of thirty-ſix battalions of foot, and 130 ſquadrons of horſe, to be commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and under him by the duke of Holſtein-Ploen. Beſide theſe, there was another little army, called the body of the Maeſe, conſiſting of twenty-five battalions, and thirty-two ſquadrons, commanded by the baron de Heyden and count de Berlo; who were to be joined by ſome more horſe, that were coming along the Rhine.

On the other hand, the marſhal de Villeroy, who commanded the French forces in chief (the duke of Luxemburg dying, the begining of this year) had drawn his army together, between Condé, Tournay and Aeth: the marſhal de Bouflers and count Guiſcard lay incamped with a body of about 12,000 horſe and foot, about the Sambre; and monſ. Montal, with another ſmall body, lay between Ipres, and the fort la Knocque, to obſerve major-general Ellemburg.

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This was the ſtate of the armies, on both ſides, when King William left Loo, and came to Breda, in his way to Ghent, where his Majeſty arrived, the 5th of June, N. S. and was received by the elector of Bavaria and the Prince of Holſtein-Ploen. To follow the armies, and the ſeveral bodies of them, on each ſide, in their various marches and counter-marches, to amuſe one another, before they came to action, would but be tedious to the reader, and carry me too great a length: I ſhall, therefore only in general obſerve, that King William's real deſign, which was, however, a ſecret to every one elſe, being to undertake the ſiege of Namur, he amuſed the French, firſt by a feint of attacking their lines, and then by the motion of his troops, in ſuch manner, that they apprehended his intention was upon Charleroy; 'till every thing being ripe to open this deſign, he communicated it, together with the whole plan of the ſiege, to the elector of Bavaria, by whom it was highly approved.

Siege of Namur.

Purſuant to this plan, the city and caſtle of Namur were inveſted the 3d of July, N. S. the King being come to the caſtle of Faliſe, the day before. However, notwithſtanding all poſſible diligence had been uſed to prevent it, the difficulty of the ground, and the vaſt extent of the circumvalation, gave the marſhal de Bouflers, who had likewiſe uſed an incredible diligence, an opportunity to throw himſelf into the place, with ſeveral regiments of dragoons, a great many volunteers, and monſ. Megrigny, at the head of ſeveral ingineers, miners and gunners; ſo that, with this re-inforcement, the gariſon conſiſted of near 15,000 men, and moſt of them the beſt troops of France. Both the city and caſtle being intirely inveſted, his Majeſty diſpoſed the troops into their reſpective quarters (2): and all other neceſſary preparations being made, it was reſolved, the 10th, at a council of all the general officers, held in the preſenſe of the King, in the baron de Heyden's quarters; that the attack upon the town ought to be made againſt St. Nicholas's gate: and to this end, that the trenches ſhould be opened on the hill de Bouge and below along the hermitage, as alſo on the Condroz-ſide, between the hills St. Barbe and the river, and that to favor the opening of the trenches, the baron de Heyden ſhould raiſe a bat-

(1) The accounts we have of this expedition are; 1. A relation by mr. ſecretary Burchet, in his hiſtory of maritime tranſactions, printed in 1720; being a repetition with very little alteration, of what he publiſhed, ſeveral years before, in his memoirs of the navy. 2. A relation by colonel Lillingſton, in anſwer, and very contradictory to the former, in which he treats mr. Burchet very ſeverely, and accuſes him of great partialities. 3. A rejoinder by mr. Burchet, in anſwer to colonel Lillingſton, containing ſeveral letters and vouchers, to defend his firſt relation, and overthrow that of the colonel's. 4. The two former of theſe the reader will find in Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 700, and ſequel; the firſt at length, in the text, the latter abridged in the notes, that they may be both ſeen in one view: but the author not having then ſeen mr. Burchet's rejoinder, it was omited, tho' not deſignedly, as has been imputed to him, of which he may probably, very ſoon, have an opportunity of convincing, as well mr. Burchet, as the public. In the mean time, the reader, who is deſirous of being informed in the circumſtances of this expedition, may have recourſe to the pieces above-mentioned.

(2) The Sambre and the Maeſe naturally divided the army into three general quarters, which were ſubdivided into ſeveral others. The King's quarters reached from the Sambre to the Maeſe towards Brabant, and here incamped twenty-three battalions, and 120 ſquadrons, under the command of the duke of Holſtein-Ploen, with ſeveral other general officers under him. His electoral highneſs was poſted between the Sambre and the Maeſe, with twenty-four battalions, twenty-ſquadrons, the Spaniſh and Bavarian generals, general Cohorn, and a major-general of Brandenburg: and in the Condroz, along the Maeſe, both above and below the town, were incamped, the baron de Heyden, with the other Brandenburg-generals, and count de Berlo, general of the cavalry of Liege, having ten battalions, and ſixty ſquadrons under them. For the communication of theſe quarters three bridges were immediately laid, one on the Sambre, and two on the Maeſe, one of which latter was above, and the other below Namur. Hiſt. of King William III, vol. 3. p. 67.

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tery of ten pieces of cannon, to batter in reverſe the covered way and detached baſtion before St. Nicholas's-gate, which faced the attack. The heavy cannon being come up, the trenches were opened accordingly the next day, without any great oppoſition by the enemy, and the 12th the batteries begun to play.

The extraordinary ſtrength of this place (1), which was beſide provided with all neceſſaries, for many months, with a good ſtore of ammunition, 100 pieces of cannon, twelve mortars, and 10,000 ſpare muſkets (2), together with ſo numerous a gariſon, reſolutely bent to diſpute every foot of ground, made the French and their friends in England, look upon this enterprize, as an unparallel'd temerity; and doubted not but Namur would be the rock, on which the grand confederacy ſhould ſplit: but all theſe great, and in appearance invincible obſtacles, were not able to ſhake King William's reſolution; on the contrary, they only ſerved to keep his fortitude, prudence and vigilance upon the bent, and to make him concert effectual meaſures to ſurmount all difficulties, which he did, to his immortal glory, the aſtoniſhment of his enemies, and the admiration of all Europe.

The town of Namur ſurrenders.

Not to detain the reader with a journal of the tranſactions of this ſiege, I ſhall only in general obſerve, that the attacks againſt the town were regularly carried on with great application, and various ſucceſs, the enemy, as I obſerved above, vigorouſly diſputing every inch of ground, 'till the 2d of Auguſt, when the cannon having, by that time, widened the breach, and all things being ready for a general aſſault, count Guiſcard, the governor, demanded to capitulate for the town. This being readily granted, the articles were agreed upon, and ſigned, on the fourth of Auguſt, by the elector of Bavaria, for the allies, and by count Guiſcard for the beſieged. The iron-gate was delivered, the ſame day to the beſiegers, and on the 6th the French evacuated the town, and retired into the caſtle.

Prince Vaudemont's retreat.

During this ſiege, the marſhal de Villeroy attempted to cut off Prince Vaudemont, who commanded a ſeparate army of the allies, for the ſecurity of the open towns in the Netherlands, and miſſed very narrowly the ſurprizing him in his camp at Arſele; but the Prince made the fineſt retreat that ever was performed, in the very face of the enemy, and with a very inconſiderable loſs, ſome accounts even ſay without the loſs of a man (3).

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Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſurrender'd to the French.

The marſhal de Villeroy, having failed in his deſign upon Prince Vaudemont, as alſo in an attempt he made to ſurprize Niewport, marched towards Dixmuyde, and ordered monſ. Montal to lay ſiege to it. The town was indeed but weak: however, conſidering the ſtrength of the gariſon, it might have held out a fortnight, or at leaſt have ſurrendered upon good terms: but major-general Ellemberg, the governor, being a ſoldier of fortune, who had merited his preferment meerly by his blunt courage in open field, was ſoon diſpirited, and knew not how to behave, when he ſaw himſelf cooped up in a place ſurrounded by a royal army: ſo that after a ſlight reſiſtance, of thirty-ſix hours only, he ſurrendered himſelf, and his whole gariſon, priſoners of war. Deynſe followed the example of Dixmuyde, and ſurrendered to the French at diſcretion, without firing a gun, tho' colonel O'Farrel, the governor, was thought more excuſable than Ellemburg, becauſe Deynſe was ſo far leſs defenſible. Among the gariſons of theſe two places, which conſiſted of near 7000 men, were two regiments of Engliſh (4).

Bruſſels bombarded.

The next ſtratagem the marſhal de Villeroy made uſe of, to draw off the allies from the ſiege of Namur, was the bombarding of Bruſſels, which was executed with ſo much fury, from twenty-five mortar-pieces, eighteen pieces of cannon firing, at the ſame time, with red-hot-bullets, that within the ſpace of forty-eight hours, above 2000 houſes, in the heart of the town, were reduced to aſhes, the town-houſe, the great church, and ſeveral other public edifices, demoliſhed, and an incredible conſternation ſpread thro' the whole place (5).

(1) The town of Namur, when the French took it, was quite over-looked by a ſteep hill, from the Porte Deſer, to the Porte St. Nicholas; ſo that the French having the liberty to bring down their batteries, at firſt to the deſcent of that hill, and to open their trenches at the foot of it, near the Maeſe, they made themſelves maſters of it in five or ſix days: but now, to add a very conſiderable ſtrength, to this weak part of the town, the French had made a detached baſtion, on the aſcent of the hill, before St. Nicholas's gate, all of ſtone-work, with a caſemate upon it bomb-proof, the counterſcarp of frize-ſtone, as alſo the covered-way, which pointed juſt upon the top of the hill; ſo that no cannon from the plain could bear upon this work; and the allies were neceſſitated, to batter it in reverſe, from the other ſide of the Maeſe. This however, was not all; for upon the right, towards the iron-gate, the beſieged had made three detached baſtions, of the ſame work, juſt upon the brow of the hill, and at the foot of the ſame, before the gate, and between the hill and the book of Werderen, they had a fourth, which hindered the avenues, between the hills, to this gate. The plain upon theſe hills was fortified with a double covered way, both palliſſaded, to defend theſe detached baſtions, towards the village of Bouge: and when the allies began to inveſt the place, the French were working at a third, nearer to the brow of the hill, juſt before theſe works; ſo that the town, which before was but weak, was now, by the new fortifications, rendered ſo ſtrong, that it held longer than the caſtle. Hiſt. of King William III, vol. 3. p. 68.

(2) According to the continuator of Rapin, in French, there were in the place, 120 pieces of cannon, eight mortars, 1200 grenadoes, 130,000 pound of powder, ball and bombs in proportion, 1600 ſpare muſkets, a large quantity of other arms, 100,000 crowns in ready mony, and proviſions for ſix months, B. 25, p. 231.

(3) This retreat, which, conſidered in all its circumſtances is ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory, gave ſuch ſatisfaction to King William, that in his letter to Prince Vaudemont, he "owned himſelf obliged to his Highneſs, adding, that he had given "greater marks of a general conſummate in the art of war, than if he had won a battle." And what made this retreat the more extraordinary was, that the enemy's army conſiſted of 80,000 men, and that of Prince Vandemont, not above 30,000.

(4) What added to this misfortune was, that the French detained theſe gariſons priſoners, refuſing to ranſom or exchange them, according to Cartel, ſo that many of them, by the hardſhips they ſuffered, were forced into the French ſervice, or ſent quite croſs France into Catalonia, and other remote parts.

The ſurrender of Dixmuyde was the more extraordinary as the governor had, in the place, a gariſon of 4046 ſoldiers, 254 officers, 1000 or 1100 horſes, 150,000 l. of powder, ſeveral pontons, and a large quantity of meal and biſcuit. Cont. of Rapin, in French. Book 25, p. 234.

(5) The continuator of Rapin, in French, makes the damage done to Bruſſels amount to 3820 houſes and 11 churches burnt to the ground, ſeven churches near deſtroyed, ſeveral palaces and public edifices reduced to aſhes, amongſt which was the town-houſe, with all the records, books, edicts, and privileges of Brabant, and that this damage was computed to be, in all, twenty-three million (of livres I preſume he means) B. 25, p. 236.

The electreſs of Bavaria, who was, at that time, in Bruſſels, was removed to a diſtant part of the town, out of the reach of the bombs; notwithſtanding which, the fright, which was heighten'd, by the continual roaring of the cannon and mortars, had ſuch an effect upon her, that ſhe miſcarried. Her mother, the Queen of Poland, reproach'd France for this barbarity: but was anſwer'd it was by way of reprizals, for the Engliſh bombarding St. Malo, and other places on their coaſts; To which ſhe replied, if that were the caſe, they ought to have ſought their revenge by bombarding London, and not an inland capital, as Bruſſels, which was contrary to the Cartel; and beſide, they themſelves were the aggreſſors in bombarding, having exerciſed that cruelty on ſeveral places even in time of peace.

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All theſe attempts of the marſhal de Villeroy had not, however, the effect aimed at; the ſiege of the caſtle of Namur, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, was carried on with great vigor, and many gallant actions were performed as well by the beſieged, as the beſiegers; but they being too numerous to be all related in this place, I ſhall only obſerve, that, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the capitulation for the caſtle (the town having ſurrendered, as I ſaid above, the 4th) was ſigned, and part of the outworks given up immediately, three days being allowed for the total evacuation of it. What redounded moſt to the honor of the confederate arms in the taking of this almoſt impregnable place, was, that it was defended by one marſhal of France (the marſhal de Boufflers, the firſt whoever ſigned a capitulation) and in the ſight of another, (the marſhal de Villeroy) who was advanced to its relief, with a hundred thouſand men, but was only a ſpectator of the bravery of the former; and of the conſummate prudence of the King of Great Britain, under whoſe conduct and direction all was happily atchieved: and it was allowed, at all hands, that no ſiege was ever carried on with greater regularity.

The caſtle of Namur ſurrenders.

When the gariſon of the caſtle of Namur march'd out, King William, who ſate incognito in the Prince of Heſſe's coach, cauſed the marſhal de Boufflers to be arreſted, by way of reprizals, for the gariſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which were detain'd, and ill-uſed by the French, contrary to the Cartel. He was conducted to Maeſtricht, where he was treated with all the civility and reſpect due to his quality: but his confinement was not long; for upon the return of the captain of his guards, whom he ſent to give the King notice of what had happen'd, and the marſhal's ingaging his word, that the gariſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſhould be ſent back, as ſoon as he himſelf ſhould be ſet at liberty, his Majeſty gave orders for his releaſment.

The marſhal de Boufflers arreſted:

But releas'd again.

The gariſon of Namur, which, at firſt, conſiſted of near 15,000 men, was, during the ſiege, reduced to 5538 men. So that the beſieged loſt near as many men as the beſiegers.

The important conqueſt of Namur (1) being thus made, and the ſeaſon being too far advanced to attempt any thing farther of conſequence, King William left the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, his uſual receſs after the fatigues of a campain; while both armies continued in the field, without any farther action, till the 25th of September, when they began to ſeparate; and thus ended the campain in Flanders.

Major-general Ellemberg beheaded.

I muſt not, however, quit the Netherlands, without taking notice, that major-general Ellemberg, who ſo ſhamefully gave up Dixmuyde, coming, about the begining of October, to Ghent, he, with the other chief officers of the gariſons both of that place and Deynſe, were there ſecured, and a court-martial was appointed for their trial. By ſentenſe of this court, which was afterwards tranſmited to his Majeſty, and by him confirmed, major-general Ellemberg was condemned to be beheaded; brigadier O Farrell to be caſhier'd with infamy, and impriſon'd during the King's pleaſure; three other colonels to be likewiſe broke, and ſome ſuſpended. Accordingly Ellemberg had his head ſtruck off at Ghent, the 30th of November, and, tho' the court-marſhal judg'd his crime to be cowardice, and not treachery, he look'd death in the face with great reſolution.

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On the Rhine the campain was ſo inconſiderable, that it is ſcarce worth our notice: the French were, at the begining of it, ſuperior to the Prince of Baden, and ſo long they indeavor'd to draw him to an unequal battle: but his Highneſs, being, at length, re-inforced, quited his retrenchments, and then, in his turn, did what he could to bring the French to an ingagement, but with as little ſucceſs; and ſo the campain ended, without any thing material being done on either ſide.

The campain on the Rhine.

In Catalonia, the Spaniards had almoſt always been on the loſing ſide: but now they ſeem'd to ride triumphant at leaſt for a time. For four ſquadrons of Miquelets receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the enemy were upon the march from Bagnoles to Gironne, they incounter'd them by the way, and gave them a total defeat. Fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, upon information that monſ. St. Sylveſtre was marching with eight thouſand men, and between three and four hundred mules, laden with all ſorts of proviſions for Caſtle-Folet, they join'd themſelves to a body of Spaniards, and attack'd the French with ſo much vigor, that they kill'd about 2000 of them on the ſpot, and took near 500 priſoners, and almoſt all the mules. Soon after this, the Catalans and Miquelets routed another body of French, of about 2000 men, who were on their march, to join the 3000 which were before defeated: but here we may put a ſtop to their ſucceſs; for tho' they afterwards block'd up Caſtle-Folet more cloſely, with a deſign to ſtarve it, they could not hinder the duke of Vendome, from puting relief into the place, and they were forc'd to retire from before it with loſs. How little ſucceſs they had before Palamos, the reader has already ſeen: tho' had not admiral Ruſſel thought it neceſſary to re-imbark his troops, and bear away with the fleet, as he did, it was generally believed the place could not have held out above a day or two longer (2).

In Catalonia.

In Italy, the French were, likewiſe, the ſufferers, by the loſs of the important place of Caſal. This fortreſs had been long block'd up by the confederate forces, to little purpoſe: but, at length, it was reſolved to beſiege it in form. The trenches before the citadel were accordingly open'd, the latter end of June, as they were, ſoon after, before the town. By the 5th of July, the confederates began to play, with their bombs, upon the citadel and outworks, and the 8th they carried the palliſadoes, the counterſcarp, and the half-moon, by ſtorm. Upon which, the next day, the beſieged, finding the beſiegers ready to ſtorm the cover'd way, thought fit to beat a parly, and ſurrender the place, after about thirteen-days of open trenches: and this was all that happen'd, worthy our notice, in theſe parts (3).

And in Italy.

(1) The conqueſt of Namur was certainly very conſiderable; yet there were not wanting thoſe, who, to rob King William of part of the glory of it, pretend it coſt too dear: for (ſay they) not only ten or twelve thouſand men were loſt before the place, but this ſiege was the occaſion of the loſs of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, with their intire gariſons, and to this they add the bombardment of Bruſſels, the fineſt town in the Netherlands, which was deſtroyed, with all its rich moveables and effects, while the allies lay before Namur. Salmon's modern hiſtory, vol. 24. p. 184.

(2) The occaſion of the admiral's ſudden departure was, intelligence brought him, that monſ. Tourville, with the French fleet, was ready to ſail, from Toulon, for the ocean: but it afterwards appear'd to be only a ſtratagem of the French, by whom this report was induſtriouſly raiſed, to ingage the admiral to abandon the ſiege; and, in this, they ſucceeded.

(3) The confederates would not have ſo eaſily made themſelves maſters of this place, had not the marſhal de Catinat been oblig'd to ſend the greateſt part of his forces to ſecure the coaſt of Provence, againſt any invaſion from the Engliſh fleet, which at this time alarmed the ſouthern parts of France.

King

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King William returns to England.

King William, whom we left at Loo, arrived, from thence, at the Hague, the 7th of October, N. S. where having ſettled, with the States-general, the plan of the war, for the next year, he imbark'd, on the ninth, O. S. on board the William and Mary-yacht, and the next day landed ſafely at Margate, having been attended in his paſſage, by a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. His Majeſty lay that night at Canterbury, and, on the 11th, came thro' London and Weſtminſter, to Kenſington.

The parliament diſſolved, and another called.

The firſt thing the King did, after his arrival, was to call a council, in which he propoſed diſſolving the preſent parliament, and, it being reſolved upon, after ſome debate, a proclamation was ordered for that purpoſe, and for the ſpeedy calling of another, to be holden at Weſtminſter, the 22d of November next inſuing (1).

The King goes on a progreſs to the north.

It having been repreſented to the King, that it might very much conduce to his intereſt, in the inſuing elections, to ſhew himſelf to the people, and to converſe more familiarly with the nobility and gentry, than he uſed to do, his Majeſty thought fit to take a progreſs northward: but the better to cover his deſign, he went firſt of all to New-market, where he ſeem'd to be invited by the uſual diverſions of the place, at this time of the year. He was there met and complimented by the vice-chancelor and heads of the univerſity of Cambridge. From thence his Majeſty made a tour thro' Northamptonſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Warwickſhire, and ſeveral other countries, viſiting the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, till he came back again to Oxford, where, on the 10th of November, he was received by the duke of Ormond, their chancellor, dr. Adams, their vice-chancelor, and the reſt of the univerſity, in their academical habits: His Majeſty was conducted to the Theatre, where an elegant entertainment was provided; he could not, however, be prevailed upon to eat a morſel; but immediately took coach and went to Windſor (2).

The parliament meets.

The parliament being met, on the 22d of November, according to his Majeſty's writs of ſummons, the King being ſeated on the throne, and the commons ſent for up, the lord-keeper ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure to them, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker. The commons, thereupon, return'd to their houſe, and unanimouſly made choice of Paul Foley, eſq; who being, the next day, preſented to the King, and approved by him, his Majeſty then made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That it was with great ſatisfaction he met "them, being aſſured of a good diſpoſition of his "parliament, when he had ſuch proofs of the af- "fection of his people, by their behavior during "his abſenſe, and at his return.

"That he was ingaged in the preſent war by the "advice of his firſt parliament, who thought it "neceſſary for the defenſe of the Proteſtant reli- "gion, and for the preſervation of the liberties of "Europe. That the laſt parliament, with great "chearfulneſs, aſſiſted him to carry it on. That "he could not doubt but that their concern for the "common ſafety would oblige them to be unani- "mouſly zealous, for the proſecution of it; and WILL' III. "he was glad that the advantages, they had had, AN' 1695. "this year, gave them a reaſonable ground of hop- "ing for farther ſucceſs hereafter. That, upon "this occaſion, he could not but take notice of the "courage and bravery the Engliſh troops had ſhewn, "this laſt ſummer, which, he might ſay, had an- "ſwered their higheſt character in any age; and "that it would not be denied, that without the con- "currence of the valor and power of England, it "were impoſſible to put a ſtop to the ambition "and greatneſs of France."

Then addreſſing himſelf to the commons, he told them: "That he thought it a great misfortune, "that from the begining of his reign, he had "been forced to ask ſo many, and ſuch large "aids of his people; and yet, he was confident, "they would agree with him in opinion, that there "would be, at leaſt, as great ſupplies requiſite, for "carrying on the war, by ſea and land, this year, "as was granted in the laſt ſeſſion; the rather, be- "cauſe the enemy augmented their troops, and "that the neceſſity of augmenting the ſhiping did "plainly appear. That the funds, which had been "given, proved very deficient. That the con- "dition of the civil liſt was ſuch, that it would not "be poſſible for him to ſubſiſt, unleſs that matter "was taken into their care. That compaſſion ob- "liged him to mention the miſerable circumſtances "of the French Proteſtants, who ſuffered for their "religion, and, therefore, he earneſtly recommend- "ed to them, to provide a ſupply ſuitable to their "occaſions.

"That he muſt, likewiſe, take notice of a "great difficulty they lay under, at this time, by "reaſon of the ill ſtate of the coin, the redreſs of "which might, perhaps, prove a farther charge to "the nation; but that this was a matter of ſo "general concern, and of ſo very great impor- "tance; that he had thought fit to leave it in- "tirely to the conſideration of his parliament.

"That he did recommend to the laſt parliament, "the forming ſome good bills, for the incourage- "ment and increaſe of ſeamen: That, he hop'd, "they would not let this ſeſſion paſs, without doing "ſomething in it, and that they would conſider of "ſuch laws as might be proper for the advancement "of trade, and would have a particular regard to "that of the Eaſt-Indies, leſt it ſhould be loſt "to the nation: and that, while the war made it ne- "ceſſary, to have an army abroad, he could wiſh "ſome way might be thought of to raiſe neceſſary "recruits, without giving occaſion of complaint.

"That his deſign to meet his people in a new "parliament, had made the opening of this ſeſſion "very late; which he hoped, they would have ſuch "regard to, as to make all poſſible diſpatch of the "great buſineſs before them, and would call to "mind, that by the long continuance of the laſt "ſeſſion, the allies did not only loſe advantages, "which they might have had at the begining of the "campain, but gave the enemy ſuch an opportunity, "as might have proved very fatal to them: and that "he was the more concerned to preſs this, becauſe "of the great preparations the French made, to "be early in the field, the next year.

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(1) The chief reaſon which induced his Majeſty to diſſolve this parliament, was, probably, the proſecution of the duke of Leeds, which, in the whole courſe of it, had made him uneaſy, being thought, by many to have more ſpleen than juſtice in it: Now as, on the one hand, his Majeſty could never have ſacrificed a miniſter, to whom he not only owed his match with the late Queen, but who had, likewiſe, been ſo greatly inſtrumental in bringing about the revolution; ſo, on the other hand, there was no ſafer way to put a ſtop to an impeachment, which was ſtill depending, than the calling a new parliament.

(2) The duke of Ormond having communicated to his Majeſty a letter directed to his grace, by a nameleſs perſon, and dropped in the ſtreet, the day before, wherein information was given of a pretended deſign to poiſon the King at this entertainment, his Majeſty, without reflecting on the groundleſſneſs of the report, which was, undoubtedly raiſed by ſome enemy to him, or the univerſity, took this haſty reſolution: but as it was not thought proper, to expoſe his Majeſty's ſuſpicion, he declared, "that this was a viſit of kindneſs, not of curioſity, he having ſeen the univerſity before; and, therefore, did not propoſe to "make any ſtay at this time.

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In the close of this speech his Majesty told the lords, "that he had had such experience of their "good affections;" and to the commons; "that he "had such an intire satisfaction in the choice which "his people had made of them, that he promis'd "himself a happy conclusion of this session, unless "they suffered themselves to be misled into heats "and divisions, which being the only hope, the "common enemy now had left, he made no doubt, "but they would intirely disappoint them, by their "prudence and love to their country.

Addresses of both houses.

Both lords and commons address'd his Majesty, with great zeal and unanimity, and to the same effect, "congratulating him on his success, this "campain, and on his safe return, and assuring "him, that they would support his government, "and stand by him, in the prosecution of the war, "in which he was ingaged for the safety of Eng-"land, and the liberties of Europe." To the com-

His Majesty's answer.

mons address, his Majesty was pleas'd to answer: "that he thank'd them heartily for the marks they "gave him of their affection: adding; that his and "their interest were inseparable, and that there "was nothing he wish'd so much, as the hap-"pines of this country, where God had placed "him."

The first and main thing the parliament had to do, and which they undertook with great alacrity, was to find out ways and means to provide for the expense of the war, and to carry it on with vigor: however, to shew, at the same time, their zeal to the people who chose them, by securing their lives and estates, the commons, previous to all public business, on the 26th of November, brought again into the house the so much desir'd "bill for regu-

Bill for regulating trials, &c.

"lating trials, in cases of high treason and mispri-"son of treason," which had been several times lost, in former sessions of parliaments. It was read three times, pass'd, and sent up to the lords, for their concurrence, on the 8th of December. The lords added to it the clause they had always insisted on, viz. "that upon the trial of any peer or peeres, "for treason, or misprison of treason, all the peers "who have a right to sit and vote in parliament "shall be duly summoned twenty days at least before "such trial, and vote at the same, having first "taken the oaths appointed by the act of parlia-"ment made, in the first year of William and "Mary, and subscribed and repeated the declara-"tion, mention'd in the act made, 30 of Charles II," which clause was agreed to by the commons, the 17th of January (1).

A supply voted.

The second of December, the house of commons voted a supply for carrying on the war; the 6th they began to proportion it, and allotted 2,500,000 l. for the navy, and 16,972 l. for the officers of the two marine regiments. The 14th they voted 2,007,832 l. for the pay of 87,440 men, including commission and non-commission officers, making up the horse, dragoons and foot, which, according to the list of the land-forces deliver'd into the house, they had voted necessary, for the service of the year 1696. And lastly 500,000 l. for the office of ordnance, the pay of the general officers, transports, hospitals, contingencies, and other extraordinary charge of the war; in all 5,024,853 l.

Ways and means.

Having again granted this vast supply, the next thing was to find out means to raise it, which could not but be very difficult, as so many funds were already so largely anticipated. And tho' the landed interest had all along born so great a share of the public charge, the commons did not aim at sparing themselves, but again laid 4 s. in the pound upon land, as likewise upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and imployments of profit, other than military offices in the army, navy and ordnance. This tax, however, falling very short of answering the supplies they had voted, the house resolved, first to inlarge the times for persons to come in and purchase certain annuities, mention'd in a former act. Second, to continue the duties formerly charged on low wines, and spirits of the first extraction. Third, to continue the duties upon all wines, vinegar, and tobacco, from the 24th of June 1698, to the 29th of September 1701. Fourth, To continue the duties upon all East-India goods and manufactures, and upon all wrought silks, and several other goods, from the 10th of November, 1697, to the 29th of September, 1701. Fifth, to settle a fund, by continuing the duties upon salt, for the payment of interest, not exceeding seven pound per cent, redeemable by parliament: and, Sixth, that the duties of twenty-five l. per ton, be laid upon all French wine, thirty l. per ton upon all French brandy; fifteen l. per ton, upon all French vinegar, and twenty-five pound per cent. ad valorem, upon all other goods of the growth, product or manufacture of France, imported after the 12th day of March 1697, for the term of twenty-one years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, over and above the duties already charg'd thereupon, without any deduction, and after that rate, for any greater or lesser quantity. And several bills were prepared and brought in pursuant to these reso-

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lutions.

Debates about re-coining the mony.

The next important matter, which required the consideration of parliament, was their coining of the silver-mony of this kingdom; which, as it was one of the most remarkable events of this reign, I shall be particular in my relation of. The lords having consider'd that part of the King's speech, which related to the ill state of the coin, and having drawn up an address, to which, in a conference, they desir'd the concurrence of the lower house, the latter in a committee of the whole house, enter'd upon that grand affair: and the first question was, whether it was necessary or expedient, to re-coin the silver-mony? the affirmative was held by the court-party; but it met with a strong opposition: for which the following reasons were alledged:

Reasons against it.

"That this was no fit conjuncture for it; that "the nation was ingaged in a doubtful and burden-"som war: by which the kingdom had already "greatly suffer'd, and of which it grew every day "more sensible: that, therefore, the people, on "whose good affection, the government so much "depended, should not be provoked by new griev-"ances, greater than any they had yet felt, as "those would certainly be, that must arise from the "calling in the silver-coin: that if this was done, "however things might be managed, and accom-"modated at home, it were impossible to maintain, "either the commerce or the war abroad: for nei-"ther the merchant could be paid his bills of ex-"change, nor the soldier receive the subsistence. "That this was to lay the axe to the root, and "to dig up the foundations of the government. "That if this design was prosecuted, trade must "stand still, for want of mutual payments, whence "such disorder and confusion would certainly fol-

(1) A remarkable turn of wit is related, on this occasion, of the young lord Shaftsbury; who perceiving, while the bill was yet depending in the house of commons, that some opposition was made to it, rose up, in order to speak for it, and having begun his speech, he industriously feign'd to be surpriz'd, that, for a while he could not go on: but having recover'd himself, he took occasion from his very surprise, to inforce the necessity of allowing counsel to prisoners, who were to appear before their judges, since he, who not only was unaccused and innocent, but one of their members, was so dash'd, when he was to speak before that august assembly. History of King William III. vol. 3. p. 117.

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"low, as would diſcourage and diſhearten the peo-
"ple, in the higheſt meaſure, if not drive them to
"a perfect deſpair, as deſpair would to the moſt
"terrible extremities: that, therefore, the re-coin-
"ing the mony at this time was by no means to be
"attempted, without hazarding all."

Reaſons for it.

Thoſe of the contrary opinion, at the head of whom was mr. Charles Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, alledged: "that the miſchief would be "fatal, if a preſent remedy was not found out and "applied: that by reaſon of the ill ſtate of the coin, "the exchange abroad was infinitely to the nation's "prejudice: that the ſupplies, which were raiſed "to maintain the army, would never attain their "end, being ſo much diminiſh'd and devour'd by "the unequal change, and exorbitant premiums, "before they reach'd the camp: that this was the "unhappy cauſe, that guineas were advanced to thir-"ty ſhillings, and forein gold in proportion: that, "therefore, to the nation's great loſs, not only the "Dutch, but, indeed, all Europe, ſent that com-"modity to this market; and would continue ſo to "do, till the nation ſhould be impoveriſh'd and "undone, by too much gold: that we muſt ex-"change for their gold our goods or our ſilver, 'till, "at laſt, we ſhould have only guineas to trade "withal; which no body could think our neigh-"bors would be ſo kind to receive back at the "value they were at here: that, therefore, this "diſeaſe would, every day, take deeper root, in-"fect the very vitals of the nation, and, if not "remedied, would ſoon become incurable: that "our enemies muſt be mightily intimidated by ſo "great an action, and would ſooner be induced to "agree to honorable terms of peace, in caſe they "ſaw us able to ſurmount this difficulty, by the "retrieving the ill ſtate of the coin, on which their "hopes of the nation's ſpeedy ruin ſo much de-"pended; and that it would juſtly create an "eſteem abroad, of the greatneſs and wiſdom of "the parliament of England, which was able to "conquer ſuch an obſtinate and almoſt inſuperable "evil, in ſuch a juncture of affairs."

Reſolution to re-coin the mony.

It was at length, reſolved, after a long debate, and mature conſideration of the circumſtances, to call in and re-coin the ſilver mony. This done, the

Debate about the ſtandard.

next queſtion was; whether the ſeveral denomina-tions of the new mony ſhould have the ſame weight and fineneſs as the old; or whether the eſtabliſh'd ſtandard ſhould be rais'd? this queſtion again pro-duced long debates: thoſe who were for raiſing the

Reaſons for raiſing it.

ſtandard alledged; "that the price of an ounce of "ſilver-bullion was advanced to ſix ſhillings and "three pence, and, therefore, the ſtandard ought "to be raiſed to an equality. That the raiſing the "ſtandard, would prevent the exportation of the "coin, which, of late, had been much practiſed, "to the great prejudice of the kingdom. That it "would prevent its being melted down, and that, "thereby, people would be much incouraged to "bring in their plate and bullion into the mint."

Theſe arguments were contradicted by the court-party, who urged;

Reaſons againſt it.

"That the worth of mony was relative, and to "be rated by the meaſure of ſuch goods, labor, "advice, ſkill, or other aſſiſtances, as could be "purchaſed from another by our parting with it. "That the value of mony, among people who "lived under different municipal laws, was in-"trinſick, and conſiſted in its weight and fine-"neſs: that common conſent had given it this "value, for the common conveniency of ſupplying "one another's wants. That the weight and fine-"neſs was the only worth, which other nations re-"garded in our coin, as we in theirs; all mony "being, between ſubjects of different governments, "of no greater value, excepting the workmanſhip, "than ſo many pieces of uncoin'd bullion: that, "therefore, ſhould our ſtandard be alter'd, we "ſhould ſtill be upon the ſame foot with our neigh-"bors, for if we were to pay them for their goods, "or exchange our mony with theirs, whatever de-"nomination we gave our mony, they would, in "their exchange, ever reduce it to an equality "with theirs, and proportion the quantity and "goodneſs of their commodities, to the weight and "fineneſs of the mony they were to receive for "them; ſo that, in reſpect of our forein com-"merce, there was no reaſon to alter our ſtandard. "If the ſtandard was raiſed, at home, they ſaid, "great confuſion would attend it, the landlord "would be defrauded of a great part of his rents, "and the creditor of his debts: that the ſeaman "and the ſoldier would be wrong'd in their pay, "and many the like injuries and inconveniencies "would happen. That it was no anſwer to ſay, "they might buy as much goods and conveniences "of life with this coin, raiſed above its ſtandard, "as they could before: becauſe, by degrees, the "ſeller would infallibly raiſe the price of his goods, "in proportion to the new-raiſed ſtandard, and "that, of this, there was an inſtance before them; "all commodities being greatly raiſed in their "price, while guineas were paid for thirty ſhil-"lings. That, whereas it was alledged, that the "price of bullion was riſen to ſix ſhillings and "three pence, and, therefore, the ſtandard of the "ſilver coin ought to be raiſed likewiſe: It was re-"plied, that it was a thing impoſſible for the price "of ſilver to riſe and fall in reſpect of itſelf: that it "was an unchangeable truth, than which no mathe-"matical demonſtration could be clearer, that an "ounce of ſilver would ever be worth another ounce "of the ſame fineneſs, and no more: allowing "ſome inconſiderable diſparity upon the account "of the coin, if one ounce be in mony, and the "other in bullion: that it was true, indeed, the "people commonly gave ſix ſhillings and three "pence for an ounce of bullion, but that they "only gave clipp'd pieces, that had no more than "the ſound of ſhillings and pence; but were by "no means the things themſelves; that is, they "were not the ſtandard-ſhillings of due weight and "fineneſs, and were no more ſo, in the juſt ſenſe "the word, than an ell is an ell, when the third "part of it is cut off: that the caſe was ſo plain, "that when they demanded of thoſe, who affirmed "an ounce of bullion was worth ſix ſhillings and "three pence, whether they meant ſix mill'd ſhil-"lings and three pence, they knew not what to "reply: for this alteration of the value of bullion "was meerly in relation to diminiſh'd mony: and, "to make it yet more evident, they urg'd, it was "then matter of fact, that with five ſhillings and "two pence, of new mill'd mony, they could buy "as much bullion as they pleas'd; while thoſe who "bought it with clipp'd pieces, paid ſix ſhillings "and three pence. That whereas it was urg'd, "that the raiſing the ſtandard would prevent the "exportation of our mony; it was anſwer'd, that "there was no other way poſſible to keep our mony "at home, than by out-trading our neighbours, "that is, by ſending them more commodities, or "of greater value, than thoſe we received from "them: for if, upon the ballance, we were found "in their debt, there was no way left, but to pay "it in coin or bullion; and that, therefore, what-"ever denomination we gave our coin, we muſt "be neceſſitated to ſend it abroad, if the commodi-"ties we exported could not pay our debts; and "that all the other arguments, for raiſing the ſtan-"dard, would ſink to the ground, in caſe theſe two, "on which the reſt were built, had no reaſonable "foundation.

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Resolutions thereupon.

These debates being at an end, the commons resolved, on the 10th of December, "to recoin the "clipped mony, according to the established standard of the mint, both as to weight and fineness;" and to make it more easy to the people, they voted "a recompense for the deficiency of "the clipped mony; and that the loss of such clipped mony should be born by the public; and a "fund of 1,200,000 l. settled for that purpose."

The commons were not, in the mean time, insensible of the inconveniencies that must necessarily attend the calling in and re-coining the clipped mony, the chief of which would be a cessation of payments, and as a consequence thereof, an interruption of commerce. It was evident, England could not subsist, unless some expedient was found out to support its trade, 'till the new mony returned from the Mint, since gold alone could not do it. They therefore, agreed, "to call in the mony by degrees, that "while some denominations of coin were suppressed others might be current:" Hoping, that before the last old mony should come in to be re-coined, so much of the new might circulate from the Mint, as might sufficiently answer the necessities of the nation.

They thereupon resolved; first, "that a day be "appointed, after which no clipped crowns or "half-crowns be taken, as also any mony clipped "within the ring, be allowed in payment, or to "pass, except only to the collectors of his Majesty's revenues and taxes, and upon loans and "payments into the exchequer: secondly, that a "day be appointed after which no clipped mony "should pass in any payment whatsoever: thirdly, "that a day be appointed, for all persons to bring "in their clipped mony, to be re-coined into milled "mony; after which no recompense should be made "for the same." The 11th of December, an address was ordered to be prepared to desire his Majesty to regulate the currency of clipped mony, (1) according to the foregoing resolutions, and the same being presented accordingly, his Majesty, on the 19th, caused his royal proclamation to be issued for that end.

While these things were transacting, the commons, considering that the maintenance of an army abroad occasioned the exportation of the coin, which could be no ways prevented but by supplying the army with necessaries out of this kingdom, on the 13th of December, ordered an address to be presented to his Majesty: "that he would please to "procure, that all commodities and provisions, "that should be transported from England, for "the use of the forces in his Majesty's pay abroad, "might be exempted from any duty or excise, "throughout the Spanish and united Netherlands:" To which the King answered: "that what the "commons desired, had been done, in a good "measure, for several years, and that he would see "what could be farther done in it."

The 17th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the house, a bill, which he had prepared, "for regulating the coinage of the "silver mony" which having been considered by the commons, they ordered, the 23d, a clause of loan to be inserted into it, in favor of such as would advance mony on credit of the exchequer, in general, transferable to such funds, as should be settled by parliament, towards making good the deficiencies of the clipped mony; and likewise ordered the committee to take care, that all persons who should bring in clipped mony (above what was for taxes) should have a recompense for the same: the bill being amended accordingly, passed the 27th, and was sent up to the lords for their concurrence.

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For supplying the deficiency of the clipped mony, the commons resolved, the last day of the year, to raise 1,200,000 l. by a duty upon all dwelling houses except cottages (2); which duty was to be paid by the inhabitants of the said houses, and to be continued for seven years, and no longer.

A public fast.

Before I enter on the transactions of the year 1696, I must mention, that at the begining of this session, the commons addressed his Majesty to appoint a fast, for the success of the parliament, and accordingly, the 11th of December was appointed, for London, and the 18th, for the rest of the kingdom.

Written protections declared void.

Great complaints being likewise made to the house, of the abuse of written protections given by the members, such protections were called in, and made void in law: It was, however, at the same time, declared, that their menial servants should injoy the same privileges as before; but no person should be taken into custody, upon complaint of a breach of privilege, 'till the matter should be examined, which order was not to extend to any breach of privilege upon the person of a member.

An' 1696. Inconveniencies occasion'd by calling in the clipped mony.

But to return to the case of the clipped mony: the terms appointed by the King's proclamation, to put a stop to the currency of it, were so short, that notwithstanding all the precaution which had been used, an immediate stop was thereby put to trade (3). The inconveniencies which occasioned this stop being represented to the house of commons, and the danger that attended them too evident to be over-looked, the house considered, in a grand committee, the state of the nation, and how to prevent the stop of commerce during the re-coining of the clipped monies. After several debates on this matter, they resolved, on the 9th of January, first, "that "the recompense for supplying the clipped mony "should extend to all clipped mony, which was silver, altho' of a coarser allay than the standard: "Secondly, that the collectors and receivers of his "Majesty's aids and revenues be injoined to receive "all such mony. Thirdly, that a reward of 5 l. "per cent. be given to all such persons as should "bring in, either milled, or broad unclipped "mony, to be applied in exchange of the clipped "mony, throughout the kingdom. Fourthly,

Resolutions of the commons thereupon.

(1) The lords had before addressed the King to the same effect.

(2) This tax was of two shillings yearly upon each house, four shillings yearly upon every house having ten windows, and eight shillings yearly, upon such houses as have twenty windows, over and above the said two shillings.

(3) This stop was partly occasioned by the backwardness of the people to receive any old mony, tho' allowed at present to pass, upon an apprehension, that at last, it would be left upon their hands; partly, from the slowness of re-coining, in respect of the wants of the public, tho' otherwise dispatched, with all the expedition possible in so great an affair; and partly by reason of the unequal intrinsic value, between the new-milled mony, and those pieces or denominations of the old, which were allowed to be current: for while the hammered mony, and pieces not clipped within the rim, were permited to pass, for the present necessity of trade, no body was willing to make payments in new mony, which so much exceeded the old in its intrinsic value. And therefore, the new silver mony, as fast as it issued from the mints and exchequer, was stopped, in a great measure, in the hands of the first receiver: for none were disposed to make payments, in the new silver coin, at the old standard, when they could do it in the clipped pieces, so much below it: and those who had no payment to make kept their new mony in their chests, as medals and rarities; and there is a great deal of reason to believe, that at first, large sums of the new mony, by the help of the crucible, went in ingots abroad to purchase gold, which at this time, was a very profitable commodity in England.

"that

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" that a reward alſo of 3 d. per ounce be given to " all perſons who ſhould bring in wrought plate to " the Mint to be re-coined. Fifthly; that for the " ſooner bringing in the clipped mony to be re-" coined, any perſons might pay in their whole next " years tax of 4 s. in the pound, in the ſaid clipped " mony, at one convenient time, appointed for " that purpoſe: Laſtly, that commiſſioners be ap-" pointed in every county, to pay and diſtribute " the milled and broad unclipped mony and the " new-coined mony, and to receive the clipped " mony." A committee was appointed at the ſame time, to prepare and bring in a bill upon the ſaid reſolutions.

A bill upon theſe reſolutions.

A bill was accordingly preſented, and, after a ſecond reading, on the 21ſt of January, commited to a committee of the whole houſe: The queſtion was put the ſame day, that it be an inſtruction to the ſaid committee, to conſider the price of guineas, which paſſed in the negative. The ſiting of this committee was interrupted for ſome time; however, on the 4th of February it was reſolved: " that a farther incouragement be given " for bringing in plate to be coined, and broad " mony in order to be exchanged for clipped mo-" ny; and that a clauſe be inſerted in the ſaid bill " to prevent the melting down, and exportation of " coin, or any bullion." Two days after the ſaid " committee was impowered to receive another clauſe, " to prohibit the uſe of plate in public " houſes (1).

The houſe of peers having, on the 6th of January, made ſeveral amendments to the " bill for re-" gulating the coinage of the ſilver mony of this " kingdom," moſt of which were, on the 13th, after ſeveral debates and conferences, diſagreed to by the commons, mr. chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, preſented, the 16th, another bill to the houſe, " for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin of " this kingdom," which was received, and after ſome amendments had been made to it, by a committee of the whole houſe, ordered to be ingroſſed, and then ſent up to the lords, for their concurrence.

Acts paſſed.

The 21ſt, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to this act, and at the ſame time, to " an act for inlarging " the times to come in, and purchaſe certain an-" nuities, &c; an act for regulating trials, in caſes " of treaſon and miſpriſion of treaſon; an act for " preventing charge and expenſe in elections of " members to ſerve in parliament;" and to ſeveral private bills: the 13th of February, the King came again to the parliament houſe, and gave the royal ſanction to " an act for granting to his Majeſty an " aid of 4 s. in the pound; an act to prevent falſe " and double returns of members to ſerve in par-" liament; an act for the more eaſy recovering of " ſmall tithes," and to ſeven private acts.

Debates about lowering the price of guineas.

The next debate of moment, which may properly follow the former concerning the re-coining of the ſilver mony, as being relative thereunto, was concerning the exhorbitant price of guineas. This debate was occaſioned by a petition preſented, the 8th of February, to the commons, by diverſe merchants and others; in which they prayed, that the difficulties they labored under, and loſſes which they ſuſtained, in their trade and payments, occaſioned by the riſe of guineas, might be taken into conſideration. The houſe begun, by ordering a bill to be brought in, " for taking off the obligation and " incouragement of coining guineas, for a certain " time;" and then they proceeded to the lowering of the value: which was not however done without ſome oppoſition.

The reaſons againſt lowering the price of guineas were; " that the people were eaſy and pleas'd " with their being at this price; that abundance of " people, in whoſe hands they ſhould, at laſt, be " found, would be looſers, which would occaſion " great diſturbance and clamor in the kingdom; " that it ought, therefore, to be conſidered, how far " it was fit to incenſe the common people in this " juncture of affairs, who had already ſuffered ſo " much by the war." The oppoſite party, who were for reducing the price of guineas, objected; " that there was as great reaſon to bring down the " price of guineas, as there was to re-coin the ſilver " mony, at the old ſtandard; (here they reckoned " up the miſchiefs mentioned above on that head;) " that however the parliament were obliged to " manage, by the neceſſity of affairs, and to ſuffer, " for a time, the guineas to paſs at that exceſſive " rate, that there might be in ſome meaſure a " currency of mony, while the Mints were imploy-" ed in re-coining the ſilver; yet now they were " obliged to ſink the price nearer the old ſtandard, " that the ſilver mony might not be hoarded up, " as faſt as iſſued from the Mint? and that what-" ever loſſes and inconveniencies the people might " ſuffer, by the reducing of guineas, yet the miſ-" chiefs which aroſe, and would daily increaſe, " from not doing it, did infinitely over-balance " thoſe on the other ſide."

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Reaſons againſt it.

Reaſons for it.

The value of guineas ſunk.

Theſe reaſons, at length, prevailing, the commons reſolved to lower the price of guineas, and that they might do it with the leſs grievance to the people, they at firſt, on the 15th of February, reduced them from thirty to twenty-eight ſhillings, afterwards from twenty-eight ſhillings to twenty-ſix ſhillings, till at laſt, a clauſe was inſerted in the " bill " for incouraging the bringing of plate to the " the Mint," whereby they were ſettled at twenty-two ſhillings, from which they naturally fell to their former price of twenty-one ſhillings ſix-pence. And thus this great undertaking, which tho' highly difficult was abſolutely neceſſary, came to a happy end, to the immortal honor of this parliament in general, and in particular of mr. Charles Montague, (afterwards lord Halliſax) to whoſe ſhare the management of this arduous and important affair chiefly fell.

Affair of the Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company.

I come now to an affair, which, together with another I ſhall mention afterwards, gave the King no ſmall uneaſineſs: the Scots, purſuant to the act of parliament they had obtained, for erecting a company to trade to Africa and the Eaſt-Indies, of which I made ſome mention above, having procured a great many ſubſcribers, as well Engliſh Interlopers and Hamburghers, as Scots; the Engliſh Eaſt-India-company preſented a petition to the houſe of peers, ſeting forth; " that this Scotiſh " company would not only be greatly prejudicial to " the Engliſh Eaſt-India-company, but to the na-" tion in general." The houſe of lords, hereupon, formed an addreſs to the King, to which the commons gave their concurrence, wherein they repreſented to his Majeſty: that having " taken into " their conſideration the ſtate of the trade of this " kingdom, they found, that beſide many other " diſadvantages and difficulties it now lay un-" der, an act of parliament which had lately re-" ceived his Majeſty's royal aſſent in his king-" dom of Scotland, for erecting a company trad-" ing to Africa, and the Indies, was likely to " bring many prejudices and miſchiefs to all his " Majeſty's ſubjects, that were concerned in the " wealth and trade of this nation; that the ſaid " act did provide," that all ſhips, merchandize,

(1) This afterwards proved one of the beſt expedients to ſupply the Mint with bullion, there being at this time, ſcarce any public houſe in England, that had not ſeveral ſilver tankards, and other utenſils of the ſame metal, which the owners choſe rather to ſend to the Mints and turn into ready mony, than to keep ſo much uſeleſs and dead ſilver at home.

and

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and other effects whatſoever, belonging to that company, ſhould be free from all manner of reſtraints or prohibitions, and of all cuſtoms, taxes, ſeſſes, ſupplies, or other duties impoſed, or to be impoſed by act of parliament, or otherwiſe, for the ſpace of twenty-one years: and farther, that the ſaid company, whoſe members, officers, ſervants, or others belonging thereto, ſhould be free, both in their perſons, eſtates and goods imployed in the ſaid ſtock and trade, from all manner of taxes, ſeſſes, ſupplies, exciſes, quartering of ſoldiers, tranſient or local, levying of ſoldiers, or other impoſitions whatſoever, during the ſpace of twenty-one years. "That "by reaſon of the great advantages granted to the "Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company, and the duties and "difficulties which lay upon that trade, in Eng- "land, a great part of the ſtock and ſhiping of "this nation would be carried thither; and by "this means Scotland might be made a free port "for all Eaſt-India-commodities; and conſequent- "ly thoſe ſeveral places in Europe, which were "ſupplied from England, would be furniſhed from "Scotland, much cheaper than could be done by "the Engliſh, and therefore, this nation loſe the "benefit of ſupplying foreign parts with thoſe "commodities, which had always been a great ar- "ticle in the ballance of their forein trade. More- "over, that the ſaid commodities would unavoid- "ably be brought by the Scots into England "by ſtealth, both by ſea and land, to the vaſt "prejudice of the Engliſh trade and navigation, "and to the great detriment of his Majeſty, in "his cuſtoms: and that when the Scotiſh nation "ſhould have ſettled themſelves in plantations in "America, the Engliſh commerce in tobacco, "ſugar, cotton, wool, ſkins, maſts, &c. would "be utterly loſt, becauſe the privileges of that "nation, granted them by this act, were ſuch, that "that kingdom muſt be the magazine for all com- "modities, and the Engliſh plantations, and the "traffic there, loſt to this nation, and the expor- "tation of their own manufactures yearly decreaſed: "that beſide theſe, and many other obſtructions, "that this act would unavoidably bring to the gene- "ral trade of this nation, another clauſe in the ſaid "act, whereby" his Majeſty promiſed to interpoſe his authority to have reſtitution, reparation and ſatisfaction made, for any damage that might be done to any of the ſhips, goods, merchandizes, perſons or other effects whatſoever, belonging to the ſaid company, and that upon the public charge; "did "ſeem to ingage his Majeſty to imploy the ſhiping "and ſtrength at ſea of this nation, to ſupport "this new company, to the great detriment even of "this kingdom."

To this addreſs, the King anſwered: "that he "had been ill-ſerved in Scotland, but he hoped "ſome remedies might be found to prevent the in- "conveniences which might ariſe from this "act."

The 26th of January, the commons, after having read the report of a committee appointed to examine by what methods the ſaid act was procured, together with ſeveral other papers relating to this affair, came to a reſolution, that "the directors "of the company of Scotland, trading to Africa, "and the Indies, adminiſtring and taking here, "in this kingdom, an oath de fideli, and under "color of a Scotiſh act of parliament, ſtyling "themſelves a company, and acting as ſuch, and "raiſing mony in this kingdom, for carrying on the "ſaid trade, were guilty of a high crime and "miſdemeanor; and that the lord Belhaven, "William Patterſon, the projector (1), and the "reſt of the directors, who were reſident in Eng- "land, ſhould be impeached.

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The commons having conſidered ſeveral times, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, in relation to trade, reſolved, firſt, "that a coun- "cil of trade be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, "with powers for the more effectual preſervation "of the trade of this kingdom; ſecondly, that "the commiſſioners conſtituting the ſaid council "be nominated by parliament; thirdly, that "none of the commiſſioners be of this houſe; "fourthly, that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould take "an oath, acknowledging that King William was "rightful and lawful heir of this realm, and that the "late King James had no right or title thereunto, &c. Theſe, with ten other reſolutions relating to the ſaid council, being reported to the houſe, the two firſt, with ſome more of them, were approved; but ſeveral others, and eſpecially the fourth, which occaſioned a warm debate, were rejected by the houſe: whereupon a bill was ordered to be brought in, upon the reſolutions agreed to (2).

A council of trade voted.

The other affair I mentioned, which gave great uneaſineſs to the King, was a grant his Majeſty had made to the earl of Portland, and to his heirs for ever, of the manors of Denbigh, Bromfield and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, being part of the demeſnes of the Prince of Wales. The gentlemen of Wales ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this grant, and the warrant coming to the lords of the treaſury, they were, at one or two days notice only, heard againſt it, before their lordſhips: they repreſented; "that the Welſh were never ſubject to any but to "God and the King; that thoſe lordſhips were "unalienable; that they belonged to the Prince of "Wales when there was one, and the rents now "ſupported the government there, the ſalaries of "the judges, and other officers of the crown, "being paid out of them: they ſaid, the grant was "too great for any forein ſubject to have; and "the people of the country were too great to be "ſubject to a foreiner: that if ſuch grants were "frequently made, there would be nothing left "for the King or his ſucceſſors to ſubſiſt on: they "could not conceive how the glory and grandeur "of England could be upheld by a poor landleſs "crown, and a miſerable neceſſitous people: that "they were not Engliſh, but forein politicians, "that adviſed the King to theſe grants: that the "Kings of England always reigned beſt when they "had the affections of their Engliſh ſubjects; of "which they were ſecure, when the people were "ſenſible the King was intirely in their intereſt, "and loved the Engliſh ſoil, as well as the people's "mony:" To which mr. Price, then a member of the houſe of commons, but afterwards a very famous judge, towards the concluſion of a long ſpeech he made, added: "let it be conſidered (ſaid he) "can it be for his Majeſty's intereſt or honor "(when the people hear this and underſtand it)

A grant to the earl of Portland reſented.

(1) The other directors were David Nairne, James Smith, James Cheiſly, William Shepherd, Robert Blackwood, James Balfour, James Fowlis, Thomas Coutts, Abraham Wilmer, Daniel van Mildert, Robert Williamſon, Anthony Merry, Paul Dominicque, Robert Douglas, Thomas Skinner, Hugh Fraſier, James Bateman, Walter Stewart, and Joſeph Cohen d'Azevedo. Hiſt. of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 131.

(2) The Scots, notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, proceeded in their project of making ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, and actually ſettled a colony on the Iſthmus of Darien or Panama in America; from whence it was thought they propoſed to trade both with the Eaſt-Indies and Europe, if they had not been expelled from thence by the Spaniards, who never ſuffer any European nations to carry on a trade, thro' the Pacific ocean, or South-ſea, to the Eaſt-Indies.

"that

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" that he daily gives away the revenues, and " more, the perpetuity of his crown-revenue to his " forein ſubjects? Good Kings, after a long and " chargeable war, were accuſtomed to tell their " people, that they ſorrowed for the hardſhips the " nation underwent by long war and heavy taxes, " and that now they would live on their own: but " it is to be feared, if grants are made ſo large " and ſo frequent, there will be nothing for the " King or his ſucceſſors, to call his own to live " upon." Having all done ſpeaking, the lord Godolphin ſaid; " they had offered many " weighty reaſons, which they (the lords of the " treaſury) ſhould repreſent to his Majeſty."

From the treaſury, the gentlemen of Wales attended the grant to the privy-ſeal, where their reaſons and complaints againſt it were heard and received with all candor and goodneſs: yet, notwithſtanding all this, the ſaid grant being only ſuperſeded, but not recalled, ſir Thomas Groſvenor, ſir Richard Middleton, ſir John Conway, ſir Robert Cotton, ſir William Williams, ſir Roger Puleſton, Edward Vaughan, Edward Brereton, and Robert Price, eſqs; addreſſed themſelves, by petition, to the commons. Upon this occaſion mr. Price again made a long and very memorable ſpeech, in which having obſerved, " that this petition, tho' " ſubſcribed by a few hands, yet had the appro- " bation of thouſands, who were not influenced " by their own intereſt, but acted for the honor of " the crown, and the welfare of the Britiſh nation;" he added, to what he had before offered to the lords of the treaſury and the lord privy-ſeal, among many others, the following weighty arguments: " We are in a confederacy in war, and ſome of " thoſe confederates our enemies in trade, tho' " planted among us, ſome of them are in the " King's council; ſome in the army; and the " common traders have poſſeſſed themſelves of the " outſkirts of this great city: we find ſome or " other of them naturalized, and others made " denizens; every parliament, we find, indeavors " for a general naturalization, and that warmly " ſollicited from court. We ſee our coin all gone, " and our confederates openly coining baſe mony, " of Dutch allay for us: we ſee moſt places of " power and profit given to foreigners: we ſee " our confederates in conjunction with the Scots, " indeavoring to ruin our Engliſh trade: we ſee " the revenues of the crown daily given away to " one or other, who make ſale of them, and tranſ- " mit their eſtates elſewhere: we do not find any of " them buy lands or eſtates among us; but what " they can get from us, they ſecure in their " own country; how can we hope for happy days " in England, when this great lord, and other " foreigners (tho' naturalized) are in the Engliſh, " and alſo in the Dutch councils? if theſe ſtrangers " (tho' confederates) ſhould be in different intereſts, " (as they evidently are, in point of trade) to " which intereſt is it to be ſuppoſed, theſe great " forein counſellors and favorites would adhere? " So that I foreſee, when we are reduced to ex- " tream poverty (as we are now very near it) we " are to be ſupplanted by our neighbors, and be- " come a colony to the Dutch. We ought to con- " ſider we are Engliſhmen, and like good pa- " triots, ſtand by our country, and not ſuffer it " to become tributary to ſtrangers: we have " rejoiced, that we have beat out of this country " Popery and Slavery, and do now, with as great " joy, entertain Socinianiſm and Poverty; and yet " we ſee our properties daily given away, and our " liberties muſt follow. The remedies (added " he to conclude) that our fore-fathers took to cure " ſuch like ills, are well known. I deſire more " redreſs than puniſhment; therefore I ſhall nei- " ther move for an impeachment againſt this noble " lord, nor the baniſhment of him; but ſhall beg " he may have no power over us, nor we any de- " pendence on him; and ſo conclude with this mo- " tion; that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty, " to ſtop the grant that is paſſing to the earl " of Portland, of the lordſhips of Denbigh, " Bromfield and Yale, and other lands in the prin- " cipality of Wales, and that the ſame be not " granted but by conſent of parliament."

Part of mr. Price's remarkable ſpeech.

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This bold ſpeech had ſo great weight with the houſe, that mr. Price's motion was carried by unanimous conſent: and an addreſs being prepared, purſuant thereunto, and preſented to the King, on the 22d of January, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty expreſſed himſelf to this effect:

An addreſs againſt it.

" I have a kindneſs for my lord Portland, which " he has deſerved of me by long and faithful ſer- " vices: but I ſhould not have given him theſe " lands, if I had imagined the houſe of commons " could have been concerned: I will, therefore, re- " call the grant, and find ſome other way of ſhew- " ing my favor to him.

The King's anſwer.

The attention not only of the court and parliament, but of the whole nation, began now to be taken off from all other affairs, by a diſcovery that was made, as well of an invaſion and inſurrection, with which the kingdom was threatned, as with an aſſaſſination intended againſt his Majeſty's royal perſon. The French King began to be heartily tired of the war, having in a manner ruined and depopulated his whole country, and the laſt campain in Flanders having, as it were, blaſted all his hopes in the field, he determined, before he gave up the cards, to make one grand effort to reſtore his ally, King James. In order to this, new levies were made in France, during the winter, and a great number of forces were ordered to file off towards Dunkirk and Calais. Towards the begining of February, it began to be a public diſcourſe in France, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was now fully reſolved to re-eſtabliſh King James, and had concerted matters ſo well, that nothing but the wind and waves could prevent it (1). The 18th of February, O. S. King James went in a poſt-chaiſe to Calais, in order to imbark for England, being attended by the marſhal de Boufflers, and the duke of Berwick, with ſir George Barclay; and ſome reformed officers were ſent before to England, to prepare King James's friends to join him there, at his landing. The French King, beſide the other expences of this expedition, made a preſent of 100,000 louis d'or, to King James, with a promiſe of ſix millions of livres more, as occaſion ſhould require, and the abdicated Monarch borrowed 150,000 livres on his jewels. In order to facilitate this enterprize, ſome of the moſt deſperate of the conſpirators (ſome ſay with, others will have it without, the knowledge of King James, or indeed, any conſiderable men of their party) (2) had reſolved to attack King William's guards, as he came

A plot to invade England and aſſaſſinate the King.

(1) They were ſo confident, in France, of the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that the duke of Orleans urged it as an argument to the duke of Savoy, to make his ſeparate peace, before the total overthrow of the confederates, which of neceſſity would attend the reſtoration of the abdicated Monarch. Hiſt. of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 145.

The preparations which were made in France, for this invaſion, were very extraordinary. The troops appointed for it, conſiſted of eighteen regiments of foot, three of horſe, and two of dragoons, all veteran troops, amounting together to 16,000 men, to be commanded by the marquis d'Harcourt. Between 4 and 500 tranſports were ready at Calais and Dunkirk, and they were to be convoyed by fifty-one men of war. They had orders to land at Dover or Rye; where the Jacobites had promiſed to receive them. Cont. of Rapin in French. Book 25. p. 249.

(2) Thoſe who are for exculpating King James, and the moſt conſiderable of the conſpirators, from having any knowledge of the intended aſſaſſination, pretend, it appears, by the trials, that it was known to very few of them; and that all

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from hunting; and either to take him priſoner, and hurry him away to France (as thoſe who judge moſt favorably of the deſign pretend) or to kill him on the ſpot (as is moſt probable) whence this conſpiracy had the name of the Aſſaſſination-plot.

The news of King James's arrival at Calais was no ſooner ſpread thro' the Netherlands, than the Prince of Wirtemberg, the elector of Bavaria, and Prince Vaudemont, immediately diſpatched expreſſes of it to King William, and the former acquainted his Majeſty, that he had ſtoped all the ſhips, in the harbor and canal of Oſtend, as well as in that of Bruges, in order to tranſport the forces under his command, for his Majeſty's ſervice: and that, in caſe he did not quickly hear from his Majeſty, he would run the hazard of bringing them over, which accordingly he did: nor were the States of Holland backward, in making the like preparations, at Sas van Ghent.(1)

The aſſaſſination being, however, agreed on, at leaſt by ſome of the conſpirators, ſeveral conſultations were held, to fix upon the manner of, and place for effecting it (2): and at length, they fixed upon a place between Turnham-green and Brentford, in a Mooriſh bottom, where there is a bridge, and diverſe roads that croſs one another. On the North ſide there is a road, which goes round Brentford, and on the South, a lane, leading to the river; ſo that paſſengers can come thither ſeveral ways. After having paſſed the bridge, the road grows narrow, with a foot-path on one ſide, and a high thick hedge on the other (3). Here it was the horrid parricide was to be commited; and for the manner of it, the conſpirators agreed to divide themſelves into three parties: one commanded, by Rockwood, was to attack the guards in front, and another, under Porter, in the rear, while a third, commanded by ſir George Barclay, was to ride directly up to the coach and aſſaſſinate his Majeſty.

They propoſed afterwards to ride in a body to Hammerſmith, and there ſeparating to take ſeveral ways for London. The firſt day fixed for perpetrating this helliſh deſign, was the 15th of February: but the King having put off the deſign of hunting that day, it was prevented: whereupon ſome of the moſt timerous of the conſpirators, fearing a diſcovery, declined the action, and withdrew: but others, concluding the deſign was not diſcovered, becauſe no body was taken up, had another meeting, wherein they reſolved it ſhould be done the next inſuing Saturday: but being diſappointed in their hopes, and there being a muttering among the people, that a plot was diſcovered, they all diſperſed, and every one was thoughtful how to ſecure himſelf by flight.

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The firſt who gave his Majeſty a circumſtantial account of this horrid conſpiracy, was probably mr. Pendergraſs: he had been ſent for out of the country to London, and was, 'till then, wholly ignorant of the deſign: but being ſtruck with horror at the propoſal, it was thought he immediately took the reſolution to ſave the King's life; tho' the better to manage his intended diſcovery, he ſeem'd willing to be one of the party (4). The 14th of February, at night, this gentleman, went to the earl of Portland, and being admited to a private interview with his lordſhip, he, tho' a ſtranger, without farther ceremony, deſired "he would perſuade "the King, to ſtay in his palace the next morning, "for that, if he went abroad to hunt he would "be murder'd." He was introduced to his Majeſty, the ſame night, tho' late, and diſcover'd the whole plot. His deportment ſhewing him to be a man of honor, a great ſtreſs was laid upon his information, and, thereupon, the King is ſuppoſed to have put off his deſign of hunting.

The next day, one de la Rue, a Frenchman, and one of the conſpirators, who knew nothing of any diſcovery made before, confirm'd all Pendergraſs had ſaid: but tho' they had ſeparately given the ſame account of the whole conſpiracy, they would not, at firſt, be prevail'd upon to name the conſpirators; till the 21ſt of February, the King having examined them both ſeparately in his cloſet, he found arguments of ſufficient weight to remove all their ſcruples,

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all the criminals, at their execution, denied King James's having given any commiſſion or orders for killing King William: tho' in this, there ſeems to be a mental reſervation: for they allow of a commiſſion which ſome of them ſaid they had ſeen, being only in general, "to make war upon the Prince of Orange;" or as other relations expreſs it, "to attack and ſeize "the Prince of Orange in his winter quarters, to which ſome add, in the midſt of his guards." The continuator of Rapin, however, leaves it undetermined, whether this commiſſion, which was produced by ſir George Barclay, was real or fictitious

(1) Notwithſtanding the expedition made by the expreſſes ſent the King from the Netherlands, it is generally believed, that his Majeſty had before certain intimation not only of the intended invaſion, but likewiſe of the conſpiracy againſt his perſon. It has been ſaid, that every ſtep the conſpirators took was, from time to time, diſcovered to the earl of Portland, by one Richard Fiſher, who had his knowledge of it from Harriſon the prieſt, as being thought to be one of their party; and that one Grimes had likewiſe diſcovered ſomething of it to the ſame lord, having got ſome dark hints of it from another of the party: but as they both refuſed to name the conſpirators, no great credit was given to their information: the continuator of Rapin in French pretends Fiſher and Grimes made their diſcoveries, the 10th of February, but four days before it was made by Pendergraſs: and as Fiſher was not made an evidence, nor indeed was ever heard of afterwards, many are apt to think, that the government had little or no intelligence of theſe matrers, 'till two or three of the conſpirators, being jealous of one another, gave the court an account of them.

(2) Some propoſed to kill his Majeſty at Kenſington, by attacking his guards, and entering his palace in the dead of the night; but this was found wholly impracticable. Others were for murdering him as he came on Sunday, to St. James's chappel; for which purpoſe forty men, well armed, were to attack his guards, then conſiſting of twenty-five men only, while ſix men on foot, ſhould ſhut Hide-park-gate, and the reſt aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was alſo propoſed to kill the coach-horſes, as they were entering into the park, that the paſſage being ſtoped, the guards might not be able to come 'till the aſſaſſines had done their work. Another propoſal was to murder the King, as he returned from hunting, in a narrow lane, by a wood-ſide, near Richmond, leading to the Thames, on the other ſide of the water, about 150 paces long, in which there is a gate, that when ſhut, hinders coaches and horſes from coming that way: but this being diſapproved of by ſir George Barclay, was, as well as the former, laid aſide.

(3) They could indeed hardly have found a more proper place, for the King being accuſtomed to enter the ferry-boat, in his coach, and as ſoon as he landed on this ſide the water, to let the coach drive on without expecting the reſt of the guards, who could not croſs the Thames, 'till the boat returned to the Surry-ſide, to bring them over, he generally paſſed thro' this lane, with only five or ſix of his guards.

(4) This is the favorable account given of Pendergraſs by our hiſtorians; but the continuator of Rapin in French, who calls him an Iriſhman, a Soldier, a Roman-Catholic, and a virulent Jacobite, gives a very different account of the motives which induced him to make this diſcovery: "having (ſays he) neglected to meet the conſpirators, at a place and time fix'd "for a rendezvous, they ſuſpected he had a deſign to betray them, and, therefore, reſolving to ſend him out of the world firſt, "gave the commiſſion to Porter. Pendergraſs, meeting with Porter, gave ſo good an account of the cauſe of his abſence, as "not only ſatisfied him, but ingaged him to divulge the ſecret, and acquaint him with the cruel orders he had received, "which he was glad he had now an excuſe not to obey. Pendergraſs, having eſcap'd this danger, and being apprehenſive the "reſt of the confederates might not be ſo eaſily convinced of his integrity, he immediately reſolved, for his own preſervation, "to diſcover the whole deſign. The ſame author accounts, in the like manner, for Porter's leaving the conſpirators, fearing "they might revenge on him the mercy he had ſhewn to Pendergraſs." B. xxv. p. 253, 254.

and

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and, upon a promiſe that they ſhould not be made uſe of as evidences, they conſented to tell the names of the aſſaſſins.

Mr. Porter, who had drawn Pendergraſs into the plot, coming in likewiſe and accuſing him, among others, as a conſpirator, he thereby thought himſelf diſcharged from all obligation, and, together with de la Rue and Porter, conſented to be evidences.

Proclamation to apprehend the conſpirators.

His Majeſty, being now perfectly inform'd of all circumſtances, cauſed his proclamation to be iſſued, the 23d of February, for apprehending the conſpirators (1), with a promiſe of 1000l. reward, for every offender that ſhould be taken and brought to juſtice. This proclamation was no ſooner publiſh'd, than mr. George Harris, who, with others, had been ſent out of France, to obey the orders of ſir George Barclay, and was actually ingag'd in the aſſaſſination, reſign'd himſelf to ſir William Trumball, and diſcovered all he knew, ſo that the King's evidences of the plot daily increaſed.

Acts paſs'd.

The 24th of February, the King came to the houſe of lords, and having ſent for the commons, his Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to "an act for "taking, examining, and ſtating the public ac- "counts. To an act for repairing the highways, "between London and Harwich;" and to two private acts: after which he made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The King's ſpeech about the plot.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I am come hither, this day, upon an extraor- "dinary occaſion, which might have proved fatal, "had it not been diſappointed, by a ſingular mercy "and goodneſs of GOD; and may now, by the con- "tinuance of the ſame providence, and our own "prudent indeavors, be ſo improved, as to become "a ſufficient warning to us, to provide for our "ſecurity, againſt the pernicious practices and at- "tempts of our enemies. I have received ſeveral "concuring informations of a deſign to aſſaſſinate "me, and that our enemies, at the ſame time, are "very forward in their preparations for a ſudden "invaſion of this kingdom; and have, therefore "thought it neceſſary to loſe no time, in acquaint- "ing my parliament with theſe things, in which "the ſafety of the kingdom, and the public wel- "fare, are ſo nearly concerned, that I aſſure myſelf "nothing will be omited, on your part, which "may be thought proper for our preſent or future "ſecurity. I have not been wanting to give the "neceſſary orders for the fleet; and I hope we "have ſuch a ſtrength of ſhips, and in ſuch a readi- "neſs, as will be ſufficient to diſappoint the inten- "tions of our enemies. I have alſo diſpatch'd "orders for bringing home ſuch a number of our "troops, as may ſecure us from any attempt. Some "of the conſpirators againſt my perſon, are already "in cuſtody, and care is taken to apprehend ſo "many of the reſt, as are diſcovered: and ſuch "orders are given, as the preſent exigency of affairs "does abſolutely require, at this time, for the pub- "lic ſafety."

My lords and gentlemen,

"Having now acquainted you with the danger "which has threatned us, I cannot doubt of your "readineſs and zeal, to do every thing which you "ſhall judge proper for our common ſafety: and "I perſuade myſelf, we muſt be all ſenſible, how "neceſſary it is, in our preſent circumſtances, that "all poſſible diſpatch ſhould be given to the buſi- "neſs before you (2).

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Both houſes attended his Majeſty, the ſame day, at Kenſington, with an addreſs; in which "they "congratulated his preſervation, and declared their "abhorrence of the barbarous deſign; beſeeching "him to take a more than ordinary care of his "perſon:" they likewiſe laid hold of this occaſion to aſſure him; "that they would ſupport and aſſiſt "his perſon and government againſt the late King "James, and all his enemies; and, in caſe his "Majeſty came to a violent death, they would "revenge it; deſiring he would ſeize and ſecure "ſuch perſons, with their horſes and arms, as he "ſhould think fit."

Addreſs of both houſes.

In anſwer to this addreſs, his Majeſty "thank'd "them heartily for it; aſſured them, that on his "part, he would do all that was within his "power, and readily venture his life, for the pre- "ſervation of this kingdom, to which he had ſo many "obligations, and recommended himſelf to the "continuance of their loyalty and good affection."

The King's anſwer.

The commons, to ſhew the King they were in earneſt, order'd, the ſame day, a bill to be brought in, "to impower his Majeſty to ſecure and detain "all ſuch perſons, as his Majeſty ſhould ſuſpect "were conſpiring againſt his perſon and govern- "ment;" as alſo, "a bill, that whenever it ſhould "pleaſe GOD to afflict theſe realms with the death "of his preſent Majeſty, the parliament then in "being ſhould not be diſſolved thereby, but ſhould "continue untill the next heir to the crown in ſuc- "ceſſion, according to the late act of parliament, "ſhould diſſolve the ſame, and if there ſhould be "no parliament then in being, that the laſt preceed- "ing parliament ſhould immediately convene and "ſit (3)." They, likewiſe voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue his royal proclamation, "to baniſh all Papiſts from the cities of Lon- "don and Weſtminſter, and ten miles from the "ſame, and that he would give inſtructions to the "judges, going the circuits, to put the laws in exe- "cution againſt Papiſts and Non-jurors.

The commons ſpent the next three days, in ſigning the following aſſociation:

An aſſociation ſign'd by the commons.

"Whereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable "conſpiracy, formed and carried on by Papiſts, "and other wicked and traiterous perſons, for aſſaſſi- "nating his Majeſty's royal perſon, in order to in- "courage an invaſion from France, to ſubvert our "religion, laws and liberties; we, whoſe names "are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely "and ſolemnly profeſs, teſtify and declare, that his "preſent Majeſty King William is rightful and "lawful King of theſe realms. And we do mutually "promiſe and ingage, to ſtand by and aſſiſt each "other, to the utmoſt of our power, in the ſup- "port and defenſe of his Majeſty's moſt ſacred per- "ſon and government againſt the late King James, "and all his adherents. And in caſe his Majeſty come "to any violent and untimely death (which God for-

(1) The perſons nam'd in this proclamation were the duke of Berwick, ſir George Barclay, major Lowick, George Porter, captain Stow, captain Walbank, James Courtney, lieutenant Sherburn, Brice Blaire, Dinant, Chambers, Boice, George Higgens, and his two brothers, ſons of ſir Thomas Higgens, Davis, Cardell, Goodman, Cramburn, Keyes, Pendergraſs, Byerley, Trevor, ſir George Maxwell, Durance, a Flemming, Chriſtopher Knightley, lieutenant King, Holmes, ſir William Perkins and Rockwood. Charnock, and thirteen more had been taken up the day before.

(2) It being a thing very common to ridicule plots, and render the diſcovery of them fictitious, ſir William Trumball, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and a member of the houſe of commons, made a ſpeech in that houſe, to ſecond his Majeſty's ſpeech, to urge the credibility of the witneſſes, and the improbability of their conſpiring together to abuſe the belief of the nation.

(3) This bill was of double uſe; for as, thereby, the parliament wiſely provided againſt that confuſion and diſorder that might happen by the ceſſation of parliament, and all commiſſions, on his Majeſty's deceaſe; ſo nothing could have been imagined more effectual for the ſecurity of the King's life, againſt the malice and violence of his enemies: ſeing by this means all hopes of eſcape and impunity were cut off, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their barbarous attempts.

"bid)

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" bid) we do, hereby, farther freely and unanimously oblige ourselves, to unite, associate and " stand by each other, in revenging the same upon " his enemies, and their adherents; and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown, " according to an act made in the first year of the " reign of King William and Queen Mary, intitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties " of the subject, and settling the succession of the " crown (1).

The association presented to the King.

The 3d of April, this association was presented to the King, by the commons in a body, with this request: " that his Majesty would order both that, " and all other associations, by the commons of " England, to be lodg'd among the records in the " Tower, there to remain as a perpetual memorial " of their loyalty and affection to his Majesty:" Upon which, his Majesty told them, " that he " took this as a most convincing and acceptable " evidence of their affection: and as they had freely associated themselves, for his and their common " safety, he did heartily enter into the same asso- " ciation, and would be always ready with them, " and the rest of his good subjects, to venture his " life against all, who should indeavor to subvert " the religion, laws and liberties of England". His Majesty, at the same time, promised, that this and all other associations should be lodged among the records of the Tower.

The King's declaration thereupon.

The association voted legal.

The 4th, the commons voted, " that whoever " should, by word or writing, affirm, that the association enter'd into by any member of this " house, or any other person, was illegal, such " person should be deem'd a promoter of the " designs of the late King James, and an enemy " to the laws and liberties of this kingdom". The lords likewise presented an association, soon after, and the laudable example of parliament was followed by the corporations, not of England only, but of Scotland and Ireland also.

Preparations to oppose the attempts of France.

While all these things were doing in parliament, the King was no less assiduous in puting the nation in a posture of defense, in case the enemy had persisted in their project of an invasion: the forces which were in England, were ordered to be in a readiness to march; a train of artillery was forthwith provided to attend them, and the duke of Wirtemberg arrived, with about twenty battalions of foot, from the confederate army. Admiral Russel repaired, in the mean time, to Deal, to take upon him the command of the fleet, which, by a particular providence, had been detain'd many weeks in the Downs, by contrary winds. This fleet was soon re-inforced by several men of war from the river, and by twelve Dutch ships from Spithead, which increas'd the number in five or six days, to near sixty men of war. With this fleet the admiral set sail, towards the latter end of February, and stood over directly for the coasts of Calais and Dunkirk: but as I shall speak more particularly of the proceedings of this fleet below, I shall only observe here; that when King James came to Calais, in order to imbark for England, he found his design frustrated, and, thereupon, returned to St. Germains.

King James returns to St. Germains.

Habeas corpus act suspended.

The 7th of March, the King came to the parliament-house, and gave the royal assent to " an act " impowering his Majesty to apprehend and detain " such persons as were conspiring against his government;" with three other acts.

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Trials of Charnock, King and Keyes.

The 11th, mr. Charnock (2), lieutenant Richard King, and Thomas Keyes, three of the conspirators, were brought to their trials at the Old-baily. The indictment set forth, " that the prisoners, having " a traiterous design to murder the King, and bring " this kingdom under the subjection of France, " did, on the 10th of February last, and at diverse " other times, before and since, consult and agree, " with diverse other persons, to assassinate his Ma- " jesty; and, in order to effect it, provided forty " horsemen, of whom they were to be part, to ly " in ambush, and set upon the King, in his coach, " and upon the guards that were to attend him, " and destroy him, and that they bought horses " and arms for that purpose."

Captain Porter's evidence.

Captain Porter, who had been one of their accomplices, being produced as an evidence, depos'd, " that he lodged with mr. Charnock, in Norfolk- " street; and that sir William Perkins came thither " last January, and told them some friends were come " from France: that, afterwards, mr. Charnock, " the prisoner, acquainted the deponent, that sir " George Barclay, and those who were come from " France, had brought a commission to levy war " upon King William; and ask'd him, how many " he could bring to join them, if the King landed? " that he was at several consultations with sir George " Barclay, mr. Holmes, mr. Charnock, and other " conspirators, to consider of time and place to " assassinate his Majesty: that sir George Barclay " said, he had mony enough to buy about forty " horses, and Charnock said, he would bring six " or seven men out of the country: that sir William " Perkins promised to lend five horses; and the de- " ponent promised to find seven men and horses; " and that it was at length agreed to attack the " King, on the 15th of February, as he came from " hunting at Richmond, between Brentford and " Turnham-green: that they were to be divided " into three parties, and that sir George Barclay " was to have four out of each party, to shoot into " the King's, coach, and kill the King, and those " that were with him, and when the matter was " over, they were to return to town, and ly con- " cealed, 'till there should come a sufficient number " from abroad to their assistance: for King James " would be near the French shoar, with his army, " and there would be four or five thousand French " sent to Scotland to make a diversion there: that " being disappointed, by the King's not going " abroad, on Saturday the 15th of February, they " met, on Friday, the 21st, at the Sun-tavern in the " Strand; where some suggesting the design was dis- " cover'd, the deponent answer'd, if it was, they " should have been taken up: and it was, thereupon " resolved to attempt the execution of their design " the next day, for which all things were prepared: " but news being again brought, that the King did " not go abroad that day neither, they concluded " they were discovered, and thereupon dispersed."

The next evidence who was produced, was mons. de la Rue, likewise one of the conspirators: who depos'd; " that there had been a design

(1) Some members having absented themselves, on pretense of ill-health or business, it was order'd, on the 27th of February, " that such members, as had not already sign'd it, should do it in sixteen days, or declare their refusal, notwithstanding their " leave to be absent." This not having all the effect that was expected, the speaker was order'd to write to those who were in the country, and had not sign'd the association, or that had not declared their refusal so to do, to know what they would do, and return their answer by the first opportunity; and, at the same time, the clerk of the house was order'd to attend such members as were ill, in town, with the said association, in order to their signing the same, or receiving their answer or refusal. These measures at length so prevail'd over the obstinacy of the absent members, that they either subscrib'd, or promised to do it on their first coming to town.

(2) This unhappy person, who now went by the title of captain, and was next in the intended assassination to sir George Barclay, was a gentleman of parts, and the same King James had preferred to the vice-presidentship of Magdalen college.

" to

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to seize his Majesty's person some years: that colonel Parker had proposed it to him, five or six years before, at St. Germains; and that the colonel afterwards came to England, in order to effect it: that last year, there were several consultations about it, between sir William Perkins, captain Porter, mr. Charnock, and others, and that Charnock told him, they had sent to King James for a commission to execute the matter, and to authorize them to carry the King into France, if they could take him; and if they could not, they agreed to excuse themselves, by pretending he was killed by a random-shot: he understood the commission was delayed a long time, and then they resolved to execute the design, without a commission; and he was told all things were ready, only they wanted a ship to carry him off: that the deponent promised to go with them, and they proposed to get a ship at Deal: but King William going to Flanders, they had not time to compleat the affair then, and so the design was put off to the last winter. That in the month of November or December last, King, the prisoner, told the deponent, a major-general would come over from France: and the latter end of January, or the begining of February, they told him a major-general was come over from France, and a great many people beside, and something would be speedily put in execution for the King's service: that King likewise told him, there was the rarest place for the execution of their design, that was possible, within a quarter of a mile of Richmond: that he saw King at Charnock's lodgings, on Saturday the 15th of February, when King said, the Prince of Orange did not go out that day, adding that sir George Barclay had brought over sixteen of the guards and two officers, a brigadier, and a sub-brigadier, who were subsisted at the rate of four shillings a day, as the guards were here: King also told him, that Charnock and Porter had several conferences, how to murder or assassinate his Majesty; for sir George Barclay said, he was not sure of horses enough to carry him off; and therefore they resolved to assassinate him, in the lane between Brentford and Turnham-green: that sir George Barclay was to command eight persons, to attack the King, and those who were in the coach with him, mr. Charnock was to attack the guards in the rear, and Rockwood with a party that came from France, and captain Porter, were to attack the guards on each flank."

Captain Pendergrass's evidence.

Captain Pendergrass deposed, "that about the 11th of February last, Porter sent for him to town, and told him, there was a design to take away the King's life; and that sir George Barclay, and other officers, were come on purpose, from France, to execute it:" the rest of his evidence agreed with that of Porter's and de la Rue.

Bertram's evidence.

Bertram, another conspirator, deposed, "that, on the 22d of February, he met mr. Charnock at Lincoln's-inn back-gate, who told him warrants were out against them; and they had as good go to Kensington, do the work at once, and take him off, and then they should be quiet, and have the King peaceably here.

Charnock's defense.

Mr. Charnock, who made a long but frivolous defense, tho' he spoke with great presense of mind, readiness of speech, and seemingly great knowledge of the laws, observed, "that captain Porter acknowleged he had never seen the commission he mentioned from King James, neither could he name the persons they were to command; which was strange, if the design was so near being put in execution, as he deposed; nor was there any proof, that he had so much as a horse provided for the design: that as Porter owned he himself had contrived and promoted the assassination, little regard was to be had to his evidence; he became a witness to save his own life: that the consultation mentioned by the witnesses, to carry King William to France alive, was extreamly ridiculous, the thing being impossible: that he might say, there was a noise that King James would come, for it was in the Gazets; but it was not true, that he said there was something to be done first, they must take off the Spark. That the evidence produced against him was frivolous and weak; and if it were all true, it was only discourse, there was no plain and manifest proofs of any overt-act, but only presumptions: that it was said there were forty men to do this fact upon the King, in his coach, amidst his guards: could it be supposed that any man in his senses would do such an act, without respect to his security? The guards were at least, treble the number, and better appointed; and they must be mad to attack them under such disadvantages, especially when they had no asylum, no castle or fort to retire to, nor any to back or assist them." The other two had little to say for themselves, Keys especially, who had formerly been a trumpeter, and lately captain Porter's servant; so that upon a full hearing of the evidence, of which I have given but a brief abstract (refering for the rest to the state-trials) they were all three found guilty of high-treason, and according to sentence were executed at Tyburn, on the eighteenth of March.

They are condemn'd and executed.

At the place of execution, they delivered each a paper to the sheriff, in which they confessed the crime they were accused of; but indeavored to palliate it; and, at the same time, to justify King James, the Jacobites, and the Roman Catholics, Charnock, in particular owned, "that to facilitate King James's invasion upon England, himself, and some others, did agree to attack the Prince of Orange and his guards; that as for any order or commission of King James's, for assassinating the Prince of Orange, he neither saw nor heard of any; but had had frequent assurances of his Majesty's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; that he did hear, there was a commission arrived for levying of war; which was natural to believe, if the King, was in such readiness for coming over, as was reported; but that he never saw it: and as to what regarded the body of the Roman Catholics, he must do them the justice, that they had no manner of knowlege of this design, nor did he believe it was communicated to any other party of such as were reputed the King's friends, but carried on meerly by a small number, without the advice, consent or privity of any parties whatsoever.

Their confessions.

The 18th of March a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 500 l. for apprehending the lord Montgomery and sir John Fenwick, who were suspected to be accomplices in the plot.

The 23d, sir John Friend was brought to his trial, and charged with so much of the conspiracy as related to the intended insurrection and invasion. Captain Porter who was the first evidence produced against him deposed, "that sir John was at a consultation with the lord Aylesbury, the lord Montgomery, sir William Perkins, sir John Fenwick, mr. Cooke, captain Charnock, and himself, at the King's-head in Leadenhall-street, in May or June, of the preceeding year 1695; and at another consultation with them, about the same time, at mrs. Montjoy's, in St. James's street, at both which it was agreed to send mr. Charnock to France, to King James, to desire him to borrow of the French King 10,000

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" men, and they all agreed, when the King landed, " to meet him with a body of 2000 horſe, of " which every man was to furniſh his quota : and " that Charnock, on his return from France, told " them the French King could not ſpare ſo many " men that year.

Captain Blair's evidence.

Captain Brice Blair gave evidence ; " that about " two years before, ſir John Friend ſhewed him a " commiſſion from King James, to be colonel of " horſe, and that he alſo ſaw ſeveral letters, in " the priſoner's lodgings, from the lord Melford, " and ſecretary Caroll : that the deponent was to " have been his lieutenant-colonel and actually pro- " cured ſeveral officers and men, whoſe names he " enumerated, to ſerve under him: and that he " received ſeveral ſums from the priſoner to be " ſpent on the men that belonged to the regiment : " that the priſoner alſo told him, he had advan- " ced 100 l. toward colonel Perkins's eſcape out " of the Tower ; and King James ordered one " Pigot to repay the priſoner that mony, 50 l. " whereof the deponent received of Pigot, by the " priſoner's orders."

Sir John Friend's defenſe.

The chief matter ſir John Friend argued in his defenſe was, in effect, the ſame with what the lord Ruſſel had argued, in a former reign ; viz. " that " conſulting to levy war, could not be an overt- " act of compaſſing the King's death ; and that " conſulting to levy war was not high-treaſon, " unleſs a war was actually levied." Some thought ſir John Friend's caſe hard, becauſe there was but one witneſs to the conſultation and one to the levying war: but to this it was anſwered, that tho' there were not two witneſſes to the ſame fact, yet as each fact had a tendency to promote the ſame ſpe- cies of treaſon, viz. " the deſtruction of the Prince," they were juſtly to be deemed two witneſſes, with- in the meaning of the ſtatute ; and ſir John Friend was accordingly convicted.

He is convicted.

Sir William Perkins's trial.

The next day, ſir William Perkins, who was accuſed, as well of the intended aſſaſſination, as the inſurrection, was brought to his trial (1).

Porter's evidence.

Porter, who was the firſt evidence, ſwore ; " he " was acquainted with the deſign of attacking the " King and his guards, and promiſed to furniſh " men and horſes for that purpoſe ; but declared " he would not ingage in it in perſon. " As to the intended invaſion and inſurrection, " he " gave the ſame evidence againſt ſir William, as

Other evidences.

" he had againſt Charnock ; and ſome other wit- " neſſes proved, the priſoner had provided horſes " and arms."

His defenſe.

Sir William's chief defenſe was ; " that there " was but one witneſs to one overt-act :" but to this he met with the ſame anſwer as Friend had done, viz. " that one witneſs to one overt-act, and ano- " ther witneſs to another overt-act, of the ſame ſpe- " cies of treaſon, was ſufficient."

Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend condemned.

Sir William Perkins being therefore convicted, ſir John Friend was again brought to the bar, where they both received ſentenſe, as in caſes of high-treaſon.

Their examination before a committee of the houſe of commons.

The firſt of April, which was the day it was thought ſir John Friend and ſir William Perkins would have ſuffered, and great numbers of people flocked together between Newgate and Tyburn, to be ſpectators of their exit, the commons thought fit to appoint ſuch members of their houſe as were privy-counſellors, to go to Newgate to examine ſir William Perkins and ſir John Friend in relation to the plot : which being done, it was reported, the next day, that having been examined ſeverally : " the firſt owned his being privy to the intended " aſſaſſination, and in company when it was diſ- " courſed of at two or three meetings ; and thought " himſelf guilty of a fault that he did approve of it : " that he had received hints, ſeveral times, of " King James's deſign of coming over, and par- " ticularly now, and was reſolved to ſerve him " whenever he came over, with himſelf and friends, " thinking that he had wrong done him, and that, it " was his duty to help him whenever he could. That " he conſulted not with any, but thoſe with whom " he could ingage, and he had an influence " upon. That he gueſſed he could have been " able to have brought in to the number of a " troop, but that he would never redeem his " own blood, at the expenſe of thoſe he had drawn " in. That ſince Chriſtmas he did ſee a commiſſion, " which he underſtood to be King James's, direct- " ed to his loving ſubjects, to levy war againſt the " Prince of Orange, and all his adherents: that " he believed it was ſigned by King James, that " it had a ſeal to it, and that he ſaw it in the hands " of a friend, whom he deſired not to name, but " believed he was not in England.

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That ſir John Friend, on his examination, " diſowned knowing any thing of the intended aſ- " ſaſſination, but expreſſed his abhorrence of it. " He confeſſed he was at the two meetings men- " tioned in his trial, and that the perſons named to " be preſent were there likewiſe : and that " Charnock was ſent to France from one of thoſe " meetings, to acquaint King James, that if he " could come over with 8000 foot, and 2000 horſe, " 3 or 4000 horſe would be ready to join him here : " of which he did ingage to furniſh about 2000." This report being made, it was ordered to be en- tered upon the journal, and printed with the votes of the houſe.

Their execution,

The 3d of April, ſir John Friend and ſir Wil- liam Perkins were executed at Tyburn, purſuant to their ſentenſe; where they likewiſe delivered their confeſſions in writing to the ſheriffs.

And confeſſion.

Sir John Friend, tho' he abſolutely denied having any knowledge of the intended aſſaſſination, and would have evaded that of the invaſion, yet ſeemed to own himſelf guilty, in indeavoring to juſtify himſelf, by ſaying, " that the cauſe he ſuffered for " he did firmly believe to be the cauſe of God, " and true religion, and agreeable to the laws of " the land, which he had ever heard, to require a " firm duty and allegiance : that as no forein, ſo " neither any domeſtic power can alienate our alle- " giance : for it was altogether new and unintelli- " gible to him, that the King's ſubjects can depoſe " and dethrone him, on any account, or conſtitute " any that have not an immediate right to his place ; " and that as they ought not to do this, ſo when " it was done, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his " right, was juſtifiable and their duty. He pro- " feſſed himſelf a member of the church of Eng- " land, which he heartily beſought God Al- " mighty to bleſs and preſerve ; to deliver this " ſinful nation from the guilt of rebellion, blood " and perjury ; to comfort the diſtreſſed King, " reſtore him to his right, and his miſled ſubjects " to their allegiance, and to bleſs his royal conſort,

(1) It is remarkable that theſe two trials were on the two days before the " act for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon" became of force. Sir William inſiſted, as Charnock had done before him, that he might have counſel : but he was told, that the act which allowed the priſoner counſel, did not commence 'till the next day : to this, ſir William replied, " that the " preamble to this law declared, it was juſt and reaſonable the priſoner ſhould have counſel, and the other privileges mentioned " in the act, towards making his defenſe, and what would be juſt and reaſonable to morrow was ſo to day : he, therefore, " preſſed that his trial might be put off 'till the next day, as well for this reaſon, as becauſe ſome of his witneſſes were want- " ing : " but his motion was rejected.

" and

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" and his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, that " he might grow in ſtature, and in favor with " GOD and man."

Sir William Perkins confeſſed; " that he was " privy to a deſign upon the Prince of Orange, but " was not to act in it; and he was fully ſatisfied, " that very few or none knew of it, but thoſe who " undertook it: that he had ſeen a commiſſion " from King James, to levy war againſt the " Prince of Orange, but as for any commiſſion " particularly levelled againſt his perſon, he had " neither ſeen or heard of any ſuch: that he thought " it for his honor to ſay, that he was intirely in the " intereſt of King James, being always firmly per- " ſuaded of the juſtice of his cauſe, and looked " upon it as his duty, both as a ſubject and " an Engliſhman, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of " his throne, which he believed his Majeſty to be " deprived of, contrary to all right and juſtice; " in which opinion he took the laws and conſtitu- " tion of his country to be his guide; and laſtly, " that he died in the communion of the church of " England, in which he was educated.

The male-factors abſolved by nonjuring clergymen.

Mr. Collier, mr. Cooke, and mr. Snat, three nonjuring clergy-men, having aſſiſted the male-factors in their laſt hours, were obſerved, at the place of execution, to pronounce to them the abſolution of the church, as it ſtands in the viſitation of the ſick, and accompanied this ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. The government was highly offended at this, and two of them, mr. Cooke and mr. Snat, were commited to Newgate. There was likewiſe an indictment prefered againſt them in the court of King's-bench, but not being proceeded upon, no manner of puniſhment was inflicted on them (1).

The 21ſt of April, brigadier Rockwood, major Lowick, and mr. Cramburn, three other conſpirators, were brought to their trials, (2) and the evidence againſt them being very plain and poſitive, they were all three found guilty, and receiving ſentenſe accordingly, they were executed the 29th (3). Cramburn died a Proteſtant, read a paper, and ſpoke long to the ſpectators: among other things, he ſaid he died for his loyalty, and that what he would have done was no more than his duty: Rockwood and Lowick died Roman Catholics, and delivered each a paper to the ſheriff, in which they partly owned their crime, but juſtified King James, as to the pretended commiſſion for murdering the Prince of Orange.

Mr. Cook and Mr. Knightly condemned but repriev'd.

The laſt who were tried this year, were mr. Cooke and mr. Knightly; but tho' they likewiſe received ſentenſe, the firſt upon his being convicted, and the other upon his own confeſſion; yet by his Majeſty's clemency, mr. Cooke was only baniſhed England, and mr. Knightly obtained his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon.

Ways and means.

Having thus given an account of the proceedings againſt the conſpirators, I return to the affairs of parliament. The funds the commons had 'till now ſettled not being ſufficient to anſwer one half of the ſum they had granted, great difficulties aroſe how to raiſe the reſt. After many debates and conſultations, the houſe at laſt gave into a project (4), which at firſt ſeem'd calculated only to advance the landed men's intereſt, in oppoſition to the growing power of monied men and uſurers, but which, in the end, had very near ruined the public credit. Purſuant to this project, the commons reſolved, the 6th of March, firſt, " That a fund redeemable by par- " liament be ſettled in a national land-bank, to be " raiſed by new ſubſcriptions. Second, that no per- " ſon be concerned in the bank of England, and in " the national bank, at the ſame time. Third, " That the duties upon coals and culm, and upon ton- " nage of ſhips (which had been found grievous to " the people) be taken off, from the 17th of June " 1696. Fourth, That for the making up the ſum " of 1,724,000 l. already voted by the houſe, " and the monies to be made good for the duties up- " on coals and culm, and upon tonage of ſhips, " reſolved to be taken off; and for diſcharging what " the duties upon ſalt were to anſwer, from the " 17th of May 1696, the ſum of 2,564,000 l. be " raiſed upon the ſaid perpetual fund, redeemable " by parliament:" at the ſame time, they ordered a bill to be brought in purſuant to the ſaid reſolutions.

Civil liſt and French Proteſtants conſidered.

The King having, in his ſpeech, at the opening of this ſeſſion, recommended the civil liſt, and the diſtreſs'd French Proteſtants, the commons took that matter into conſideration, the 12th of March, and the committee of the whole houſe having ſat ſeveral times on that affair, it was, at length, reſolved, on the 17th of that month, " that the ſum of 500,000 l. " be granted for defraying the expences of the firſt, " and 15,000 l. for the relief of the latter," which ſums they reſolv'd on the 18th, " to raiſe by a " duty upon all low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt " extraction, and alſo upon all mix'd liquors, com- " monly call'd ſweets, for the ſpace of five years, " from the 25th of March 1696." And the committee who were to prepare this bill was inſtructed to receive a " clauſe, for preſerving the revenue to " her royal highneſs the Princeſs Ann of Den- " mark."

National land-bank bill.

The bill for eſtabliſhing a national land-bank, &c. having been read a ſecond time, the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was commited, were inſtructed, on the 17th of March, to reſtrain the bank not to lend mony, but " upon land-ſecurity, " or to the government into the exchequer; and to " receive a clauſe, that if the mony did not come " in, by a certain time, his Majeſty be inabled to " borrow the ſame." The next day, the bank of England preſented a petition againſt this bill, and were, afterwards, by order of the houſe, heard by their council, but without ſucceſs. The houſe, thereupon, proceeded on the bill, and reſolved, the 9th of April; " that towards the ſupply to be granted " to his Majeſty for making up the fund of intereſt " of 2,564,000 l. the capital ſtock of the intended " national-bank, certain duties upon glaſs-wares, " ſtone and earthen bottles, granted before to the " King, for a term of years, be granted to his " Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors: ſecondly, that " a duty be laid upon tobacco-pipes; and, thirdly,

(1) The archbiſhops and biſhops, who happened to be then in London, to the number of fourteen, publiſhed a declaration, in which they cenſured the performance of this office of the church, without a previous confeſſion made, and abhorrence expreſſed by the priſoners of the heinous crime for which they died, " as extremely inſolent, and without precedent in the manner, and " altogether irregular in the thing: being a manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the churches order, and prophane abuſe of the authority " of Chriſt, ſince they muſt either look upon the perſons abſolved as impenitents or martyrs.

(2) Theſe were the firſt, who had the benefit of the ſtatute, made this very ſeſſion, to regulate trials in caſes of high treaſon, but neither the copy of the indictment which was given them, nor the advantage of being defended by ſir Bartholomew Shore and two other eminent lawyers, did avail them any thing, ſo ſtrong and evident were the proofs againſt them.

(3) Several noblemen interceded for the life of Lowick, and Cramburn petitioned to be tranſported, but both to no purpoſe.

(4) The author of this project was the famous manmid-wife dr. Chamberlain; but for all his ſkill in midwifery, it proved an abortion, no body ſubſcribing to it.

" that

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" that a farther duty be laid upon ſtone and earthen-
" ware." Which reſolutions were ordered to be inſerted in the bill.

Bill for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and government.

The ſecond of April, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that a bill be brought in " for the better ſecurity " of his Majeſty's perſon and government," containing the following heads: firſt, " that ſuch as " ſhould refuſe to take the oaths to his Majeſty " ſhould be ſubject to the forfeitures and penalties " of Popiſh recuſants convict. Second, To inflict " a penalty on ſuch as ſhould, by writing or other-
" wiſe, declare, that King William was not lawful " and rightful King of theſe realms: or that the " late King James, or the pretended Prince of " Wales, or any other perſon, than according to " the act of ſettlement of the crown, had any right " to the crown of theſe realms. Third, To ra-
" tify and confirm the aſſociation enter'd into by all " his Majeſty's good ſubjects, for the preſervation " of his Majeſty's perſon and government. Fourth, " That no perſon ſhould be capable of any office of " profit or truſt, civil or military, that ſhould not " ſign the aſſociation. And, Fifth, That the ſame " penalties be inflicted on ſuch as come out of France, " as upon thoſe who go thither.

Acts paſs'd.

The 10th, the King came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; Firſt, to " an act for the " continuing, meeting, and ſettling of a parlia-
" ment, in caſe of the death or demiſe of his Ma-
" jeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors. Second, an act for " granting to the King ſeveral rates and duties " upon houſes, for making good the deficiency of " clipp'd mony. Third, an act for granting to his " Majeſty an additional duty upon all French goods. " Fourth, an act for continuing four former acts for " preventing theft and rapine, upon the northern " borders of England. Fifth, an act for the raiſing " the militia, for the year 1696. Sixth, an act for re-
" gulating the elections of members to ſerve in par-
" liament, and for the preventing irregular proceed-
" ings of ſheriffs and others officers, in the electing " and returning ſuch members. Seventh, an act for " continuing ſeveral former acts, for puniſhing offi-
" cers and ſoldiers, who ſhould mutiny or deſert, &c. " Eighth, an act for the increaſe and incouragement " of ſeamen. Ninth, an act for preventing frauds, " and regulating abuſes in the plantation-trade. " Tenth, an act to incourage the bringing plate in-
" to the Mint to be coined, and for the farther re-
" medying the ill ſtate of the coin. Eleventh, an act " requiring the practitioners of the law to take the " oath, and ſubſcribe the declaration therein men-
" tion'd. Twelfth, an act for the repairing of the " high-ways, between Wymondham; and Attle-
" borough, in the county of Norfolk," and to ſeveral private acts (1).

More acts paſs'd.

The 27th of the ſame month, the King came again to the houſe of lords, and paſs'd ſuch other bills as lay ready for the royal aſſent: viz. Firſt, " an act for laying ſeveral duties upon low wines, or " ſpirits of the firſt extraction, &c. Second, an " act for continuing certain duties on ſalt, glaſs-
" wares, ſtone and earthen-bottles; for granting " ſeveral duties on tobacco-pipes, and other earthen-
" ware; for eſtabliſhing a national land-bank, and " for taking off the duties upon tonage of ſhips, " and upon coals. Third, an act for reſtraining " marriages, without licenſe or banes. Fourth, " an act for the better ſecurity of the King's perſon " and government. Fifth, an act for the more ef-
" fectual preventing the exportation of wool, and " for incouraging the importation thereof from Ire-
" land. Sixth, an act for incouraging the linnen " manufacture of Ireland. Seventh, an act for " continuing ſeveral acts of parliament therein " mentioned. Eighth, an act for taking away the " cuſtom of Wales, which hinders perſons from " diſpoſing their perſonal eſtates by their wills. " Ninth, an act for the eaſe of jurors, and better re-
" gulating juries. Tenth, an act for the better amen-
" ding and repairing the high-ways, &c. Eleventh, " an act for the incouragement of charitable gifts " and diſpoſitions. Twelfth, an act for the in-
" couragement of the Greenland-trade. Thirteenth, " an act that the ſolemn affirmation and declara-
" tion of the people call'd Quakers, ſhould be ac-
" cepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form:" and to one private act. Will' III. An' 1696.

This done, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he told them:

The King's ſpeech to the parliament.

" That they had ſhewn ſo great concern for his " perſon, and zeal for his government, and had " done ſo much for the preſervation of the one, and " for the ſtrengthening of the other, by the good " laws that had been made, and by the ſupplies they " had provided, for the ſeveral occaſions of this " year, that the late deſigns of their enemies were " (by the bleſſing of God) like to have no other " effect, than to let them ſee how firmly his Majeſty " and his parliament were united, and to give him " this occaſion to acknowledge their kindneſs, and " to aſſure them of all the returns which a Prince " could make to his people. And the neceſſity of " affairs requiring his abſenſe out of the kingdom, " for ſome time, he earneſtly recommended to " them, to be aſſiſting to thoſe whom he ſhould " leave to adminiſter the government, and that " they would be careful in preſerving the public " peace."

The parliament prorogued.

The lord-keeper, by his Majeſty's command, then prorogued the parliament to the 16th day of June next inſuing (2).

Growth of Socinianiſm.

The act of toleration leaving every one at liberty to broach what doctrine they pleas'd, hereſies of all ſorts began to multiply like Hydra's heads; but Socinianiſm ſeem'd to be the favorite hereſy propagated at this time. To check the inſolence of this ſect, the learned dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, undertook to vindicate the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity: but while the doctor indeavor'd to prove three diſtinct perſons, he carried matters ſo far as to advance a doctrine which ſeem'd to border upon Tritheiſm, and aſſerted, that there were in the the godhead, three minds, three beings, and three intelligences. This heterodox aſſertion giving the Unitarians an opportunity to triumph, dr. South, prebend of Weſtminſter, confuted dr. Sherlock's new way of vindicating the Trinity. Dr. Sherlock, by way of recrimination, attempted to prove, that his antagoniſt's doctrine ſavored of Sabellianiſm. The controverſy grew warm, and theſe two eminent divines treated one another ſometimes too angrily, and ſometimes too ludicrouſly for ſo ſacred a myſtery. On this occaſion, a member of the Univerſity of

(1) There was another " bill, for farther regulation of elections of members to ſerve in parliament," which had paſs'd both houſes, but was now refuſed the royal aſſent: it was, therefore, moved, the 14th of April, in the houſe of commons, and the queſtion put, " that whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty not to give the royal aſſent to that bill, was an enemy to the King and king-
" dom:" but it paſs'd in the negative, by a majority of two hundred and nineteen, againſt ſeventy votes.

(2) The bills which on ſeveral accounts were loſt this ſeſſions were, 1ſt, a bill for regulating printing and printing-preſſes. 2d, A bill for reverſing a judgment giving againſt ſir William Williams, the 2d of James II, by which he was find 5000 l. for having printed the laſt days votes of the houſe of commons, and for aſſerting the rights and freedoms of parliament. 3d, A bill for ſettling and regulating the Eaſt-India-trade. 4th, Another to regulate the trade of Africa. 5th, A bill to confirm the earl of Torrington's grants. 6th, Two bills to veſt in the crown, all forfeited eſtates in England and Ireland, and to vacate all grants made thereof. 7th, A bill to prevent ſtock-jobbing; and 8th, a bill for preventing Papiſts from diſinheriting their Proteſtant heirs.

Oxford,

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Oxford taking upon him, in a ſermon preach'd before that learned body, to advance, "that there were "three infinite diſtinct minds and ſubſtances in "the Trinity; and that the three perſons in the "Trinity were three diſtinct minds or ſpirits, and "three individual ſubſtances;" the Univerſity thought fit to cenſure theſe words as "falſe, im-"pious and heretical, diſagreeing and contrary to "the doctrine of the church of England." This ſolemn decree not being, however, ſufficient to compoſe the jarring parties, and the Socinians taking advantage of theſe diviſions, the King interpoſed his royal authority, and, as head of the Anglican church, ſent certain directions to the archbiſhops and biſhops, with charge to ſee them obſerved within their ſeveral dioceſes. Which ſufficiently vindicated his Majeſty from the aſperſions caſt upon him by his enemies, that he was a favorer of Socinianiſm.

Lords juſtices appointed.

The firſt of May, his Majeſty declared in council, that he had appointed the ſame perſons to adminiſter the government during his abſenſe, who had ſo honorably diſcharged that truſt, the year before.

Preferments.

The ſame day (1), ſir John Lowther baronet, was created baron Lowther, and viſcount Lonſdale; and ſir John Thompſon, baronet, was created baron Haverſham. His Majeſty conſtituted, at the ſame time, ſir Thomas Littleton, one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury; Chriſtopher Muſgrave, clerk of the ordinance, and James Lowther, eſq; clerk of the delivery of the ordnance of this kingdom: he likewiſe, confer'd the honor of knighthood on Theodore Janſſen, an eminent merchant in the city of London, yet living, for the zeal he had, on all occaſions, expreſs'd, for his Majeſty's government; particularly in the buſineſs of the bank of England. Not long after this, the lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, or lord chancellor; the preſident of the privy council; the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, or lord treaſurer, the firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; or lord admiral; the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and the chancellor of the exchequer, for the time being, together with the earls of Bridgewater and Tankerville, ſir Philip Meadhouſe, William Blaithwait, John Pollexfen, John Lock, Abraham Hill, and John Methwen, eſqs; were declared his Majeſty's commiſſioners for incouraging, improving, and protecting the trade, plantations, manufactures, and fiſhery of this kingdom.

The King goes to Holland.

The 2d of May, the King went from Kenſington to Margate, and the next day, imbark'd for Holland; but the wind proving contrary, in the evening, with the appearance of a ſtorm, his Majeſty came on ſhoar again: two days after, both wind and weather proving fair again, he went on board the Elizabeth, vice-admiral Aylmer commander, and landing ſafely, the ſeventh, at Oranjapolder, arrived about midnight at the Hague: here I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give a brief account of the martime affairs of this year.

Maritime affairs.

What preparations the French had made, at the begining of this year, to imbark an army at Calais, Dunkirk, and other ports thereabouts, in order to make a deſcent in England; and that, thereupon, the King had order'd admiral Ruſſel, with the fleet that then lay in the Downs, and the other ſhips which afterwards join'd them, to ſail for the coaſts of France, to prevent the deſigns of the enemy, the reader has already ſeen above. To this end, admiral Ruſſel repair'd, the 24th of February, to the Downs, and, on the 28th, came to an anchor off of Grovelin, with part of the fleet, and the lord Berkley, with a ſquadron, lay between him and Dunkirk.

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Admiral Ruſſel ſails to the coaſt of France.

As he ſailed cloſe in with Calais, he ſaw between three and four hundred veſſels, of all ſorts, for imbarkation, with their ſails to their yards; and, in Flemiſh-road, were about ſeventeen men of war, great and ſmall, which, with the tranſports, would probably have been, in a few days, on our coaſts, had not ſuch extraordinary diligence been uſed in geting a powerful fleet to ſea. Thirteen of theſe ſhips of war retired as cloſe as they could into the pier of Dunkirk; and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, with ſeveral captains, were ſent to look on them; but they found nothing could be attempted againſt them, with hopes of ſucceſs. The 23d of March, three bomb veſſels joined ſir Cloudeſly. The 31ſt, admiral Allemonde came into the Downs from Holland, with ſix men of war of the line, and two fireſhips.

Many tranſports at Calais;

And men of war in Flemiſh-road.

Impracticable to attack them.

The firſt of April, ſeveral of our ſhips came into the Downs, from Spithead; and, the next day, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was order'd to return, with all the bomb-veſſels, and ſuch ſmall ſhips as he ſhould think neceſſary, and attempt the burning of Calais, with the tranſports, and other ſhips in that harbor. The 3d, between noon and night, about 300 bombs and carcaſſes were thrown into the town, and among the ſhips, which did conſiderable damage, and ſet fire to the town in three or four places, and to ſome ſhips: but the bomb-veſſels and brigantines having received damage in their rigging, and all the mortars but two being diſabled, and, beſide the wind coming about, the next day, from S. S. E. to S. W. with hard gales, it was thought convenient to return to the Downs: from whence ſir Cloudeſly Shovel appointed a ſquadron, to indeavor to keep the French in at Dunkirk (2).

Calais bombarded.

The 27th of May, ſir George Rooke, who, upon his return from the Streights had taken the command of the fleet, being order'd to return to his duty at the admiralty board, the lord Berkley was appointed admiral of the fleet. Before ſir George came aſhore, he had intelligence, that the French had ſeventy men of war a little above Camaret-bay, all ready to put to ſea, with four flags flying, beſide ſome ſmall ſhips in the bay: upon his coming to town, he made a propoſal to attempt theſe ſhips there: which, however, was not thought practicable by a council of war, of Engliſh and Dutch admirals. Nevertheleſs, his lordſhip arriving, with the fleet, at Torbay, the 3d of June, received orders, ſome time afterwards, from the lords of the admiralty, touching the fleet's lying in Camaret and Bertheaume bays; and a ſquadron being ſent, with the bomb-veſſels, to deſtroy ſome of the

The lord Berkley appointed admiral of the fleet.

(1) His Majeſty had before beſtow'd ſeveral marks of his favor; and, among others, the lord George Hamilton was created earl of Orkney, in the kingdom of Scotland, in conſideration of his military ſervices in Ireland and Flanders; and the lord Murray, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Athol, was made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in Scotland, in the room of the lord Stairs. The begining of this year, likewiſe, his moſt illuſtrious highneſs, the duke of Gloceſter, was elected a knight-companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, and was afterwards inſtall'd at Windſor, with great ſolemnity.

(2) The account the French give of this bombardment of Calais is in ſubſtance: that, the 13th (third) between the hours of one at noon and ſeven at night, the Engliſh ſpent three hundred and fifty bombs, and ten or twelve fire-pots: of which not above half fell into the city, the reſt fell into the port, and on ſhoar. The damage ſuſtained was chiefly in the Caſerns, the church and convent of the hoſpital, and eight or ten houſes. Three ſhips, and about thirty or forty houſes received ſome little harm; but as the bombs ſet fire to neither houſes nor ſhips, it is not believed that the whole damage amounts to above ten thouſand crowns.

The continuator of Rapin, in French, ſays, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel had before propoſed this enterprize to a council of war, and had the mortification to ſee it rejected. What ſatisfaction muſt it not then have been to him, to find it afterwards approved by the court of admiralty.

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Reſolution to ſail to Bertheaume and Camaret bays.

French towns, a council of war was called, on the 16th; and tho' it was judged, that the fleet could not ride, in either of thoſe bays, out of bomb-ſhot, it was reſolved, as ſoon as weather would permit, to look into them, and indeavor to deſtroy what ſhips they ſhould meet there. The admiral turned it up, accordingly, as high as Dartmouth; but the ebb being ſpent, and the wind blowing hard, at W. S. W. he was oblig'd to put into Torbay, where, on the nineteenth, the Dutch admiral receiv'd orders, from the King, to ſend eight ſhips of the line, to Holland.

Eight Dutch ſhips ordered home.

Our fleet does conſiderable damages on the iſlands, on the coaſt of France.

The 24th, the fleet got out of the channel, and, in Broad-ſound, one of our ſhips took a French privateer, which came from Breſt fourteen days before. The 4th of July, the fleet anchored about two leagues from Belle-iſle, and ſome of our men, who had been landed the day before, at Grovais, (or Gray) whither they had been ſent in the Burford and Newcaſtle men of war, with a fire-ſhip, burnt moſt of the villages, and kill'd and brought off a great number of cattle, without any reſiſtance: and at Howat, one of the iſlands called Cardinals, ſome of our men being landed in the barges and pinnaces, brought off about three hundred head of cattle, having burnt the town of that name. The next day, three more Engliſh, and two Dutch men of war, with the long boats of diverſe other ſhips, and ſeven hundred ſoldiers and ſeamen, were ſent to join the Burford and Newcaſtle at Grovais, who finiſh'd what captain Fitz-Patrick had begun; having deſtroy'd there about twenty villages more, and carried away thirteen hundred head of black cattle and horſes, with twenty ſmall veſſels; and the boats imployed againſt Howat, were ordered, at the ſame time, on the like ſervice, againſt Heydick (1). The men of war at the iſle of Rhee, with the bomb-veſſels, under the command of ſir Martin Beckman and captain Meeze, having thrown two thouſand bombs into the towns of St. Martins and Olonna, left them in flames and returned to the fleet.

Thus ended theſe little enterprizes, and, with them, thoſe of the body of the fleet, which being now in great want of moſt ſpecies of proviſions, and daily leſſened, not only by the withdrawing of moſt of the Dutch ſhips, but ſome of our own, by orders from the admiralty, the admiral was directed to come to Spithead, where he arrived the 13th of July.

The fleet ordered home.

Vice-admiral Mitchel, and captain Meeze's proceedings in the Soundings.

I might now go on to give my readers an account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Mitchel, with a ſquadron, and afterwards, of captain George Meeze, with a detachment of that ſquadron, in the Soundings; but all that can be ſaid of them may be reduced to this, that they both uſed their beſt diligence to protect our trade, the chief end of their being there; that the firſt ſuffered very much, in a ſtorm, and that the latter, when he returned to Spithead, brought with him three French privateers, one of eight and thirty, another of ſix and thirty, and a third of fourteen guns.

Admiral Bembow cruiſes before Dunkirk.

Before I conclude the naval tranſactions of this year, I muſt ſay a word or two of rear admiral Bembow, who, the begining of May, was ordered to command the ſquadron which lay off of Dunkirk, to prevent monſ. du Bart's geting to ſea, with his ſquadron. When he came on the coaſt, he found the ſhips he was to command lying about five leagues north from that port, and going in with his boat, into Flemiſh road, diſcovered the enemy's ſhips, being nine, ready to ſail. From the circumſtances of wind and tides, he expected them out of the north channel, and, therefore, not having ſhips enough to cover both, he ſpread what he had, Engliſh and Dutch, before that paſſage; but it being hazy, the next day, he found, the day following, du Bart had given him the ſlip and was got out of the eaſt chanel.

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Du Bart eſcapes him.

He follows him; but in vain.

Having notice, on the 20th, that du Bart had been ſeen on the weſt-end of the Doggar-bank, the rear-admiral proceeded thither; but the Dutch, having no orders ſo to do, refuſed to accompany him. After ſome time ſpent, in vain, in ſearch of him, in company with five Dutch men of war he met at ſea, he returned to Yarmouth-roads, from whence he ſailed with the Eaſt-country-trade, and arrived at Gottenburg the 30th of June; having detached neceſſary convoys with the ſhips bound to ſeveral ports. He was there informed, that du Bart was at the Cow and Calf, in Norway: but, for want of proviſions and neceſſaries, he was not then in a condition to go in ſearch of him. The rear-admiral, being returned to the Downs, and there ſupplied with all neceſſaries, ſet ſail for Hamburg, to convoy a rich fleet of merchant-ſhips from thence: but, in his paſſage, got advice, that they were ſafely arrived at Orfordneſs, upon which he proceeded off of the Broad-fourteens, in ſearch of monſ. du Bart. The 15th of September, he met with ten Dutch men of war, and the 18th with the Ruby, and three Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhips, which had come north about, and were deſigned, with eleven Dutch, for the Texel. The next day, he diſcovered du Bart's ſquadron, conſiſting of ten ſhips, who, fortunately for the Engliſh and Dutch trade, had miſs'd theſe fourteen from the Eaſt-Indies. He gave chaſe to him, and two of our ſhips got within a league of him; but the reſt were three a ſtern; ſo that he plainly ſaw the French out-ſailed him, and, therefore, loſing ſight of them, when the night came on, he gave over the chaſe.

Convoys the Eaſt-country-fleet.

Goes in purſuit of du Bart again.

Diſcovers his ſquadron, and gives chaſe to it.

But du Bart is too nimble for him.

Having thus diſpatch'd our maritime affairs, before I go to thoſe of the continent, I ſhall take a ſmall view of thoſe of Scotland and Ireland. The parliament of Scotland, being met, the 8th of September, at Edinburg, the lord Murray, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for that kingdom, being lately created earl of Tullibardine, and appointed his Majeſty's high commiſſioner, his grace made a ſpeech to them, on occaſion of their meeting; as did, likewiſe, the lord Polwarth, lord high chancelor of Scotland. The King's letter to the parliament was read the 10th, after which committees were appointed as uſual, for the ſecurity of the kingdom, for trade and controverted elections; and then all the members ſigned the aſſociation, being the ſame, in ſubſtance, as that which the parliament of England had ſubſcribed. The following

Affairs of Scotland.

(1) Upon a modeſt computation, there were deſtroyed at leaſt twenty villages; the continuator of Rapin makes them forty or fifty, and thirteen hundred houſes; and near ſixteen hundred head of black cattle and horſes were killed. The Engliſh took about twenty barks; and a veſſel from Newfoundland, re-took another veſſel from the iſlands of America, laden with ſugar, and one of our frigats was taken by a St. Malo's privateer.

The loſs the French received (ſays biſhop Burnet) was not conſiderable in it ſelf; but it put their affairs in great diſtraction: and the charge they were at, in defence of their coaſt, was much greater than ours in attacking it. F. Daniel agrees with the biſhop in the firſt, but paſſes by the latter. The French Gazetteer had the vanity to turn this expedition into ridicule: he began his relation, in the following manner: "the Engliſh are ſo extravagant in their operations, that they confound even "reaſon itſelf, and their expeditions are ſo pitiful, that they beget nothing but ſcorn and contempt." And in another place: "they (the Engliſh) will be little feared, for the future; ſince, having attack'd the weakeſt part of our coaſts, with their "greateſt ſtrength, the very powder they ſpent in theſe fruitleſs expeditions amounts to much more than the damage they "have done us." But they were ſoon awaken'd out of theſe pleaſing dreams, by letters from the inhabitants, of thoſe parts, lamenting their great loſſes; and eſpecially St. Martins, where they allow'd the loſs to amount, at leaſt, to a hundred thouſand crowns; and that three parts in four of their houſes were ruined.

days,

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days, they resolved to give his Majesty a supply of 1,440,000l. Scots, to be raised by a land-cess, and an additional excise, for maintaining the standing-forces, both by sea and land. And considering the danger this kingdom was in, by the late conspiracy against his Majesty's person and kingdoms, they ordered an act to be brought in "for securing their "religion, lives and properties, in case his Ma-"jesty should come to an untimely death; and "another for obliging all, in public trust, to sign "the association." The 20th, the parliament read and approved the latter of the said acts, as also their answer to the King's letter; and, on the 25th, the lord-commissioner gave the royal assent to the "act "for the supply," and to such other acts as were approved by the parliament. The 9th of October, he returned to the house, and touch'd with the scepter, "an act for the security of the kingdom; "an act in favor of preachers at vacant churches; "and another in favor of the universities, schools "and hospitals; an act for the levy of 1000 men; "an act against Protestant servants in Popish fami-"lies; an act for better providing for the poor; "an act against prophaneness;" and several other acts: whereupon the parliament was adjourned, the 12th, to the 8th of December following.

Affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, the lord Capel, lord-deputy of that kingdom, expired, the 30th of May, after a long sickness; upon which, the council, pursuant to an act made in the thirty-third year of King Henry VIII, elected the lord-chancellor Porter, to be lord-justice and chief governor of that kingdom, 'till his Majesty's pleasure was known. The 27th of June, the Irish parliament met at Dublin, according to their last adjournment. The King's commission, appointing the lord-chief-justice Haly, to be their speaker, being read, in the house of lords, and he being sworn, a motion was made, and unanimously agreed to, that the whole house, with their speaker, should wait upon the lord-justice Porter, to congratulate his being placed in the government. The commons, at the same time, having first expell'd mr. Sanderson, the only member of that house who had not sign'd the association, made the same unanimous vote, and, in the afternoon, both houses attended the lord-justice, and then adjourn'd to the 4th of August; upon which day, sir Charles Porter, lord chancellor, and the earls of Montroth and Drogheda, lately appointed lords-justices and general governors of Ireland, signified his Majesty's pleasure to the parliament, that they should farther adjourn themselves.

Proceedings of the lords-justices of England.

I might now, before I proceed to the affairs of the continent, give an account of the proceedings of the lords-justices of England: but very little of moment happen'd, during the King's absense: they may, therefore, be reduced to the issuing of proclamations and orders, "for appointing a fast; for "the currency of some species; the relief of the "poor; the apprehending of several clippers, and "preventing the exportation of coin and bullion; "for restraining the unwarrantable practises of "privateers and pirates; and one, in particular, "for apprehending the famous sea-robber, Henry "Every, and his crew, who had commited several "depredations in the seas of India or Persia, to the "great prejudice of the East-India-company; and, "lastly, for the execution of the late act of par-"liament for the increase and incouragement of "seamen."

The orders abovemention'd, for the currency of certain species, and to prevent the exportation of bullion, &c. were, indeed, highly necessary; for notwithstanding all the wise steps that had been taken, there was great confusion and distress, in England, upon calling in and re-coining the clipp'd mony, especially among the laboring and meaner sort of people, who could get little or no mony for their work, and, indeed, few cared to imploy any workmen. To remedy these, and the like inconveniences, an order of council was issued in July, this summer, that "the justices of peace should "frequently meet in their divisions, and consider "how to relieve and subsist the poorer sort of peo-"ple, till mony become more plentiful:" and another order of council was published, "requir-"ing the attorney-general to prosecute all those "who had entered into confederacies not to im-"ploy any persons, in the woollen, and other "manufactures, during this scarcity of mony.

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Campain in Flanders.

I come now to the affairs of the continent, and first of Flanders, where the confederates began with doing the enemies all the mischief they could, without coming to an ingagement. The news was no sooner come into those parts, that the conspiracy in England was happily discovered, the King safe, and the nation freed from all apprehensions of an invasion, than the Prince of Vaudemont, and other generals, bethought themselves of making an extraordinary bonefire for joy, at the expense of the French: in order to which, having drawn together a body of troops from several garisons, the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant-general Cohorn, march'd from Namur, the 13th of March, N. S. with forty squadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars. The earl, with the greatest part of these troops, invested Dinant, and blocked up that garison, while our famous ingineer advanced, with the rest of the troops, and all the artillery, to Givet, where the enemy had laid up a vast magazine; and having got his batteries in readiness, by the 16th in the morning, he began to fire into the town, with bombs and red-hot bullets, which set fire, not only to the forrage but the houses. A detachment of soldiers was commanded, at the same time, to enter the town, with large flambeaux in their hands, which they perform'd with great bravery, firing the cazerns and granaries, where the oats and other provisions lay; so that, as well the whole town, as the magazine, were utterly consumed, and reduced to ashes: and what was yet more extraordinary, all this was executed, with the inconsiderable loss of nine or ten men.

The enemy's magazines at Givet burnt.

Notwithstanding this succes, before the opening of the campain, when it was opened, it proved the most pacific of any that had happen'd during the war; and, indeed, the wants which both armies had to strugle with, were such that no great matter could be expected from either of them. The French had intirely exhausted their country, by keeping such numerous armies on foot, and, among other inconveniences, the re-coining of the mony in England, had brought the English army, in Flanders, under no small difficulties. The generals had so much to do to provide subsistence for their troops, that it, in a great measure, took off their thoughts from military exploits. The French were, at first, superior to the allies; but the latter being re-infored, by the coming up of the Germans, soon became equal to them. However, the generals, on both sides, spent the whole campain in observing one another, and in indeavoring to posses themselves of the most convenient camps, for the subsisting of their indigent troops.

The French sue for peace.

The French had, before the King arrived in Holland, sent monsr. Calliere to the Hague, offering to acknowledge King William, and to deliver up some considerable places as a barrier for the allies against France. The streights to which the confederate army was reduced, seem'd to favor monsr. Calliere's negociations, and the Dutch began to listen to the proposals of France: 'tho the latter soon found, they could not play the game of Nimeguen over again, and that the States were not

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not to be brought to any reſolution, without the conſent of King William, and the reſt of the allies (1). However, ſome demands were made, by the Dutch, by way of preliminaries to a treaty, as the reſtitution of Lorrain, and of the towns of Straſsburg and Luxemburg. Theſe monſ. Calliere, in the name of his maſter, ſeem'd very ready to conſent to; tho' he ſoon clog'd the firſt with ſome difficulties. Matters being thus far advanced, on the part of the Dutch, and the Engliſh being, likewiſe, on account of the great loſſes their trade had ſuffer'd by the enemy's privateers and cruiſers, their heavy taxes, and the ſmall proſpect of being gainers by the war, rather inclin'd than averſe to the peace, it was, at length, agreed, at all hands, thro' the mediation of the King of Sweden, and the prudent management of the baron van Lilienrodt, his embaſſador in Holland, that plenipotentiaries ſhould be named, for carrying on this ſalutary work.

Affairs of Italy.

The better to ſucceed in this negociation, the court of France had, during the whole courſe of the preceding winter, been privately treating with the duke of Savoy, to ingage him to a ſeparate peace; and the Pope's nuncio, together with the Venetian envoy, ſeconded the intrigues of that court ſo effectually, and made ſuch advantageous offers to his Royal Highneſs, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he at length reſolved to accept of them. As this matter was to remain, for ſome time, at leaſt, a ſecret to the allies, the duke of Savoy went, towards the cloſe of the winter, with a ſmall retinue of his own naming, to our lady of Loretto, under pretenſe of a religious vow: and tho', as it was known, that his Royal Highneſs had more of the ſtateſman than the bigot in him, a ſuſpicion aroſe, that there was ſomething more than devotion in this journey; eſpecially as the Engliſh miniſter, lord Galway, was not allowed to accompany him: and tho' upon this ſuſpicion, ſpies were ſent after him, yet notwithſtanding all the vigilance of the allies, they could never get the leaſt notice of the treaty of peace, which the duke actually ſigned at Loretto, by the mediation of the agents of Rome and Venice, and a private meſſenger ſent by the marſhal de Catinat (2). By this treaty, "the French reſtored to his "Royal Highneſs all the new conqueſts they had "made, as alſo Pignerol demoliſhed; gave him "four millions of livres, towards the reparation of "the damage he had ſuſtained during the war; "ingaged to aſſiſt him with 8000 foot and "4000 horſe to be maintained at the charge of "France; and that a marriage between the duke "of Burgundy and the Princeſs, his Royal High-"neſs's daughter, ſhould forthwith be treated on, "in order to the conſummation thereof, as ſoon "as they ſhould be of age." With reſpect to the Princeſs's portion, it was agreed; "that the duke "ſhould give her 200,000 crowns in gold, towards "the payment of which, his Royal Highneſs was "to give a diſcharge for 100,000 crowns of gold, "which remained due by France to the houſe of "Savoy, a part of the ducheſs Royal's portion: "the remainder, the King of France promiſed to "remit in conſideration of the preſent treaty;" which was ſoon after ratified in France, with the guaranties of the Pope, and the republic of Venice.

A ſeparate peace between France and Savoy.

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This treaty having been ſo artfully and ſecretly managed, the next care the duke had was to conceal it, not only from the miniſters and generals of the allies, but even from his own; none of which had been intruſted with this important ſecret but the marquis de St. Thomas, who, to carry on the treaty, had taken many a journey in diſguiſe, to Pignerol, to confer with the governor of that place and the marſhal de Catinat, who likewiſe came thither incognito. However, notwithſtanding all the precaution the duke could take, he was not long returned from Loretto, before King William, by ſome means or other, had got information of this ſeparate treaty, and obtained copies of the articles of it; which being ſent to the lord Galway, he communicated them to the miniſters of the allies, and even ſhewed them to the duke himſelf. His Royal Highneſs, tho' he was amazed at the diſcovery, ſtill denied the treaty, 'till, by the aſſiſtance of France, he was in a condition to throw off all diſguiſe. Towards the latter end of May, the marſhal de Catinat came down from the mountains of Savoy, into the plains of Turin, with an army of near 50,000 men, which was much ſuperior to that of the confederates. The duke of Savoy yet continued his diſſimulation, and, as if he had no private intelligence with the court of France, put all his own infantry into his fortreſſes, under pretenſe of defending them, and ſent all the confederate forces to the camp at Montcallier.

A ſham truce between France and Savoy.

The 12th of July, the duke concluded a ſham-truce with the French, for a month, and afterwards continued it to the 15th of December: and tho' the allies would not give their conſent to this ſuſpenſion of arms, they were conſtrained to behave, as if they had in effect accepted of it. At length, the duke of Savoy threw off the maſk, and openly notified the ſeparate peace he had made with France, to King William, in his camp at Gemblours, by the mouth of the preſident de la Tour, who, at the ſame time, ſignified to his Majeſty, that the forces of the allies, were to depart his country, within a limited time, or would be forced to it by his Royal Highneſs's troops, aſſiſted by thoſe of France: but that it was in the power of the confederates, to make a neutrality which ſhould include all Italy, within the ſame time.

Valenca beſieged.

The allies were accordingly obliged to retire out of a country where they were already looked upon as enemies, and to provide for the ſecurity of the Milaneſe; which the French troops, in conjunction with thoſe of Savoy, had reſolved to attack in order to oblige the Spaniards to accept the neutrality of Italy. The duke of Savoy followed the allies cloſe, and upon the expiration of the truce, the 13th of September, entered the Milaneſe, at the head of the French troops, and his own, by virtue of a commiſſion of generaliſſimo, from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (3); and four days afterwards, he

(1) If we may give credit, to the continuator of Rapin, in French, the Dutch were not ſo very nice and ſcrupulous: for, according to him, the Dutch had privately treated with this ſame Calliere, two years before at Meaſtricht, whither he came by virtue of paſſes granted him by the States, and where he treated with their deputy, monſ. van Dyckvelt: and this year (ſays the ſame author) they again treated with him privately at Ghent, by means of burgo-maſter Borcel, whom they ſent thither, for that purpoſe, in the room of monſ. van Dyckvelt, who being ſo noted, they fear'd his appearance there might excite the jealouſy of the confederate powers: but notwithſtanding all their precaution, theſe myſterious ſteps could not wholly eſcape the vigilance of their miniſters. B. 25. p. 285.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, pretends that the duke of Savoy, having information that the Dutch were treating privately with France, took this method to ſecure himſelf, leſt he ſhould be neglected in a general treaty.

(3) We ſhall hardly meet with an example in hiſtory, that the ſame general commanded two contending armies in one and the ſame campain: but what is yet more remarkable, before the allies departed his territories, the duke gave orders to both armies, at the ſame time, as well they as the French acknowleging him for their chief. His anceſtors had indeed, upon ſeveral occaſions, ſhewed themſelves inconſtant enough, between the houſes of France and Auſtria: but this was a ſtrain of policy, in which he exceeded them all, and is hardly to be parallelled, tho' ſome more modern events may be ſaid, in ſome meaſure, to come up to it.

laid

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laid ſiege to Valencia. This ſiege, tho' it was rather a political, than a real attack, at leaſt on the ſide of the French, who were, by no means, for increaſing the power of ſo troubleſome a neighbor as the duke of Savoy, ſo intimidated; however, the Spaniards, who were not deep-ſighted enough to penetrate into the real deſign of France, that, on the 7th of October, a meſſenger from his Catholic Majeſty brought his acceſſion to the peace of Italy; whereby a neutrality, or ſuſpenſion of arms, was eſtabliſhed in that country, 'till a general peace inſued; to which theſe artful intrigues and negociations of France were, without doubt, a great ſtep.

The neutrality of Italy agreed to.

Campain in Catalonia.

To facilitate this ſeparate as well as the general treaty, which followed it, the French formed a deſign of doing great matters in Catalonia; which however ended in little or nothing. The duke of Vendome did indeed, attack the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalric, and obliged them to retreat under the cannon of their lines, which they did, however, in ſo good order, that the French, greedy of the purſuit, met with ſo warm a reception there, as quickly obliged them to retire in their turn. In this action, which was the only one that happened on his ſide, worthy our notice, the Spaniards loſt near 300 men, and the French about 100 leſs.

And on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, the campain was ſo inconſiderable, that it is hadly worth mentioning. The French, at the begining of it, did indeed paſs that river, and obliged Prince Lewis of Baden to intrench himſelf to avoid an ingagement: but towards the concluſion of it, the Prince, in his turn, gained the ſame advantage over the French, and cannonaded them ſeveral days, in their ſtrong intrenchments. General Thungen was to have croſſed the Rhine, at the ſame time, near Phillipſburg (Prince Lewis having paſſed it near Mentz) in order to have attacked the French in their rear: but they having timely notice of that deſign, detached the marquis de Huxelles, to prevent it; ſo that all the Germans could do was to repaſs the river with ſome booty, and diverſe hoſtages, for contribution: and thus the campain ended.

Death of the Queen mother of Spain, and the King of Poland.

While I am on the continent, I ſhall juſt mention the death of two crowned heads, to whom this year proved fatal: I mean Mary Ann of Auſtria, Queen-mother of Spain, who died on the 17th of May, N. S. of a cancer in her breaſt; and the brave John Sobieſki III, King of Poland; who departed this life the 17th of June, N. S. of an appoplectic fit, in the ſeventieth year of his age. The firſt was a conſiderable loſs to the confederates in general, and to the Spaniards in particular; her prevailing influence over the counſels of the latter making them frequently take ſuch reſolutions, as were conformable to the intereſts of the former. What were the conſequences of the death of the King of Poland, the reader will ſee in the ſequel.

King William leaves the army.

I return now to his Majeſty King William, who, being tired of a campain that furniſhed him with no opportunity of exerciſing his martial genius, left the army, the 26th of Auguſt, N. S. under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and retired to his beloved diverſion of ſtag-hunting, near his Royal palaces of Dieren and Loo. The 14th of September, his Majeſty ſet out from the laſt of theſe places, accompanied by the duke of Zell (a Prince for whom he always ſhewed a more than ordinary regard) and went the next day to Cleves, where he was magnificently entertained by the court of Brandenburg. Having ſpent two days at this place, he returned with the duke of Zell to Loo, whither he was followed three days after, by the electoral Prince of Brandenburg. Having ſtaid three weeks longer at Loo, his Majeſty went to the Hague;

and on the 14th of October, N. S. imbarked on board the William and Mary yacht, attended by ſeveral other yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Aylmer. He landed two days afterwards at Margate, and arrived the ſame evening at Kenſington.

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Return to England.

The 8th of October, O. S. the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of London attended his Majeſty; and mr. Recorder, in the name of the city, "congratulated his Majeſty's ſafe return, and gave "him their hearty thanks for his Princely care, "and indefatigable pains for the ſafety of his own "kingdoms, and the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, "with the humble aſſurance of the city's ſincere "affection and conſtant loyalty, which they would "upon all occaſions effectually demonſtrate to the "utmoſt of their power." His Majeſty received this compliment very graciouſly, and upon that occaſion, confered the honor of knighthood upon John Johnſon, one of their aldermen, and upon the two ſheriffs, John Wolf and Samuel Blewet, eſqs;

And is complimented by the city.

The 20th, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, when the King, repairing to the houſe of lords, with the uſual ceremony, told both houſes;

The parliament meets.

"That he had called them together, as ſoon as "was poſſible, and he thought it a great happineſs, "that this year had paſſed without any diſadvantage "abroad, or diſaſter at home, conſidering their "great diſappointment in the funds given at their "laſt meeting, and the difficulties which had ariſen, "upon the re-coining of the mony; which was ſo "convincing a proof of the diſpoſition of the army, "and of the ſteady affections of his people, that "he could not but take notice of it, with great "ſatisfaction."

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"Our enemies (continued he) have not been "without hopes, that ſuch a conjuncture might "have proved fatal to us; but as they have failed "in thoſe expectations, ſo I am fully perſuaded, "that your unanimous proceedings, in this ſeſſion, "will make them for ever deſpair of an advantage, "from any diſagreement among ourſelves. It muſt "be confeſſed, that the buſineſs which you have "before you is very great, becauſe of the neceſ-"ſity of ſupplying former deficiencies as well as "making proviſions for the next year's ſervice: "and upon this occaſion, it is fit for me to acquaint "you, that ſome overtures have been made, in or-"der to the entering upon a negociation for a gene-"ral peace: but I am ſure we ſhall all agree in opi-"nion; that the only way of treating with France "is with our ſwords in our hands, and that we can "have no reaſon to expect a ſafe and honorable "peace, but by ſhewing ourſelves prepared to make "a vigorous and effectual war.

"In order to this, I earneſtly recommend to you, "gentlemen of the houſe of commons, that you "would conſider of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, "as well for maintaining the honor of parliaments, "in making good the funds already granted, as "for carrying on the war, the next year; which, "I think, ought not to be leſs, than what was in-"tended to be raiſed for that purpoſe, the laſt "ſeſſion. I muſt alſo put you in mind of the civil "liſt, which cannot be ſupported without your "help; and the miſerable condition of the French "Proteſtants does oblige me to mention them to "you again.

In the concluſion, his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, telling them: "that it might de-"ſerve their conſideration, whether there did not "ſtill remain ſome inconveniencies relating to "the coin, which ought to be remedied: that he "hoped, they would find out the beſt expedients "for the recovery of credit, which was abſolutely "neceſſary, not only with reſpect to the war, but

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" for carrying on of trade: that he was of opinion, " that there was not one good Engliſhman, who " was not intirely convinced, how much did depend " upon this ſeſſion: and therefore he could not but " hope for unanimity and diſpatch in their reſolu- " tions, which at this time, were more neceſſary " than ever, for the ſafety and honor of England.

The houſe of commons having, as uſual, appointed the ſiting of the grand committees for religion, trade, grievances, courts of juſtice, and privileges and elections, made an unanimous vote, " that " they would ſupport his Majeſty and his govern- " ment, againſt all his enemies, both at home and " abroad, and that they would effectually aſſiſt " him, in the proſecution of the preſent war againſt " France." Purſuant to this vote, an addreſs was drawn up, by mr. chancellor of the exchequer, by their order, and was preſented to his Majeſty, by the whole houſe in a body, on the 23d of October: in this addreſs the commons took notice:

Addreſs of the commons to the King.

" that this was the eighth year, in which they had " aſſiſted him with large ſupplies, for carrying on " a juſt and neceſſary war in defenſe of their religion, " preſervation of their laws, and vindication of the " rights and liberties of the people of England; " which they had hitherto preſerved, and by the " bleſſing of God, on his Majeſty's conduct and " good government, would ſtedfaſtly maintain " and intail on their poſterity. That this had " coſt the nation much blood and treaſure, but " the hopes of accompliſhing ſo great and ſo " glorious a work, had made his ſubjects chear- " fully ſupport the charge: and to ſhew his Maje- " ſty, and all Chriſtendom; that the commons " of England would not be amuſed or diverted " from their firm reſolutions of obtaining by war, " a ſafe and honorable peace, they did, in the name " of thoſe they repreſented, renew their aſſurances " to his Majeſty, that this houſe would ſupport " him and his government, againſt all his enemies, " both at home and abroad, and effectually aſſiſt " him in the carrying on the preſent war againſt " France." To this addreſs, the King anſwered:

His Majeſty's anſwer.

" That the continuance of their zeal and af- " fection was the only thing in the world he moſt " valued, and that he would make their good, and " the ſafety of the nation, the principal care of his " life:"

Theſe aſſurances of affection, on the one ſide, of loyalty, on the other, and of mutual confidence on both, being over, the commons entered, with great alacrity, upon thoſe great affairs, which ſo much required their attention: but I ſhall poſtpone the farther proceedings of parliament for a while, to give an account of a very remarkable affair, which begun ſome months before the opening of this ſeſſion, and was afterwards the occaſion of very warm debates in both houſes; I mean the caſe of ſir John Fenwick, who was concerned in the late aſſaſſination and invaſion-plot.

Affair of ſir John Fenwick.

Sir John had lain concealed in London, from the time of the diſcovery of the plot, 'till the beginning of June, when he indeavored to make his eſcape to France: but was taken at Romney, in Kent, where he went under the name of Thomas Ward, and was in company of Robert Webber, an attorney: while he was at Romney, tho' in cuſtody, he found means to write the following letter to his lady, with a black-lead pencil:

His letter to his lady;

" What I fear'd is at laſt happened; had I " gone alone I had done it; but the other was " betray'd from London. It is God's will, ſo we " muſt ſubmit. I know nothing can ſave my " life, but my lord Carliſle's going over to him, " (meaning King William,) back'd by the reſt of " the family of the Howards, to beg it, and offering, " that I will be abroad, all his time, where I can- " not hurt him, and that I will never draw ſword " againſt him: I muſt leave it to you what elſe to " ſay. All friends muſt be made; my lord Devon- " ſhire may, perhaps, by my lady; my lord Go- " dolphin and my lord Pembroke, by my lady " Montgomery; mr. Nelſon, by the biſhop of Can- " terbury; my lord Arran might ingage his bro- " ther Selkirk, to uſe his intereſt with Keppel. I " believe, if my lord Carliſle would go, it were " beſt before my trial, or elſe they will cut me " ſhort for want of time. If he can prevail with " him, for a pardon, he will procure it as well " before my trial as after; at leaſt, he may prevail " for a reprieve, till ſome can come over to him. " My lord will alſo have an opportunity to ingage " Benting (the earl of Portland) and get my " lord of Eſſex, to join with him. I cannot " think what elſe to ſay: but the great care muſt " be the jury; if two or three could be got, that " would ſtarve the reſt, that or nothing can ſave " me. Mony, I know, would do it: but, alas, that " is not to be had, nor ſhall I get enough for coun- " ſel. I beg of you not to think of being ſhut up " with me; I know it will kill you; and, beſide, " I have no ſuch friend as you, to take care of my " buſineſs; tho' it would be the comfort of my " life, the little time it laſts, to have you with me: " and I have this only comfort now left, that my " death will make you eaſy. My deareſt life, " grieve not for me, but reſign me to God's will. " You will hear as ſoon as they bring me to town, " where they put me, and then I would have a " ſervant, or ſome-body, with me. I am inter- " rupted, ſo can ſay no more now: ingage ſir John " Lowther, the new lord, who has more intereſt " than any body: let my lord Scarſdal ingage " Germain, to ingage Overkirk for me. Speak " to my lady Arlington. If my trial could be " put off, till the King comes back, there would " be more opportunity to ſolicit him."

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Sir John having deliver'd this letter to mr. Webber, the campanion of his flight, it was afterwards intercepted, by the mayor of Romney, and brought to the lords-juſtices. At his firſt examination, being ignorant of the miſcarriage of the letter, he denied every thing he was charged with: 'till the lords-juſtices producing it, he was quite confounded. His hopes of geting a jury pack'd, being, by this diſcovery, intirely defeated, he had now no proſpect of ſaving himſelf, but by geting his trial put off 'till the King's return; and to effect this he pretended, if time was allowed him, he would lay open the whole matter, and give the government a clearer light of this affair than they had hitherto had. In his firſt private treaty with the duke of Devonſhire, he inſiſted to have an aſſurance of life, upon his promiſe of diſcovering all he knew. This the King refuſed, and would have it left to himſelf to judge of the integrity and importance of what he ſhould diſcover. Sir John reſolved, thereupon, to throw himſelf upon the King's mercy, and ſent his Majeſty a paper, in which, after a bare account of the conſultations among the Jacobites, he ſaid, in general, that there was, in England, a ſettled number of perſons to manage the affairs of King James: and being afterwards put upon to name thoſe perſons, and to deſcend to particulars, he gave in another writing, in which, among other things, he pretended, that King James, and thoſe who were imployed by him, had aſſured the Jacobites, that the earls of Shrewſbury, Bath, and Marlborough, the lord Godolphin and admiral Ruſſel, were reconciled to him, and, being now in his intereſt, were acting for him; that Shrewſbury came into the office of ſecretary of ſtate, by

Is intercepted.

His counter plot.

the

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the operation and consent of King James; and that his grace was in treaty with that Monarch, before he laid down the seals. That the lord Marlborough had promised King James some service, which had inclined his Majesty to promise him his pardon; that the earl of Bath was to betray Plymouth into the hands of the French King; that admiral Russel and the lord Godolphin had likewise undertaken particular services: and that commissary Crawford had sent over to France a list of the forces in England (1).

These informations, at first, startled not only the court, but the King himself, and gained sir John Fenwick some time. But as he did not offer the least appearance of proof or circumstance, to corroborate his assertions, not even that could amount to a presumption, to support his accusation, this pretended discovery could, at most, go no farther, than to raise the King's jealousy of those noblemen: but, with every impartial person, it could be look'd on as no more than a mean prevarication without any grounds.

Tampers with the King's witnesses.

Fenwick, being, in the mean time, sensible that his sham-plot must be, at length, discovered, indeavor'd to get off at least one of the two evidences who had sworn against him before the grand-jury: in this he succeeded with Cardel Goodman, who, in consideration of a large sum of mony, was induced to withdraw himself into France. Indeavours were likewise used with the other evidence, captain Porter, and the large temptation of 1000 l. a year was offer'd him, by means of one Clancey, on Irish peruke-maker: but Porter having already a pension of 300 l. per annum from King William, and thinking it not safe to trust a party he had so lately betray'd, discover'd the whole intreague to the government, whereupon Clancey was sentenced to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to stand three times in the pillory, which was executed accordingly.

The parliament was, at this time, ingaged in a multiplicity of important affairs, as the reader will see below: However, the great men who had been charged by sir John Fenwick, of corresponding with King James, being determined to clear their reputations, and make sir John feel the weight of their resentment, found means to have that matter inquired into by both houses.

Admiral Russel brings this case before the house of commons.

The government finding themselves abused by the clandestine practises of the Jacobites, and having now no remedy left against the prisoner, in the ordinary course of law, the King gave leave to admiral Russel, to acquaint the house of commons with these proceedings, and lay before them the several papers which were given in by sir John Fenwick, in the nature of information against himself and several other persons of quality: this he did, the 6th of November, and desired that the said papers might be read, that he might thereby have the opportunity to justify himself, or if he did not, he was willing to fall under the censure of the house.

Sir John Fenwick examined by the house of commons.

The papers being read, sir John was ordered to be brought to the bar of the house, which being done, the 9th of the same month, and he being interrogated by the speaker, concerning his inclinations to discover the designs and practises of the enemies of the government; he, at first answer'd, he did not know but what he should say might hurt himself, and, therefore, desired he might have some security, that his confession should not rise up against him, in a court of judicature, adding, that he would not willingly offend, either the King or the house. Being ordered to withdraw, several debates arose in the house, and upon his being called in again, he was urged to make what discoveries he could, as the only means to bespeak the favor of the house: after many expostulations and excuses, which served to no end but to prejudice the house against him, he address'd himself to the commons in these words:

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"When first I spoke to the privy counsellor, "I proposed to him, whether I might have a par- "don, without being made an evidence against any "man, and, in that case would serve the King, so "as to tell him, all that I knew. It was upon "honor, what I did to him, and he took the "words in writing from me, and sent them "to the King in Flanders: the King's answer "was, that he made no objection as to my "being an evidence, nor his giving me a pardon: "But that I could expect no pardon, 'till he knew "what I could say." He added, "that, there- "upon, he was incouraged to do what he had "done, for his Majesty's service; but the King's "answer being, that he should more fully make "good what he had said, he afterwards explain'd "what he had inform'd that honorable person; and "still it was answered, it was not satisfactory: "that he hoped he should not find this, from this "honorable house, and that they would consider, "he was upon his life; that he knew this house "was good security for it, but 'till he had it, he "was under these circumstances, and he might be "told all was not satisfactory, and so desired the "house to consider of it."

His informations voted scandalous.

The speaker again press'd sir John, to make a discovery; but all his answers were but so many prevarications; insomuch that, at length, the house, to do justice to the loyalty of the injured noblemen, and to clear them intirely, from these false accusations, voted; "that the papers which had been "read, intitled, sir John Fenwick's informations, "accusing several peers of the realm of disloyalty, "were false and scandalous, tending to the subver- "sion of the government, to raise a jealousy be- "tween the King and his subjects, and to stifle the "truth of the controversy."

Bill to attaint him of high treason.

A motion was then made, for leave to bring in a bill, to attaint him of high treason, which, after a warm debate was carried in the affirmative, 179 voices against 61. The bill was accordingly presented to the house three days after, and the question being put, after a long debate of several hours, for a second reading, it was likewise carried in the affirmative, 196 voices against 104. The same day, the house ordered, that sir John Fenwick should have a copy of the bill, and of the order for reading it, eight days after; and that mr. secretary Vernon should then produce the letter written in Kent, by sir John Fenwick. The day before the bill was to be read a second time, sir John presented a petition, praying to be heard by his counsel, against the passing of the said bill; upon which the house ordered, that he should be allowed two counsel at the bar of the house, to make his defense.

(1) The author of the history of King William says, this expedient was suggested to Fenwick, by a person, who tho' he had been a great instrument in the late revolution, yet to gratify a private resentment, advised sir John to set up this counter-plot, by impeaching several of the King's best and heartiest friends, as guilty of conspiring against his Majesty. Vol. 3. p. 206.

Bishop Burnet carries the matter yet farther, and says Fenwick was put upon this artifice to save his life, or at least to gain time, by the earl of Monmouth, formerly known by the name of the lord Mordaunt; who (he adds) was the contriver of it, more out of spleen or revenge against certain persons, whom he thought were more favored than he, than to serve Fenwick. To this end, he drew up certain instructions, which he put into the hands of the duchess of Norfolk, to be convey'd to the prisoner; who finding it accompanied with threats and promises, according to the use he should make of those instructions, he thereupon formed this accusation. History of his own times.

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The 13th of November, sir John Fenwick was brought to the bar of the house, and was heard by his council, against the bill: the speaker opened the matter, and addressing himself to sir John Fenwick, laid before him the heinousness of the "crime "with which he stood charged, and how destructive "it would have been, if it had succeeded, to the "very being of this kingdom: and therefore, that "he might not go unpunished, if he was guilty, "they had ordered a bill to be brought to "attaint him for high-treason, which had been "once read, and would be now read to him, at the "bar, and then he would hear the evidence against "him, and have liberty to make his defense: "that tho' he could not claim any right thereto, "the house, to shew how ready they were to favor "him, in giving him any reasonable help, did allow "him counsel to assist him: that he was, likewise, "to acquaint those who were his counsel, that the "house did reckon their own prudence would so "guide them, as not to give any just offense to "this house. That they ought not to question the "power of parliament to pass bills of attainder, "when they judge it requisite, of which the com-"mons are more proper judges than any person, "and therefore they did not allow him to debate "that point.

This speech being ended, the clerk of the house of commons read the bill, importing, "that "whereas sir John Fenwick was, upon the oaths "of George Porter and Cardel Goodman, in-"dicted of high-treason, in conspiring to assassinate "his Majesty's sacred person, and incouraging the "French King to invade this kingdom: that sir "John Fenwick having obtained his Majesty's favor "to have his trial delayed, from time to time, "upon his repeated promises of making an in-"genuous and full confession of his knowlege of "any conspiracy against his Majesty's person or "government, he had so far abused his Majesty's "great clemency and indulgence, that instead of "making such confession, he had contrived false and "scandalous papers, as his informations, reflecting "on the fidelity of several noble peers, diverse mem-"bers of the house of commons, and others, only by "hear-say, and contriving thereby to undermine the "government, and create jealousies, between the King "and his subjects, and to stifle the real conspiracy: "and that whereas Cardel Goodman, one of the "witnesses against the said sir John Fenwick, to "prove the said treason, lately, and since the se-"veral times appointed for the trial of the said sir "John Fenwick, at one of which times, the said "sir John Fenwick had been tried, had it not "been for the expectation of the said discoveries "so often promised by him, was withdrawn, so "that the said Cardel Goodman could not be had, "to give evidence upon any trials: be it there-"fore, inacted, that the said sir John Fenwick be "convicted and attainted of high-treason, and "suffer the pains of death, and incur all forfeitures "as a person attainted of high treason."

To give a particular account of the pleadings on both sides, and of the several debates in the house, on this and other subsequent days 'till the bill passed, would carry me too great a length: I shall therefore only give an abridgment of the proceedings during that time. The bill being read, as I said above, the commons went on to examine witnesses, as well to the treasons contained in the indictment of sir John Fenwick, as to the allegations in the bill of attainder: and captain Porter was examined as to the lady Fenwick's practising with him, about his evidence: to the latter sir John's counsel objected, that what a wife said or did could be no evidence against her husband. Goodman's examination, before mr. secretary Vernon, was likewise read against the prisoner: but his counsel insisted that was no evidence. After this, several of the grand jury-men were examined, who found the indictment against the prisoner, concerning the evidence that induced them to find the bill; and this his counsel objected was another extraordinary step. The record of Cooke's conviction was also read against sir John, and some of Cooke's jury were examined, what evidence Goodman gave at Cooke's trial; but this was objected to as illegal. Mr. secretary Vernon then gave evidence of the various artifices sir John had made use of to put off his trial. There were likewise some debates and questions concerning sir John Fenwick's letter.

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The bill being read a second time, as ordered, great debates arose about its commitment; as there did likewise five days after, at the third reading of it: I shall only mention some few of the arguments, which were made use of, in these debates, for and against the bill.

Debates on the bill.

The arguments against the bill were chiefly, "that the person to be condemned by this bill was "forth coming; had been indicted, and had pleaded, "and was ready to undergo his trial, in the ordi-"nary courts of justice: that the meanest subject "was intitled to a trial by jury: even the regicides "who actually murdered the King, and did not "fly, were admited to a trial in the ordinary court, "of justice, tho' a bill of attainder passed against "the rest: that it would be thought strange for "the same parliament which passed an act re-"quiring two witnesses in high-treason, to pass "another act to put a man to death, without one "legal witness, and without allowing him any trial "at all. That if mr. St. John's position, in the "lord Strafford's case, was admited, that a subse-"quent law might be made to take away a man's "life without any evidence, other than the private "opinion or conscience of every particular law-"maker, then none are safe: that, in the "lord Strafford's case, the proceedings were first "by impeachment: the witnesses had been exa-"mined in the house of peers, and the bill of at-"tainder recited, that it had been fully proved: "but for a bill to begin originally in the house of "commons, and judgment be given there, to de-"prive a man of his life, and all that is valuable, "without the sanction of an oath, was extremely "hard.

Reasons against the bill.

"That bishop Burnet, in his history of the re-"formation had observed: that such bills could "not be enough condemned; for that they were a "breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules "of justice. Had the government been in danger "by the prisoner, ordinary rites might indeed "be dispensed with: but this being for an offense "commited a year before, the persons executed, "who were concerned in it, and all the danger "over, there could be no manner of reason for "resorting to their legislative power to punish this "man. The most that could be thought reason-"able, in this case, would be to inact, that "Goodman, the witness's evidence, tho' he was "fled, should be read at his trial. They could "not condemn the prisoner, and put him in a "worse condition, than if Goodman was here; "for then he would have had a trial by a jury, "the benefit of his challenges, the witnesses sworn, "and might have had his exceptions to their testi-"mony, all which he was deprived of here. That "the parliament had power to make such a law "was granted: but they thought it ought not to "be used, but upon extraordinary occasions, when "the offenders were so great, that they could not

"otherwise

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" otherwiſe be brought to juſtice, or where the " crimes did not fall under the denomination of the " common law, which was not the preſent caſe " That there was not one precedent for attainting " a perſon who was in cuſtody and forth-com- " ing, but what had been univerſally branded ; " they were rather reproaches to the ill reigns " they were made in, and to be marked out as " rocks for us to avoid, than patterns to be imi- " tated : that tho' it were true, they were not tied " up by the rules in Weſtminſter-hall, yet what " was reaſon and juſtice in Weſtminſter-hall was " ſo every where, and ſo far as their rules were " founded on reaſon and juſtice, they ought to be " purſued : that they had indeed, by a law, pre- " vented people's being executed by an arbitrary " power, and in an unlawful manner, in Weſtmin- " ſter-hall : but if they made this example, they " might be perpetually executed here, and the ſub- " ject would be never the ſafer for the bill of trea- " ſons : that one time or other, every one might " be concerned, and have a proceeding of this " ſort againſt him : we have ſeen parties hang one " another by turns, with great violence. Some, " indeed, ſaid, they did not aim at the priſoner's " blood, but his confeſſion ; and ſo he was, in a " manner, to be racked to death, from one read- " ing of the bill to another ; and poſſibly might " come to be hanged at laſt, not for high-treaſon, " but for not confeſſing it. As to the ſafety of the " government, which was pretended, they did not " ſee how that depended on his life, or that it " would be one penny the worſe, if the bill did not " paſs. The preamble of the bill for attainting the " duke of Monmouth gave a ſubſtantial reaſon for " it ; that he was in arms, and could not be " brought to juſtice ; which implied, that if " he could have been brought to juſtice, they " would not have attainted him : that where the " government was at ſtake, and nothing would " preſerve it, but the breaking thro' the ſettled " forms, there the government did, and always " would break thro' them, whatever rules were " preſcribed : but they did not think ſir John " Fenwick's living or dying was of that conſequence " as this bill of attainder was. As to the allegation " that he protracted his trial, it was natural what " every body attempted, and could not be ſuffici- " ent ground to attaint him. That as to his " being the occaſion of withdrawing the evidence, " it was neither proved, nor ſo much as ſuggeſted " in the bill ; and if it had, it did not demand " ſuch a puniſhment, any more than his having " aſperſed ſome great perſons, as the bill charged : " that it was true, ſome were accuſed ; and it " was hard they ſhould ſit as judges on the perſon " who accuſed them, and indeavor to baffle his " evidence, by craming a bill of attainder down his " throat : that there were other gentlemen in the " houſe, who were counſel for the King, and pro- " ſecutors, and they thought it hard too, that they " ſhould ſit in judgment on the priſoner : that it " was agreed by all, that this power ought not to " be exerciſed, but on extraordinary occaſions : " that high-treaſon, 'tis true, was a great crime ; " but what was there in this caſe to make it differ " ſo much from other high-treaſons, that they muſt " proceed in this extraordinary manner ? he had " aſperſed great men ; he had prevaricated with " the government, and protracted his trial, 'till a " witneſs was withdrawn : but if theſe reaſons were " ſufficient to induce them, to have recourſe to a " bill of attainder, then, whenever there ſhould " be but one witneſs for the future, by virtue of " this precedent, the legiſlature muſt interpoſe, " and a bill of attainder be brought in ; and then " to what purpoſe was the care and wiſdom of " their anceſtors, and of themſelves, who had " provided, that where the crime was ſo great, " and attended with ſo great puniſhment, there " ſhould be two witneſſes ?

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" That in this precedent, it would appear, by " their journals, that they had cauſed the depoſi- " tion of a perſon to be read, who was abſent, " taken before a juſtice of peace, when the party " accuſed had no opportunity to interrogate him ; " and that they had heard a witneſs, as to what " was ſwore in the trial of another man ; and this " appeared to be to ſupply the defect of a witneſs " viva voce. That it was not becauſe it was diſa- " greeable to the rules in Weſtminſter-hall, that " ſuch a teſtimony was not admited ; but the rule " was founded on juſtice and common right ; that " no evidence ſhould be brought againſt a man, " that was given in a cauſe, where he was not a " party, when the oath was made, and he had " no opportunity to croſs-examine the witneſs. " That, according to the opinion of their prede- " ceſſors, ſuch proceedings as theſe were contrary " to the fundamental articles of juſtice and right ; " which parliaments, as well as other courts, ought " to be governed by ; that moſt of the attainders, " which had been produced as precedents for them, " had been reverſed, and that becauſe the perſons " condemned had not had the due benefit of the law, " and if that was a good reaſon for reverſing " ſuch attainders, it was alſo a good reaſon why " they ſhould not proceed by attainder.

" That to tell them the government was in dan- " ger, and that the ſtate of England and Europe, " depended on this bill, was certainly offered " rather to amuſe than convince them. It was im- " poſſible the government could be in danger, " from one they had in their power, and might " reſtrain him of his liberty for life, and whoſe " eſtate and intereſt were ſo inconſiderable. It was " ſtrange that the government could not ſupport " itſelf, without taking away the life of ſuch a " one, contrary to the rules of law.

Reaſons for the bill.

On the other hand, thoſe who argued for the bill, alleged, " that the parliament would never " take things out of the ordinary courts of juſtice, " or attaint a perſon of treaſon, unleſs in extra- " ordinary caſes : but here it appeared, they had " been deprived of the evidence that was neceſſary, " in the ordinary courſe of proceedings ; and in ſuch " caſes, it was uſual for the parliament to interpoſe : " and as to that objection, that what had been " offered was not legal evidence, the parliament " might make uſe of ſuch informations, as would " give them any light into the matter, and were not " tied down to the rules of Weſtminſter-hall ; " they were judges of their own methods, and " how far ſir John Fenwick was concerned upon the " circumſtances before them. That this power, " had indeed been ſeldom exerted, but where the " party was withdrawn from juſtice, and could not " be come at in the ordinary courſe ; but this was a " parallel caſe ; they could not come at juſtice in the " ordinary courſe, their witneſs having been tamper- " ed with, and withdrawn ; and, therefore, by their " own arguments, it was proper to be brought before " the parliament : that they were inveſted with a " diſcretionary power, to do whatever they appre- " hended to be for the good of the kingdom ; and " this was a fit occaſion to exert that authority. " That indeed this power was like thunder in the " hands of providence, and was not to be uſed " but upon extraordinary occaſions, and then it " ought not to fail : for men would trifle with and " deſpiſe that power, which was not able effectu- " ally to exert itſelf : that as ſome gentlemen were " afraid of making an ill precedent, it was for " that reaſon too, that they were for the bill : for, " as

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" as the bill ſtood, he was but a bungling politician, who could not ruin the government, and yet not come within the bill of treaſon, to be hanged for it; and therefore for the keeping miniſters of ſtate in awe, and that the parliament might have it in their power to puniſh future offenders as they thought fit, as well as the priſoner, they were for the bill.

" That it had been ſaid, this was a matter of no great conſequence, becauſe it concerned ſir John Fenwick's life; he was not thought to be ſo conſiderable, as, by his eſcape, to bring the public into any danger: but it was a very juſt obſervation, that if a plot was diſcovered, and not thoroughly proſecuted, it would ſtrengthen and grow upon them, and ten to one, if it did not ſubvert the government: that no one could think that ſir William Perkins and ſir John Friend, and the reſt who were diſcovered, were the only perſons concerned in this conſpiracy, they believed there muſt be much greater men concerned in it: that when they ſaw ſuch a ſtruggle to get people outof goal, and ſend them out of the way, they could not ſuppoſe, but that there was ſomething extraordinary ſtill to be done, and they would not have men think to ſecure themſelves by bribing witneſſes. It was notorious what parties there were for King James; perſons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invaſion threatned: and if this was not time to exert their extraordinary power, when would it be a proper time?

" Others urged, if it were the law of God and nature, that no man ſhould be put to death without two witneſſes, they wondered all Chriſtian nations were not governed by that law. But, indeed no two nations agreed in their manner of proof, and we differed from all other nations, in producing the witneſſes, face to face, and requiring two witneſſes, in caſes of treaſon: that we ourſelves did not require the ſame proof in ſome caſes as we did in others; one witneſs was ſufficient in felony; and before the ſtatute of Edward VI, even in treaſon, that evidence was ſufficient which was ſufficient to incline the jury to give verdict: that if this precedent had been made in the caſe of an innocent perſon, or even where the fact was doubtful, by a prevailing party, it had been an ill precedent; but it being made for a man who was notoriouſly guilty, and one who deſerved this extraordinary reſentment of the nation, and who had been brought to juſtice in the ordinary manner, if he had not eluded and made it impracticable; they thought, if it ſhould appear that the nation would not be put off ſo, but made an example of him, poſterity would applaud and thank them for it: that they did not however condemn him, becauſe he had protracted his trial, but becauſe he had been guilty of high-treaſon, the worſt of treaſon, which would have been proved, in the ordinary courſe of proceedings, if he had not pretended to make diſcoveries, and by that means, put off his trial 'till a witneſs was gone; and when he found himſelf out of the ordinary reach of juſtice, ſet the juſtice of his country in defiance: altho' theſe were not ſufficient reaſons why he ſhould die, yet they were ſufficient to juſtify their proceeding in this manner againſt him: that tho' ſir John Fenwick was ſo inconſiderable, that he could not indanger the government, it was plain he was to be general, and knew a great many officers: that he had not made that atonement to his injured country (by an ingenuous confeſſion) as he ought to have done; and unleſs they proceeded ſteadily againſt him, they ſhould have none of thoſe diſcoveries: not that they would hang up a man becauſe he would not confeſs; but that he, having been guilty of the worſt treaſons, and aggravated his crime in that manner, deſerved to die, unleſs he would merit his life, by a diſcovery of what he knew.

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The bill paſſed in the houſe of commons.

And in the upper houſe.

The proteſt of ſome lords.

These debates being at an end, and the queſtion put, " that this bill do paſs," it was carried in the affirmative, 189 againſt 156. The bill was thereupon ſent up to the houſe of lords for their concurrence, where, likewiſe, it was attended with great debates, and at length was carried by a majority of ſeven voices only: there being ſixty-eight againſt ſixty-one. The lords who were againſt it entered their proteſts, for the following reaſons:

1. " Becauſe bills of attainder againſt perſons in priſon, and who therefore are liable to be tried by common law, are of dangerous conſequence to the lives of the ſubjects, and may tend to the ſubverſion of the laws of the kingdom.

2. " Becauſe the evidence of grand jury-men, of what was ſworn before them againſt ſir John Fenwick, as alſo the evidence of the petty jury-men, in another cauſe, was admited here; both which are againſt the rules of law; beſide that, they diſagreed in their teſtimony.

3. " Becauſe the information of Goodman in writing was received, which law was not to be admited; and the priſoner, for want of his appearing face to face (as is by law required) could not have the advantage of croſs-examining him; and it did not appear by evidence, that ſir John Fenwick, or any other perſon imployed by him, had any way perſuaded Goodman to withdraw himſelf: and it would be of very dangerous conſequence, that any perſon ſo accuſed ſhould be condemned; for, by this means, a witneſs who ſhould be found inſufficient to convict a man, ſhould have more power to hurt a man by his abſenſe, than if he were produced viva voce againſt him.

4. " Becauſe if Goodman had appeared againſt him, he was infamous in the whole courſe of his life, and could not be a good witneſs, eſpecially in caſes of blood.

5. " Becauſe, in this caſe, there was but one evidence, viz. Porter, and he a very doubtful one.

6. " Becauſe ſir John Fenwick was ſo inconſiderable a man, as to indangering the peace of the government, that there was no neceſſity of proceeding againſt him in ſo extraordinary a manner."

The act has the royal aſſent.

The 11th of January the King gave the royal aſſent to this " act of attainder againſt ſir John Fenwick" (1); and his puniſhment being afterwards commuted from hanging to beheading, he was executed, the 28th of the ſame month, on Tower-hill, where he delivered a paper to the ſheriffs importing:

Sir John Fenwick beheaded.

A paper given by him to the ſheriffs.

" That he died in the communion of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, wherein he was brought up, and which he had ever profeſſed; tho' he confeſſed he had been an unworthy member of it, in not living up to the ſtrict and excellent rules thereof; that his religion taught him his loyalty, which he bleſſed God was untainted; and he had ever indeavored, in the ſtation wherein he had been placed, to the utmoſt of his power, to ſupport the crown of England,

(1) His Majeſty gave, at the ſame time, the royal aſſent, to another act, " for the attainder of ſuch of the perſons concerned " in the late conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty's Royal perſon, who were fled from juſtice, unleſs they rendered themſelves to " juſtice; and for continuing ſeveral others of the ſaid conſpirators in cuſtody.

" in

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" in the true and lineal courſe of deſcent, without " interruption: that as for what he was now to die, " he called God to witneſs, he went not to that " meeting in Leadenhall-ſtreet, with any ſuch in- " tent as to invite King James, by force, to invade " this nation: nor was he himſelf provided with " either horſe or arms, or ingaged for any number " of men, or gave particular conſent for any ſuch " invaſion, as was moſt falſly ſworn againſt him. " He alſo declared, in the preſenſe of God, that " he knew nothing of King James's coming to " Calais, nor of any invaſion intended from thence, " 'till it was publicly known, and that the only " notion he had, that ſomething might be attempt- " ed, was from the Toulon-fleet coming to Breſt. " That he received the knowlege of what was con- " tained in thoſe papers that he gave to a great " man, who came to him in the Tower, both from " letters and meſſages, which came from France; " and that the great man told him, when he read " them to him, that the Prince of Orange had " been acquainted with moſt of theſe things before. " That he might have expected mercy from that " Prince, becauſe he was inſtrumental in ſaving " his life: for when, about April 1695, an at- " tempt formed againſt him came to his knowlege, " he did, partly by diſuaſſions, and partly by delays, " prevent that deſign, which he ſuppoſed was the " reaſon, that the laſt villanous project was con- " cealed from him. That if there were any perſons " whom he had injured, in word or deed, he hear- " tily prayed their pardon, and begged of God to " pardon thoſe who had injured him, particularly " thoſe who had zealouſly ſought his life, and " brought the guilt of his innocent blood on this " nation, no treaſon being proved upon him. That " he returned his moſt hearty thanks to thoſe noble " and worthy perſons, who gave him their aſſiſtance " in oppoſing this bill of attainder, without which " it was impoſſible he could have fallen under the ſen- " tenſe of death; and he prayed God to bleſs them " and their poſterity; tho' he was fully ſatisfied, they " pleaded their cauſe, while they defended his. In " the concluſion, he prayed God to bleſs his true and " lawful ſovereign, King James, the Queen and " Prince of Wales, and reſtore him, and his poſterity, " to this throne again, for the peace and proſperity " of this nation, which could not poſſibly proſper, 'till " the government was ſettled upon a right foot (1).

Ill ſtate of the coin farther remedied.

I return now to the other affairs of parliament: the King had recommended, from the throne, three important affairs to the conſideration of parlia- ment, viz. " A farther remedy of the ill ſtate of " the coin; the reſtoring of the public credit, " and the providing a ſupply for the next year's ſer- " vice." In order to effect the two firſt, the com- mons reſolved: " that they would not alter the " ſtandard of gold or ſilver, in fineneſs, weight or " denomination, and that they would make good " all parliamentary funds, ſince his Majeſty's ac- " ceſſion to the throne, that had been made credits " for loans from the ſubject:" and as the circulation of guineas was obſtructed, the 22d of October, a bill was ordered to be brought in, " for the giving " leave to import guineas, and to coin gold at the " mint." The 28th, two other bills were likewiſe ordered to be prepared, one " for the farther reme- " dying the ill ſtate of the coin and the other " for incouraging the bringing plate into the mints to be coined." The firſt two bills received the royal aſ- ſent, the 3d of December, at which time his Ma- jeſty, likewiſe, confirmed " an act, to explain that " part of the act paſſed the laſt ſeſſion of parlia- " ment (for laying ſeveral duties on low wines, and " ſpirits of the firſt extraction, and for preventing " the frauds and abuſes of brewers, diſtillers, and " other perſons chargeable with the duties of exciſe) " which relates to the payment of tallies, and the " intereſt thereof.

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Acts paſſed.

The commons having taken into conſideration the ſtate of the war for the year 1697, as well with regard to the navy as the land-forces; they granted, on the 4th of November, " 2,372,197 l. " for the maintenance of 40,000 ſeamen, and of the " two marine regiments; and for the ordinary of " the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of ſea- " men: and the ſum of 2,507,882 l. for the main- " tenance of 87,440 men, to imployed in Eng- " land, and beyond the ſeas, for the extraordi- " nary ſervice of the office of ordnance, the pay " of the general officers, and the charge of the " tranſports, hoſpitals, and other contingencies of " the war." Beſide theſe large ſums, they voted " farther, on the 23d of December, " 125,000 l. " for making good the deficiency, in re-coining " hammered mony, and to be given, for bringing " plate into the mints, to be coined."

A ſupply granted.

In order to raiſe theſe great ſums, the commons had recourſe, on the 22d of December, to a general capitation or poll-tax, from which none were ex- empt but thoſe who received alms; and, at the ſame time, they laid three ſhillings in the pound upon land. Towards levying the 125,000 l. above- mentioned, they reſolved, on the 9th of January, to lay a duty of ſix-pence per ounce, upon all plate that ſhould not be brought in to be coined, and twenty per cent, upon all paper, paſt-board, parch- ment and vellom imported; as alſo 17 l. 10 s. upon the ſame goods made in this kingdom, or in ſtock, for the term of two years.

Ways and Means.

The loſs of public credit was, however, the greateſt difficulty this parliament had to ſtrugle with (2); and ſo great it was, that the kingdom was thereby reduced to a diſtreſs'd condition. Mony was, indeed, coin'd with all poſſible expedition; but thoſe who received it from the Mint, being generally monied men, would not part with it, with- out unreaſonable advantages; inſomuch that govern- ment-tallies and debentures were at forty, fifty, and ſixty per cent. diſcount, and even bank-bills at above twenty per cent. The ſellers, as well of the one as the other, being very numerous, they were offer'd, and, in a manner, cried about the exchange, which, while ſome men ſuffer'd egre- giouſly, gave an opportunity to others to raiſe vaſt fortunes, by buying them up (3). The enemies of

Loſs of public credit.

Great diſtreſs of the nation.

(1) Great interceſſion was made to obtain the King's pardon. His lady, who had been the chief inſtrument to ſeduce him into the unhappy meaſures which coſt him his life, continued her ſupplications to the King and miniſtry to the very day of his cataſtrophe, and her petitions were backed by numbers of the nobility. His Majeſty was once inclined to ſhew him mercy, at the preſſing inſtances of his lady, when a certain lord interpoſing ſaid, " Sir, this lady is to be pitied, but if the plot had ſuc- " ceeded, the nation would have been more ſo. England would not only have ſhed tears as ſhe does: but would have ſeen " ſtreams of blood flowing, by the maſſacre of her moſt valuable citizens." And this conſideration proved of ſuch weight as to overbalance his Majeſty's clemency.

(2) The occaſion of this was, on one hand, the deficiency of parliamentary ſecurities, eſpecially the land-bank, which proved wholly abortive, and inſtead of above two million and a half, with which it was charged, did not produce one penny: and on the other hand the recoining of the ſilver.

(3) This it is generally believed, gave the firſt riſe to that infamous practiſe of ſtock-jobing (which continued to be the bane of our trade, till very lately the wiſdom of parliament thought fit, in a great meaſure, to put a ſtop to it) many buying who had no mony to purchaſe, and as many ſelling what they were never poſſeſs'd of. Stories were fram'd, and feign'd intelligences divulged, to raiſe or ſink this kind of ſtock, in order to purchaſe or ſell to an advantage.

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the nation had now, indeed, the ſatisfaction of ſeing it ſufficiently diſtreſs'd, it being hardly poſſible, that the public affairs could be more imbaraſs'd, than they were at this juncture: but ſuch was the diligence of parliament, which was, in a more particular manner, animated by the wiſdom, ſagacity and eloquence of the chancellor of the exchequer; that what by the eſtabliſhing new duties, and continuing others which were near expiring, funds were created for the diſcharge of the government's debts, in a courſe of time: and as the Bank of England had been found of great advantage to the miniſtry, in order to raiſe the credit of it, a reſolution was taken, to increaſe their capital ſtock another million, by new ſubſcriptions, and to continue their term to the year 1710. And tho' theſe new ſubſcriptions were allowed to be made in tallies and bank-notes; yet as there were now good funds ſettled for paying them off, the monied men, who could bear ſtock, run into it, by which means, bank-bills and notes, in a ſhort time, roſe to par again: but nothing was more effectual to ſupply the want of caſh, at this time, than the parliament's authoriſing the treaſury to iſſue out near three millions of exchequer-notes, which being allowed in taxes, and circulated by the Bank, for a moderate premium, redreſs'd, in a great meaſure, this grievance, and contributed to reſtore things to their ancient ſtate.

Remedied by the wiſdom of parliament.

I ſhould have mention'd before, that towards the begining of this ſeſſion, the commons, in a grand committee, having conſidered the ſtate of the nation, and taken notice of the late miſcarriages of the fleet, ordered, the fourth of November, that ſir George Rooke ſhould attend the houſe, to give an account why the French Toulon ſquadron was not intercepted in going into Breſt? The admiral attended accordingly, and afterwards produced copies both of his journal, and of the orders he had received from the admiralty; which being examined, it was ordered, the 23d of November, that ſir Cloudeſly Shovel ſhould lay before the houſe copies of all ſuch orders as he received, in order to the joining ſir George Rooke. Four days after, ſir Robert Rich, from the commiſſioners of the admiralty, preſented to the houſe of commons, copies of all orders ſent both to ſir George and ſir Cloudeſly, in relation to the fleet, in general, between the firſt day of January 1696, and the time the French got into Breſt; as alſo an account of what intelligences they received of the Toulon ſquadron's ſetting out, and their motions towards Breſt. Much time was ſpent, in both houſes, about this affair; but after all, it did not appear, that either of thoſe two admirals had fail'd in their duty.

Miſcarriages of the fleet inquired into.

An' 1697. Farther ways and means.

The 9th of February 1697, the commons computed the aids granted to his Majeſty, both by the capitation act and other ſubſidies, at three millions, which falling ſhort of the mony to be raiſed for the ſervice of the year 1697, and for making good the deficient funds, they reſolved, on the 17th, "that "for raiſing the ſum of 840,000 l. charged upon "the duties laid upon ſalt, and upon coals and "culm, and tonage of ſhips, taken away the laſt "ſeſſion of parliament, for which the proviſion then "made had proved defective, a farther duty, of "fifteen per cent, be laid upon all leather for three "years.

Meſſage concerning the civil liſt.

The 18th, the commons received a meſſage from the King, by mr. ſecretary Trumball, importing: "that his Majeſty finding himſelf under very great "difficulties, for want of mony to ſupply the oc"caſions of the civil liſt, he had thought neceſſary "to remind the houſe, of that part of his ſpeech, "which related to that head, deſiring that ſpeedy "care might be taken to make effectual proviſion "for it." The commons, thereupon, took his Majeſty's ſpeech again into conſideration; and, on the 26th, reſolved, "that a ſupply of 515,000 l. be "granted to his Majeſty, for the ſupport of the "civil liſt; and, the next day, that the ſaid ſum "be raiſed by laying a duty of ſix-pence per buſhel "upon malt, for three years and a quarter." And becauſe the aforementioned impoſitions did not fully anſwer the ſums already voted, the commons reſolved, on the 3d of March; "that towards the "ſupply granted for carrying on the war, and for "the ſupport of the civil liſt, over and above the "duties already payable, a farther duty be laid "upon all cyder, perry, liquors call'd ſweets, mum, "wine, and upon all goods made of, or mix'd with "wool, ſilk or hair." The 8th, the houſe likewiſe reſolved; "that for making good the defi"ciency of the proviſion for payment of the inte"reſt of the tranſport debt, for the reducing of "Ireland, a duty of 4 l. per annum be laid upon "all hawkers and pedlars for one year; and that "every hawker and pedlar, travelling with a "horſe, aſs or mule, ſhould pay 4 l. per annum, "more, for each horſe, aſs, or mule he ſhould ſo "travel with."

Will' III. An' 1697. The civil liſt provided for.

Bills paſs'd.

The ſame day, the King went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to "Firſt, an act "for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral duties upon "paper, vellom and parchment; to incourage the "bringing plate and hammer'd mony into the "Mint, to be coined. Second, An act for con"tinuing certain additional impoſitions upon ſeveral "goods and merchandizes. Third, An act to inable "the returns of juries as formerly, until the firſt "day of November 1697. Fourth, An act for "the preventing frivolous and vexatious ſuits. "Fifth, An act to reſtore the markets at Black"well-hall to the clothiers, and for regulating the "factors there. Sixth, An act to inable James, "duke of Ormond, to raiſe mony by ſale of "woods, and making leaſes for lives renewable "for ever, for payment of debts; and for incourag"ing Engliſh plantations in Ireland; and for Charles, "lord Preſton, earl of Arran, in the kingdom of "Ireland, to make leaſes of his eſtate in the "ſaid kingdom;" and to ſeveral other private bills.

Farther ways and means.

The commons having conſider'd of ways and means to raiſe the 840,000 l. abovemention'd, reſolved, the 17th of March, "that the duties upon "leather be appropriated for the ſatisfaction of what "remained unpaid of the principal and intereſt "of the 560,000 l. advanced on the duties upon "coal and culm, taken away the laſt ſeſſion, that "for raiſing the remaining ſum of 280,000 l. the "times be inlarged for perſons to come in, and "purchaſe the annuities mentioned in a former "act. And that in caſe the ſaid ſum of 280,000 l. "and intereſt due thereupon, was not raiſed there"by, that it would be made good out of the "firſt aids, to be granted the next ſeſſion of par"liament."

Acts paſs'd.

The firſt of April, the King gave the royal aſſent, Firſt, to "an act for the compleating, build"ing and adorning the cathedral of St. Paul's, "London, and for repairing the collegiate church "of St. Peter's Weſtminſter. Second, an act for "making good the deficiences of ſeveral funds, and "for inlarging the capital ſtock of the Bank of "England. Third, an act for repealing a "clauſe in a former act, relating to party guiles, "and for preventing frauds of brewers, and others "chargeable with the duties of exciſe. Fourth, an "act for inlarging common highways. Fifth, an "act for continuing ſeveral former acts, for puniſh"ing mutineers in the army, &c. Sixth, an act "for the relief of creditors, by making compo"ſitions with their debtors, in caſe two thirds in "number and value do agree; and Seventh, an act

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" act for paving and regulating the Hay-market, " within the liberty of Weſtminſter.

Ways and means reſumed.

The third of April, the queſtion was put, whether the bill for laying a farther duty upon wines ſhould be ingroſs'd, which paſs'd in the negative. The 7th, the commons reſolved; " that for raiſing " the ſum of 600,000l. towards the ſupply gran- " ted to his Majeſty, for the proſecution of the " war, inſtead of the duties upon wines, the duty " of the old ſubſidy of tonage and poundage upon " goods imported (dying wares excepted) accord- " ing to the book of rates ſettled in the year " 1660, be doubled, for the term of two years " and three quarters; and that an additional aid, of " one ſhilling per pound, be laid upon all lands, for " one year, as an equivalent of the duty of ten per cent " laid upon the manufactures made of, or mix'd " with wool, ſilk or hair."

More acts paſs'd.

The 16th the King came again to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; Firſt, " to an act " for laying a duty upon leather, for the term of " three years. Second, an act for granting to the " King certain duties, on malt, mum, ſweets, " cyder, and perry. Third, an act for licenſing " hawkers and pedlars, for a farther proviſion for " payment of the tranſport-debt, for the reducing " of Ireland. Fourth, an act for granting to his " Majeſty a farther ſubſidy of tonage and poun- " dage upon merchandizes imported; and an ad- " ditional land-tax. Fifth, an act for leſſening " the duties upon tin and pewter exported, and " granting an equivalent for the ſame, by a duty " upon drugs. Sixth, an act to make perpetual " and more effectual an act to prevent delays at the " quarter-ſeſſions of the peace. Seventh, an act " to inforce the act for the increaſe and incourage- " ment of ſeamen. Eighth, an act for raiſing " the militia for the year 1697. Ninth, an act " for explaining and inforcing the act for paving " the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter. Tenth, " an act for the farther incouragement of the manu- " facture of luſtrings and alamodes; and for pre- " venting the importation of the ſame. Eleventh, " an act for the repair of the piers of Burlington, " in the county of York. Twelfth, an act for " the better obſervation of the courſe anciently " uſed in the receit of the Exchequer. Thirteenth, " an act for the eaſier obtaining partition of land " in coparcenary, &c. Fourteenth, an act for ſup- " plying ſome defects in the laws, for the relief of " the poor. Fifteenth, an act to reſtrain the num- " ber and ill practiſes of brokers and ſtockjobers. " Sixteenth, an act for the better preventing the " counterfeiting the current coin of this kingdom; " and, Seventeenth, an act for the more effectual " relief of creditors, in caſes of eſcapes, and for " preventing abuſes in priſons, and pretended pri- " vileg'd places." After which, his Majeſty told both houſes:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he was now to return them his hearty " thanks for what they had done this ſeſſion, which " had been carried on with great prudence, temper " and affection: that at the opening of the ſeſſion, " he told them, how ſenſible he was of the difficul- " ties to be ſtruggled with, which were of ſuch a " nature, that he would freely own, the hopes he " had of overcoming them were founded only on " the wiſdom and zeal of ſo good a parliament. " That expectation (continued his Majeſty) has " been fully anſwer'd: you enter'd upon the buſineſs " with ſo much chearfulneſs, proceeded ſo unani- " mouſly, and have, at laſt, brought things to " ſuch a concluſion, that we may hope to carry on " the war with ſucceſs, in caſe our enemies do not " think it their intereſt to agree to an honorable " peace; and ſo effectual a proviſion being made " for ſupplying the deficiencies of the funds, (which " is the beſt foundation for the re-eſtabliſhing of " credit) I doubt not, but in a ſhort time, it will " have a very happy effect, to the univerſal eaſe " and ſatisfaction of my people." In the concluſion, he acquainted them; " that the circumſtances " of affairs making it neceſſary for him to be out " of the kingdom for ſome time, he ſhould take " care to leave the adminiſtration of the govern- " ment, during his abſenſe, in the hands of ſuch " perſons as he could depend upon. And that " he had nothing more to aſk of them, but that " they would carry down the ſame diſpoſition, into " their ſeveral countries, which they had expreſſed " in all the proceedings of that ſeſſion.

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This ſpeech being ended, the lord-keeper declared his Majeſty's pleaſure, that this preſent parliament ſhould be prorogued to the 13th of May next (1).

Plenipotentiaries named.

I return now to other domeſtic affairs, which happen'd during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament. Towards the concluſion of the foregoing year, the King made choice of the earl of of Pembroke, lord-privy ſeal, the lord viſcount Villiers, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, to be his plenipotentiaries for the treaty of a general peace.

Other domeſtic occurrences.

The 6th of February, his Majeſty conſtituted the lord Galway, one of the lords-juſtices of Ireland, and John Methwen, eſq; lord-chancelor of that kingdom, in the room of ſir Charles Porter, lately deceaſed, who held both thoſe offices during his life.

The 12th, the earl of Ayleſbury, who had been commited ſome months before to the Tower, upon the ſame evidence by which ſir John Fenwick loſt his head, was brought to the court of King's-bench, by a habeas-corpus, and was there admited to bail: but the lord Montgomery, who was likewiſe brought up by a habeas-corpus, was remanded to Newgate.

The 17th, the earl of Portland was created a knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and was inſtall'd the 25th of the inſuing month at Windſor, with great pomp and ſplendor.

The 29th of February died John lord Berkley, baron of Stratton, who had ſignalized his valor, conduct and zeal for the preſent government, in ſeveral enterprizes in the channel: and, upon his death, his regiment of marines was beſtowed on ſir Cloudeſly Shovel.

The 11th of April, ſir Thomas Mompeſſon, ſir Charles Cotterel, jun. and James Tyrril, eſq; were appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of lord privy-ſeal, during the abſenſe of the earl of Pembroke; and, the 14th, the earl of Manchester, captain of the yeomen of the guard, was named his Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary to the ſtate of Venice. Sir James Ruſhout was appointed, at the ſame time, embaſſador to the Ottoman port, and Lambert Blackwell, eſq; (who was ſoon after

(1) Beſide the acts which received the royal ſanction, this ſeſſion, ſeveral others were either rejected or left depending; of the firſt were " a bill for a general naturalization, and another to regulate printing-preſſes; and, of the latter, Firſt, a bill " to prevent the buying and ſelling of offices and places of truſt. Second, a bill to prevent the undue marriages of infants. " Third, a bill for regulating elections of members to ſerve in parliament. Fourth, a bill to ſettle and regulate the trade to " Africa. Fifth, a bill to incourage the woollen manufacture in England, and to prevent the exportation of it from Ireland to " foreign parts; and, Sixth, to reſtrain the wearing of all wrought ſilks and Bengals, imported into this kingdom from Perſia " and Eaſt-India, and all callicoes printed and ſtained there.

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knighted) envoy to the great duke of Tuſcany. The 19th, the earl of Sunderland was made chamberlain of the King's houſhold, the earl of Dorſet having reſign'd that office into his Majeſty's hands. The 22d, his Majeſty beſtowed the title of lord chancelor of England, upon ſir John Sommers: and, the ſame day, appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancelor, the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal, the dukes of Devonſhire and Shrewſbury, the earls of Sunderland and Romney, and Edward Ruſſel, eſq; firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, lords-juſtices of England during his abſenſe. The 24th, the King left Kenſington, and having embark'd at Margate, the 26th, landed ſafely, the next day, in Holland; where we ſhall leave his Majeſty for a while.

The King goes for Holland.

A few days after his Majeſty's departure, it was publicly declared, that the lord-chancelor was created lord Sommers, baron of Everſham, in the county of Worceſter; Edward Ruſſel, eſq; baron of Shingey, viſcount Barfleur, in Normandy, and earl of Orford, in the county of Suffolk: Thomas lord Coventry, viſcount Deerhurſt, and earl of Coventry; and the viſcount Galway, earl of Galway, in the kingdom of Ireland. That the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Galway, and the lord viſcount Villiers were appointed lords juſtices of Ireland; that Arnold van Keppell was created earl of Albermarle, viſcount Bury, and baron of Aſhford in Kent. That the earl of Stamford was made chancelor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaſter; that the office of chief-juſtice in Eyre, on this ſide Trent, was granted to the lord Wharton, who was, likewiſe, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxon; and that the government of Barbadoes, was beſtowed on Ralph Grey, eſq;

Captain Vaughan executed.

During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, captain Thomas Vaughan, commander of a ſhip call'd the Royal Clancarty, was tried and convicted of high-treaſon, for that being a ſubject of King William's, he had accepted of a commiſſion from the French King, and cruiſed upon the ſubjects of England, with an intent to take and ſpoil them of their goods, upon the high ſeas, and he was executed as a traytor accordingly.

The treaty of Ryſwick was the grand tranſaction of this year, but before I proceed to give an account of that, and other affairs of the continent, I ſhall give a brief narration of the affairs of Ireland.

Affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, the parliament met, the 27th of July, purſuant to their laſt adjournment, and the lords-juſtices made a ſpeech to both houſes; in anſwer to which, the houſe of commons having unanimouſly voted an addreſs of thanks, it was preſented the 30th. Theſe mutual aſſurances of truſt and confidence being paſs'd, the commons examined the account of the debt due on the civil and military liſts; and, on the 11th of Auguſt, unanimouſly reſolved to grant his Majeſty the ſum of 150,000 l. for the clearing of that debt, to the 30th of June incluſive. About the ſame time, the parliament, likewiſe, paſs'd a bill tranſmited out of England, "for confirming "ſeveral out-lawries and attainders, and for veſt-"ing in his Majeſty the eſtates of thoſe who were "dead in rebellion there, or in foreign parts." The commons, ſoon after, preſented a petition in favor of the Proteſtants, to which the lords-juſtices gave a favorable anſwer.

The 8th of September, the commons ordered a bill to be prepared, "for the incouragement of "Proteſtant ſtrangers to ſettle in that kingdom"; and voted an addreſs to the lords-juſtices in their "behalf. They made, at the ſame time, "an act "for baniſhing all Papiſts exerciſing any eccleſi-"aſtical juriſdiction, and all regulars of the Popiſh "clergy, out of that kingdom;" which, together with "an act, for the confirmation of the "articles made at the ſurrender of the city of Li-"merick;" and another, "to prevent Proteſtants "inter-marrying with Papiſts, received the royal "aſſent, on the 27th of the ſame month.

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Both houſes were then adjourned to the 20th of October, and afterwards to the begining of November. The 19th of that month, the lords-juſtices gave the royal aſſent to "an act for continuing an "additional duty on tobacco, beer, ale, and other "liquors, and on ſeveral merchandizes, to the "25th of December 1702. An act to hinder the "reverſal of ſeveral outlawries, and to prevent the "return of ſubjects of that kingdom, that had "gone into the dominions of the French King; in "Europe, and an act for taking away the benefit "of the clergy, in ſome caſes." The 24th, the lords-juſtices ſent a meſſage to the commons, to haſten their proceedings, which had ſo good effect, that on the 4th of December, their excellencies paſſed, 1. "An act to raiſe mony, by way of a poll. "2. An act for the better execution of an act for "the better ſuppreſſing of tories and rapperies, &c. "3. An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious "law-ſuits. 4. An act to prevent frauds and clan-'deſtine mortgages. 5. An act for the more in-"tire obtaining partition of lands in copercenary, "&c. 6. An act for the more eaſy ſecuring and "recovering of ſmall debts;" and ſome others of leſs importance.

Treaty of Ryſwick.

I come now to the treaty for a general peace; and here the firſt difficulty that aroſe, was about the place for the congreſs. Mentz or Francfort were propoſed by the Emperor: but the Dutch, with moſt of their allies, were for ſome place in Holland. After ſeveral debates on this head, towards the middle of January, monſ. Cailliere moved, by his maſters orders, that the plenipotentiaries of the allies ſhould reſide at the Hague, and thoſe of France at Delft, and that the conferences ſhould be held at Ryſwick, a palace belonging to K. William, which was ſituate at an equal diſtance, between theſe two places. This motion was approved of by the confederates, and it being ſettled accordingly, after ſeveral debates, the preliminaries were likewiſe concluded and ſigned, the 10th of February, and were as follow:

The preliminaries.

1. "That the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nime-"guen ſhould be the baſis of this, to be negoci-"ated at Ryſwick.

2. "That Straſburg ſhould be reſtored to the "Empire, in the ſame condition the French took it;

3. "And Luxemburg to the Spaniards, in its "preſent condition (1).

4. "That Mons and Charleroy ſhould be ſur-"rendered as they were.

5. "That all places taken by the French in Ca-"talonia, ſince the peace of Nimeguen, ſhould be "reſtored in the ſame manner.

6. "That Dinant, both city and caſtle, ſhould "be given up to the biſhop of Liege, as they were "when taken.

7. "That all re-unions ſince the treaty of "Nimeguen ſhould be made void.

"8. That Lorrain ſhould be reſtored, accord-"ing to the conditions of the treaty (2).

(1) For theſe two places, however, the French offered the allies an equivalent.

(2) It was here farther agreed, that in caſe the condition made in reſpect to that country ſhould not pleaſe, that article ſhould be refered to the general treaty, and that it ſhould be the firſt point debated in the negociation. Here it was likewiſe farther agreed, more particularly, that upon concluſion of the peace, the King of France ſhould acknowlege the Prince of Orange, as King of Great Britain, without any manner of difficulty, reſtriction, condition, or reſerve; but as for other Princes, whether they were in the confederacy or not, their pretenſions ſhould be reſerved to the general negociation, under the mediation of the King of Sweden: who was prefered to ſeveral other powers, and in particular the Pope, the King of Portugal, the republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy, who all aſpired to the honor of being mediator of the peace of Europe.

9. "That

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9. " That the duchy of Deux-ponts ſhould be " reſtored to Sweden.

10. " That Philipſburg ſhould be given up to " the biſhop of Spire.

11. " That the fort of Kiehl, and other forti- " fications made on the Rhine, ſhould be razed.

12. " That the ſame ſhould be done by Fort " Lewis and Hunningen.

13. " That Traerbach and Mont-royal ſhould " be given up; the firſt diſmantled; but upon con- " dition never to be fortified again.

14. " That the Elector-palatine ſhould not " only be reſtored to all the Electorate, but alſo " to the duchies of Simmeren and Lauthern; with " the earldom of Manheim, and all other places, " whereof he had been diſpoſſeſſed to the preſent " time.

15. " That the ducheſs of Orleans ſhould not " have recourſe to open force, to maintain her " pretenſion; but might bring her action accord- " ing to law, in relation to the Elector.

16. " That the caſtle and county of Veldens " ſhould be reſtored to their lawful owner.

17. " That Biſweiler ſhould be given to the " count of Hanau.

18. " That the ſeigneuries of March, Marmoſy " and Dagſtein, and the county of Dagſburg, " ſhould be delivered up to the count of Overſtein.

19. " That the ſeigneuries of Salms and Valken- " ſtein ſhould be given up to the Prince of Salms, " or to their proprietors, ſince the ſame was ſtill " in queſtion.

20. " That the ſeigneuries of Latzenſtein and " Altheim ſhould be delivered to their owners.

21. " That Otweiler ſhould be given up to the " houſe of Naſſau.

22. " That the city and county of Mombelliard, " Harcourt, Bainon and Chattelette ſhould be put " into the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Wirtemberg.

23. " That Germeſheim ſhould be given up to " the Elector-palatine, notwithſtanding any for- " mer treaties to the contrary: and,

24. " That the principality of Orange ſhould " be given up to its ſovereign.

Objections made againſt them.

Several of the miniſters of the allies, having conſulted their maſters upon theſe preliminaries, declared, that, as to the firſt article, they fully agreed to it: but as for Straſburg, they farther inſiſted it ſhould be reſtored, with its fortifications and dependencies, and that no equivalent ſhould be accepted. The three following articles they agreed to: only they inſiſted, that not only the city, but the county of Luxemburg, and that of Chinay ſhould be given up; as they did, likewiſe, that the city and caſtle of Dinant ſhould be yielded; together with the duchy of Bouillon, in the ſame ſtate they were. They likewiſe owned themſelves ſatisfied as to the ſeventh article, concerning the re-unions: but not ſo with the agreement made about Lorrain, which they would have reſtored to the duke, its ſovereign, without any manner of reſtriction.

Death of the King of Sweden.

Theſe objections were ſome hinderance to the affair, and the death of Charles XI, King of Sweden, who after having been ill ſome time, died at Stockholm, the 5th of April, O. S, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, leaving his crown to his ſon, Charles XII, then ſcarce fifteen years of his age, was like to have put a ſtop to it: however, this accident made no manner of alteration in the affairs of Europe, for there gents (1) of Sweden, among whom the Queen had two voices, having full power to make treaties, and to perform all other acts of ſovereignty, as ſhould be agreed on by the major part of them, ſent immediately expreſſes to ſeveral foreign courts, to acquaint them with their intentions to purſue the mediation, begun by the late King, for the tranquility of Chriſtendom; and diſpatch'd a new commiſſion to mr. Lillienrodt, for that purpoſe.

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Ceremonials ſettled.

It had been agreed, on the 3d of April, by the plenipotentiaries at the Hague, that, to carry on the treaty with the greater eaſe, all ceremonies ſhould be laid aſide, and the titles any Prince took be of no conſequence: that the ſeveral miniſters ſhould have free and ſecure correſpondence with the Princes, their maſters; that in order, thereunto, blank paſs-ports ſhould be given to each party for the couriers diſpatched by them, as alſo for the packet-boats to and from England, and that the powers of the reſpective plenipotentiaries ſhould be on the ſame foot they were at Nimeguen.

Theſe things being ſettled, monſ. Lillienrodt, the mediator, appointed the firſt conference to be held at Ryſwick, on the 9th of May, and accordingly the allies being met together, in the appartments on one ſide of the palace, and the French in the appartments on the other ſide, and the mediator in the middle between both, the allies and the French ſhewed him their powers, and gave him copies of the ſame, which he communicated to the reſpective miniſters, and left the copies with them. This, and the ſettling part of the ceremonial, in order to farther proceedings, took up about three hours, and then the conference was adjourned to the eleventh of the ſame month; when being met again, in the ſame manner as they did the firſt time, the mediator exchanged the powers of the allies with thoſe of the French plenipotentiaries. They, likewiſe, agreed to meet conſtantly on Wedneſdays, in the morning, and on Saturdays, in the afternoon, and that to prevent the inconveniencies that might ariſe from crowds of attendants, each plenipotentiary ſhould go to the congreſs with one coach and ſix horſes only, two pages, and two footmen. The 15th and 18th the mediator and the plenipotentiaries met again; but all they did, at thoſe two conferences, was only to regulate ſeveral points of ceremony, in which, for the moſt part, they followed the rules which were obſerved at the treaty of Nimeguen.

To go thro' the ſeveral daily tranſactions, at all the meetings for this treaty, and what happened during that time, on the continent, would carry me beyond the limits I am here tied down to: I ſhall therefore only in general obſerve; that the Emperor and Spaniards, not being ſo perfectly ſatisfied, with what King William and the Dutch had done for them, ſhewed, for ſome time, a backwardneſs to come into the terms ſtipulated. This perhaps may have been, in a great meaſure, the reaſon, why the Engliſh and Dutch ſo tamely ſuffered the French to take, during the treaty, the towns of Aeth, in Flanders, and Barcelona in Spain. This induced the Spaniards to ſign the peace, at the ſame time the Engliſh and Dutch did, viz. the 20th of September, N. S. a little before midnight (2). The

The treaty ſigned.

(1) The late King had, by his will, appointed the Queen, and five of the ſenators, to adminiſter the government during the young King's minority, which was to be 'till he was entering upon the eighteenth year of his age.

(2) During the negociations at Ryſwick, King William, wiſely conſidering what a hinderance the uſual forms and incident chicaneries, of a ſolemn negociation were to the progreſs of a treaty, thought fit to commit his perſonal intereſt, and thoſe of his dominions, to the arbitration of two men of the ſword, viz. the earl of Portland, on his ſide, and the marſhal de Boufflers, on the ſide of France, and they had ſeveral meetings, on this account, at an equal diſtance between the two reſpective camps, being attended with the ſame number of guards, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction; in which conferences, the principal matters between England, France and Holland were adjuſted, and thereby the negociations at Ryſwick, greatly accelerated.

miniſters

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miniſters of the Emperor and the Empire, who were, moſt of them, all the while preſent in the hall, were however ſo far from approving what was done, that, on the contrary, they required the mediator to enter a proteſtation; "that this was the ſecond "time a ſeparate peace had been concluded with "France (meaning that of Nimeguen for one) "in which the Emperor and Empire had been ex-"cluded; and that the States of the Empire, who "had been impoſed upon thro' their one credulity, "would not, for the future, be ſo eaſily per-"ſuaded to enter into confederacies:" being however unable to maintain the war alone, they ſigned the peace, likewiſe, on the 30th of the inſuing month, N. S.

Principal articles between Great-Britain and France.

The moſt material articles of the treaty, beween Great Britain and France were, the 3d, "that all "offences, injuries and damages, on either ſide "ſhould be forgoten. The 4th; by which the "French King ingages, on the word and faith of a "King, not to diſturb King William in the do-"minions he injoys, or to aſſiſt, directly or indirect-"ly, any of the enemies of the ſaid King, or "favor any plots and conſpiracies againſt him. "The 5th; which allows free commerce and navi-"gation between the ſubjects of each Prince. "The 7th; which agrees to a reſtoration of all "countries, iſlands, forts and colonies, which either "the French or Engliſh poſſeſſed before the war. "The 10th; by which all ſhips and merchandizes, "taken on either ſide, within twelve days after the "publication of the peace, in the Britiſh and "North-ſeas, as far as cape St. Vincent; within "ten weeks beyond the Cape, and on this ſide the "Equator, and within ſix months beyond the Equa-"tor, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the captors. "The 12th; by which ſix months are allowed to "the ſubjects on either ſide to withdraw their effects, "in caſe of a rupture. The 13th; by which, the "principality of Orange, and all other lands be-"longing to the King of Great-Britain, as Prince "of Orange, were to be reſtored to him, with the "meſne profit. The 15th; being a confirmation, "of the late treaty between the French King, and "the duke of Savoy. The 16th; by which it was "ſtipulated, that all powers be comprehended in "this treaty, which ſhould be named within ſix "weeks after the ratification of it, and particularly, "the King of Sweden, the mediator: and, by a "ſeparate article, the Emperor was allowed till "the 1ſt of November, to accept the condi-"tions agreed on for him between the two Kings.

Between France and Spain.

"By the treaty between France and Spain, the "following towns and places were to be reſtored "to the latter; viz. Gironne, Roſes, Belver, and "Barcelona, in Catalonia; Luxemburg, the pro-"vince and duchy of Luxemburg, with the coun-"try of Chinay, as before the treaty of Nimeguen, "as alſo Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and ſeveral "other places, of leſs note, in the Low-countries.

Between France and the States.

"By the treaty between France and the States "General, all cities, lands, forts, iſlands and places, "which had been taken on either ſide, during the "war, were to be reſtored; and particularly the "fort of Pondicherry, in the Eaſt-Indies, to the "States: but the greateſt advantage the Dutch got "by this peace, was the concluding a treaty of "commerce with France, very much in their "favor, and even beyond any thing that was ſtipu-"lated for England.

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Between France the Emperor and the Empire.

By the treaty between France, the Emperor and the Empire, it was agreed, "that the treaties "of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould be the baſis "and foundation of this treaty, in matters both "eccleſiaſtical and civil, unleſs where it was ex-"preſly covenanted to the contrary. That the "French King ſhould reſtore to the Emperor and "the Empire, and the members thereof, whatever "places had been taken, as well during the war, "by way of force, as by the name of unions and "re-unions, which were ſituated without Alſace; "only the Roman Catholic religion ſhould re-"main in thoſe places thus reſtored, in the ſtate "it then was (1). Particularly, it was agreed, "that France ſhould yield up to the Emperor and "Empire, Fort Kiehl, Friburg, Sturfort, Old "Briſac, and Phillipſburg: that Dinant ſhould "be reſtored to the biſhop of Liege, and that the "caſtles of Traerbach, Ebrenburg, Kiruburg, and "the fortreſs of Mont-royal, ſhould be demoliſh-"ed, and reſtored to the reſpective proprietors. "And, on the other hand, it was agreed, that the "Imperial town of Straſburg, the capital of Alſace, "and dependencies on the left ſide of the Rhine, "ſhould be yielded up and united to the kingdom "of France; ſo that the Rhine was looked upon "as the boundary between the Empire and France, "'till the preſent war."

The intereſt of the late King James not regarded at Ryſwick.

The abdicated King James made, in the mean time, but an indifferent figure, at St. Germains: the French King's promiſes to that unfortunate Prince, and open declaration to all Europe, that he would never lay down his arms 'till he had reſtored him to his throne, had all along greatly fed his hopes: but he now found, by ſad experience, how little the promiſes of Sovereigns are to be relied upon, when their own intereſt comes in competition. The King of France, being exhauſted by a tedious war, both of men and mony, thought it prudence to clap up a peace, and reſtore to his neighbors all the conqueſts he had made ſince the treaty of Nimeguen (2). He neither did inſiſt, that a miniſter from that unfortu-nate Monarch ſhould be admited at the conferences at Ryſwick, which propoſal was unanimouſly re-jected by the allies, nor would the French pleni-potentiaries concern themſelves with that Prince's manifeſto. The late King James finding himſelf thus abandoned by the French King, and that neither his pardons nor his threats had any effect upon his late ſubjects, was perſuaded to publiſh his ſaid ma-nifeſto, which contained as well "a ſummary ac-"count of the reaſons that ſhould ingage the con-"federate Catholic Princes to promote his reſtora-"tion, as an expoſtulation of the injuſtice done "him, and a proteſtation againſt what was done at "Ryſwick, as null, in reſpect to the violation of "his rights:" but of all this no notice was taken by any of the allies. In the mean time, his friends

(1) The miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes of Germany were ſo offended at this article, that they refuſed to ſign the treaty when concluded, and publiſh'd a declaration, in which, among other things, they alledged, that this clauſe was intirely op-poſite to the fundamental laws of the Empire, and more eſpecially to the peace of Weſtphalia, which ought to be look'd upon as the baſis and foundation of this peace, and is declared to be ſo in the preceeding article, where it is likewiſe added, that immediately after the ratifications, the ſaid treaties ſhall be duly put in execution, in reſpect of the ſpiritual and the temporal, and ſhall be inviolably obſerved for the future.

(2) It was thought Lewis the XIVth was the readier to conclude this treaty, in hopes that having diſarmed and broke the confederacy, he might recover all he now loſt, at the death of the King of Spain, who had been many years in a lingring ſtate of health, and was, at this time, in ſo deſparate a condition, that the French court thought he could not live a month longer.

in

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in England were so inraged to see him thus forsaken, that they could not forbear venting their bitter invectives against his most Christian Majesty (1).

The French refugees disappointed.

Nor was it King James alone who was disappointed in his hopes, on this occasion; as he was abandon'd by the French King, so the French refugees, in England, Germany and Holland, thought themselves no less neglected by King William, who having always declared himself their protector, they expected he would also prove their deliverer, and never conclude a peace with France, 'till they were restored to their estates, and the free exercise of their religion in their own country: but they found these their expectations frustrated, and that they were not so much as mentioned in the articles of peace (2).

Maritime affairs.

Having thus given a brief account of the treaty of peace at Ryswick, before I return to King William, I shall give the reader a short relation of what happen'd this year at sea. The main body of the fleet was, this summer, under the command of sir George Rooke, as admiral: but as no considerable action happen'd, nor, indeed, any thing so memorable pass'd in the Narrow-seas as to deserve a place in a general history, I shall refer the reader for farther particulars to Lediard's naval history (3), and confine myself here, to a transaction in America, which made a great noise in the world, at that time; I mean monsr. Ponti's expedition, with a squadron of French men of war fitted out at the charge of a company erected by the French King's permission for that purpose, which set sail from Brest, the begining of this year. We had, at this time, a squadron of men of war, in those parts, under the command of vice-admiral Nevil, who arrived at Barbadoes, the 17th of April, where his squadron was re-inforc'd by several as well Dutch as English men of war. The 28th, he bore away for Antegoa, and seting sail from thence the begining of May, he detach'd one of his frigats to St. Thomas's, for a pilot, to conduct her to Puerto-Ricco, for intelligence: from whence she was to return to Puntade la Guada, the place of rendezvous. About this time, the Monmouth, a ship of the same squadron, took a French privateer, which had just put the governor of Petit-Guavas ashoar.

Vice-admiral Nevil's expedition in the West-Indies.

He arrives at Barbadoes.

Gets intelligence of monsr. Ponti's squadron.

The eight of May, this frigat join'd the fleet again, and brought certain intelligence, that monsr. Ponti sailed from Petit-Guavas, the 11th of March, O. S. with six and twenty ships, small and great. This occcasioned a council of war, where it was resolved to proceed immediately to Jamaica. The fifteenth of May, being off of the East-end of that island, the admiral was informed of a report, that the French squadron was before Carthagena; whereupon, having watered at Port-royal, the 24th, he took advantage the five and twentieth, of a small gale, off of shoar, and got clear of the keys, steering away S. E. by S. and S. S. E. for Carthagena.

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The 27th, being about half seas over, that part of his squadron, which was to windward, made a signal of seing ships standing westward; upon which he immediately tack'd and stood after them, with a press'd sail, judging them to be either French, or Spanish gallions. The next morning early, they were perceived to be ten men of war and two fly-boats; and, continuing to give them chase, the Warwick, a fifty-gun ship, came up with one of them and fired at her; but she being a better sailor, got clear. Soon after, the same ship got up with one of the fly-boats, and, taking her, found her to be laden with powder, cannon-ball, shells, and one mortar. Some accounts say, this ship was formerly taken from the Spaniards, being vice-admiral of the Barlovento-fleet, and had now on board, beside plate, eight hundred barrels of powder, and a hundred negroes, valued at twenty thousand pounds; the author of the British Empire in America, says two hundred thousand pounds; but there seems to be a cypher too much.

Comes up with them.

And chases them;

In the afternoon, four of our ships, the Bristol, Trident, Gosport and Newcastle, being near them, monsr. Ponti drew his squadron into order of battle, and fired several shot at the Bristol; but his vice-admiral, monsr. de Labbé, with another of his ships, left him, and made off, as the whole fleet did towards evening.

But they escape.

Our fleet continued the chase two days and two nights longer, sometimes near, and sometimes at a greater distance; but could never reach them again (4); which was chiefly occasion'd by our ships, most of them losing their top-masts, and spliting their sails, with pressing the chase, tho' those of the French stood firm. By these accidents, we lost the rich booty which monsr. Ponti had made, at the taking of Carthagena (5).

(1) Upon this occasion the following Latin epigram appeared;

Pompeium Pharius tradit, Lodovixque Jacobum:
Regibus infidis hospes uterque perit.
Vilici at Gallus quam gens malefida Canopi;
Hoc admisisses tune, Photine, Nefas?
Prodidit his socium, Victori victus amicum:
Aft victor victo tradidit ille suum. Hist. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 268.

(2) King William did, indeed, direct the Dutch plenipotentaries to open that matter, at a distance, to the French embassadors; which they did; but the French King, to whom this overture was communicated, expressing an insuperable aversenes to it, and urging, that as he did not pretend to prescribe to King William any rules about his subjects, so he expected the same liberty as to his own, which he looked upon as the great prerogative of a Sovereign; upon which the matter was no longer insisted upon.

(3) The reader will not only there find a particular account of the transactions of this year, which are not judged of sufficient moment, and too prolix to be inserted here; but, likewise, observations on the conduct of our officers, and the succes of our fleet, during this whole war, and lists of the ships taken and destroy'd on both sides. Vol. 2. p. 723.

(4) The author of the history of King William says, the English admiral Nevil, reckoning there was no safety for the French, but to go before the wind for the Streights of Bahama, slackned his way, proposing to get so much a-head of them as to hinder their passage. Hereupon the French, at the closing of the night, tack'd about, and found the succes of their working the next day; for they could reckon no more than fourteen ships following them in a line; and they not so nigh, by far, as the day before, which made the French continue the same board, till they got within twenty leagues of Carthagena, where they were on the nine and twentieth, and the next day got clear of the English fleet.

(5) Bishop Burnet, who makes light of monsr. Ponti's booty, says, the plate had all been sent away (from Carthagena) before the French came there; but they landed and pillaged the place, and then gave it out, that they had found many millions there, which, at first, seemed incredible, and was afterwards known to be false; yet it was constantly asserted, at that time, to cover the reproach of having miscarried in the attempt, on which they had raised great expectations, and to which many undertakers had been drawn in. Our squadron (continued the bishop) was much superior to theirs, yet never ingaged them. Once indeed they came up to the French, and had some advantage over them: but did not pursue it.

The French allow the Spaniards had time to send away a hundred and thirty mules, laden with gold, valued at thirty millions of livers, or about a million and a half sterling; but that, notwithstanding this, monsr. Ponti brought home, eight millions in silver, and a million in jewels, beside cannon, and the booty which the seamen got. But that the Spaniards should have time to load so many mules with gold, and should not take their jewels with them, in their pockets, is not very probable.

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The vice-admiral arrives at Carthagena.

The vice-admiral, when he loſt the French, judged himſelf to be about eighteen leagues ſhort of Carthagena, the appointed rendezvous, and therefore ſtood in for that place. He brought to, towards evening, within ſight of land, where rear-admiral Meeze, with ſix ſhips more, which had likewiſe all their ſails blown away, joined him. He anchored, the next evening, before Bocca-Chiga Caſtle, at the entrance of Carthagena harbor; where he found the French, having taken the place, had diſmantled and quited it; and that, what with Ponti's plundering, and the ravaging of privateers, who had been to gleen his leavings, the inhabitants were in a diſtreſſed condition, and had moſtly deſerted the place. The vice-admiral let the governor know, he was going that night to ſea, becauſe he fear'd the gallions might be in danger. But that, if the wind ſhould hang out of the way, he would ſpare him what neceſſaries he could.

And finds it deſtroyed by the French.

The next day at noon, the wind coming weſterly, the vice-admiral weigh'd and ſtood eaſtward, leaving orders for the ſhips which were miſſing to follow him; and, the 6th of June, diſcovering eight privateers, under the ſhoar of Sambay, he ſent the Colcheſter, Goſport, and one ſhip more, with a fire-ſhip, to deſtroy them, while he ſtood over for cape Tuberon, or Petit-Guavas: but, not being able to fetch either of thoſe places, proceeded for Hiſpaniola, where, having taken a privateer of twenty-four guns, and burnt another of twelve, he anchored the 19th of June.

Petit Guavas burnt.

The vice-admiral receiving intelligence, on the 22d, from ſir William Beaſton, governor of Jamaica, that it would be of great ſervice if he could deſtroy Petit-Guavas, he ordered rear-admiral Meeze thither with nine ſhips of the ſquadron; who effected it, on the 28th, and after having taken the town, by ſurprize, burnt it down to the ground.

The 30th, the vice and rear-admirals being again join'd, they ſail'd for Jamaica. The 11th of July, they made the iſle of Pines; the 16th, got about a range of rocks, called the Calleradoes, and the next day rear-admiral Meeze died.

The ſquadron arrives at the Havanna.

The 22d, the ſquadron arrived at the Havanna, where the vice-admiral, in requital for his great care and vigilance for the ſafety of the gallions, was not only refuſed entrance into the harbor, and what water and refreſhments he wanted, by the Spaniſh governor; but when he let the general of the gallions, which were then lying there, know,

Ill uſage of the Spaniards.

that the chief intent of his voyage was to ſecure them, and to convoy them to Spain, he was told, he had no ſuch orders, and therefore could not accept of the courteſy. The vice-admiral, therefore, put his ſhips into the beſt condition he could, and ſailed

Death of the vice-admiral.

for Virginia, where he died the 27th of Auguſt; but the ſeamen moſt of them recovered their health there. The command of the fleet, thereby devolving on captain Thomas Dilkes, being the only ſurviving captain of the whole fleet he arrived

The fleet returns.

with it in England, the 24th of October.

As the reader may be deſirous to know what came of monſieur Ponti, after he eſcaped vice-admiral Nevil's ſquadron, I think it proper to mention here, that the firſt place he touched at, in his way home, was Newfoundland, where captain John Norris, afterwards ſir John Norris, lay in the harbor of St. John's, with a ſquadron conſiſting of four fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, two ſixth-rates, two fire-ſhips, and two bomb-veſſels, with a hagboat. But tho' captain Norris had re-itterated intelligence that was monſieur Ponti's ſquadron returning with the riches he had taken from Carthagena, and that his ſhips were but weakly manned; and tho' the commadore was convinced of the truth of this intelligence, and was for going in ſearch of them; yet he was over-ruled in ſeveral councils of war, held on that occaſion; and, upon a perſuaſion, that this was a much ſtronger ſquadron under the command of monſieur Neſmond, a reſolution was taken, not only to remain in the harbor of St. John's, but to ſecure themſelves againſt any attack from his part, by laying booms a-croſs the mouth of the harbor, raiſing batteries, and placing the ſhips in a proper poſture of defenſe; and thus monſieur Ponti eſcaped us a ſecond time, tho' not ſo honorably for us as the firſt, that being probably owing to the knavery, or at leaſt neglects of the purveyers for the navy: but this, to an ill-timed caution (if not worſe) of our officers (1).

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Thus monſieur Ponti twice eſcaped out of our clutches; but he was not yet clear; for after being got ſafe upon our coaſt, he was met by five Engliſh men of war, and a fireſhip, under the command of captain Harlow, who purſued him after an ingagement of two hours, for two days and two nights; without being able to come up with him again: ſo he had the good fortune to eſcape a third time, and carried the ſpoil of the Spaniards into Breſt.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, King William named the earl of Portland to be his embaſſador extraordinary in France; about the ſame time, his Majeſty created the lord viſcount Villiers, one of his plenipotentiaries at Ryſwick, earl of Jerſey, and gave him the character of his embaſſador to the States-general. The 7th of November,

King William comes to the Hague.

the King, who had left the army the begining of Auguſt, and retired to his palace at Dieren, having ſettled ſeveral important matters with the Elector of Bavaria and Prince Vaudemont, and paid off the foreign troops, in his ſervice, went to the Hague, where he was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect, and, on the 9th, gave a private audience to the French embaſſadors, in his cloſet.

Peace proclaimed.

The lords-juſtices had, in the mean time, cauſed the peace to be proclaimed in London, on the 19th of October, O. S. with univerſal joy; and on the 11th of November, having information that the duke of Berwick, ſir George Barclay, Harriſon, Durant, colonel Parker, and ſeveral other ſuſpected perſons under favor of the peace, which had opened a free paſſage between France and England, were arrived at London, on ſome treaſonable deſigns, they iſſued out their proclamations for apprehending them, promiſing for every one of them the reward of 1000 l.

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays, commodore Norris's ſquadron (which was ſent to thoſe parts, with ſome land-forces, to recover Hudſon's bay) might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have maſtered them; but as they had no certain account of their ſtrength, ſo being ſent out upon another ſervice, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; ſo the French got ſafe home, and the conduct of our affairs at ſea was much cenſured: yet our admiralty declared themſelves ſatisfied with the account the commanders gave of their proceedings: but that board was accuſed of much partiality. On all ſuch occaſions, the unfortunate muſt expect to be blamed, and to outward appearance there was much room given, either to cenſure the orders, or the execution of them. The King owned, he did not underſtand thoſe matters: and Ruſſel (now made earl of Orford) had both the admiralty and the navy board in a great dependance on himſelf; ſo that he was conſidered almoſt as much, as if he had been lord high-admiral: he was too much in the power of thoſe, in whom he confided, and truſted them too far; and it was generally believed, that there was much corruption, as it was certain there was much faction, if not treatchery, in the conduct of our mariners.

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The King lands in England.

The King having finiſhed all his affairs, at the Hague, and regulated with the States-general the number of the forces which it was judged neceſſary to keep on foot the next year, his Majeſty imbarked for England the 13th of November, and landed the next morning ſafe at Margate. The ſame day, he went to Canterbury, where he received the congratulations of the magiſtrates and the clergy, upon his happy return with peace. The 15th, his Majeſty lay at Greenwich, and, the next day, at the requeſt of his loyal city of London, to honor them, made a moſt ſplendid public entry, thro' that city, to his palace, and gave the ſatisfaction to an incredible number of ſpectators, to ſee their hero return crowned with victories, and the conſequence of them, peace.

The triumphant cavalcade proceeded to Whitehall, where the lord-mayor attended his Majeſty to the foot of the ſtairs, leading up to the guard-chamber; and having taken leave of his Majeſty, his lordſhip, and the aldermen, were conducted into the lodgings, and treated with a magnificent ſupper, by the lord ſteward. The whole ceremony was performed with great order and magnificence: the cannon at the Tower were diſcharged at his Majeſty's taking coach, and at his paſſing over the bridge: the foot-guards gave three vollies, in St. James's Park; and the evening concluded with bonefires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and all other popular demonſtrations of duty and affection.

A thankſgiving appointed.

Upon his Majeſty's arrival at Kenſington, the firſt thing he did, was, on the 17th of November, to iſſue a proclamation appointing a ſolemn day of thankſgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD for the bleſſing of a general peace, to be held the 2d of December; and at the ſame time, another proclamation was iſſued, to prolong the prorogation of the parliament to the 3d of December. On the ſame, and ſome following days, the two univerſities, and moſt of the corporations in his Majeſty's dominions, preſented their humble addreſſes to his Majeſty, in which they congratulated his proſperous return to theſe his kingdoms, in peace, ſafety, and honor.

And celebrated.

The day appointed for the thankſgiving, on account of his Majeſty's ſafe return, and the happy concluſion of the peace, being come, it was celebrated with the greateſt appearance imaginable of an unanimous and hearty joy and ſatisfaction. The King, to ſet an example to his ſubjects, went to the royal chapel at Whitehall, where a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion was preached by the biſhop of Saliſbury. His Majeſty was pleaſed afterwards to dine with the earl of Romney, and, in the evening, ſaw the fire-works, which his lordſhip had cauſed to be prepared in St. James's-ſquare. On this ſolemn occaſion, the choir of St. Paul's was firſt opened, for divine ſervice, and at night, there were bonefires and illuminations, in all parts of London and Weſtminſter.

The parliament meets.

The next day, the 3d of December, the parliament met, according to their laſt prorogation: when the King, being come to the houſe of peers, addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, in the following words:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"The war which I entered into, by the advice "of my people, is, by the bleſſing of God, and "their zealous and affectionate aſſiſtance, brought "to the end we all propoſed, an honorable peace; "which I was willing to conclude, not ſo much to "eaſe myſelf, from any trouble or hazard, as to "free the kingdom from the continuing burden of "an expenſive war. I am heartily ſorry, my ſub-"jects will not at firſt find all that relief from the "peace which I could wiſh, and they may expect: "but the funds intended for the laſt year's ſervice, "have fallen ſhort of anſwering the ſums for which "they were given, ſo that there remain conſiderable "deficiencies to be provided for. There is a debt "upon account of the fleet and the army: the "revenues of the crown have been anticipated by "my conſent, for the public uſes; ſo that I am "wholly deſtitute of means to ſupport the civil "liſt; and I can never diſtruſt you will ſuffer this "to turn to my diſadvantage, but will provide for "me, during my life, in ſuch a manner as may "be for my honor, and for the honor of the "government. Our naval force being increaſed "to near double what it was, at my acceſſion to "the crown, the charge of maintaining it will be "proportionably augmented, and it is certainly ne-"ceſſary for the intereſt and reputation of England, "to have always a great ſtrength at ſea. The cir-"cumſtances of affairs abroad are ſuch, that I "think myſelf obliged to tell you my opinion, "that for the preſent, England cannot be ſafe with-"out a land-force; and I hope we ſhall not give "thoſe who mean us ill, the opportunity of af-"fecting that under the notion of a peace, which "they could not bring to paſs by a war. I doubt "not but you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, "will take theſe particulars into your conſidera-"tion, in ſuch a manner, as to provide the ne-"ceſſary ſupplies, which I do earneſtly recom-"mend to you."

My lords and gentlemen,

"That which I do moſt delight to think of, and "am beſt pleaſed to own, is, that I have all the "proofs of my people's affection, that a Prince "can deſire: and I take this occaſion to give you "the moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that as I never had, "ſo I never will, nor can have any intereſt ſeparate "from theirs. I eſteem it one of the greateſt ad-"vantages of the peace, that I ſhall now have "leiſure to rectify ſuch corruptions or abuſes, as "may have crept into any part of the adminiſtra-"tion during the war, and effectually to diſcourage "prophaneneſs and immorality, and I ſhall imploy "my thoughts in promoting trade, and advancing "the happineſs and flouriſhing ſtate of the king-"dom. I ſhall conclude with telling you, that as "I have, with the hazard of every thing, reſ-"cued your religion, laws and liberties, when they "were in the extreameſt danger, ſo I ſhall place "the glory of my reign, in preſerving them intire, "and leaving them ſo to poſterity."

Addreſs of the lords.

The lords hereupon made an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which having "congratulated his "happy return, accompanied with the bleſſings of "a ſafe and honorable peace, which, next under "GOD they were ſenſible was owing to his "courage and conduct; they told him, that after "the hazards and labors he had ſo long ſuſtained "for the good of Europe, there wanted nothing "but this to compleat the glory of his reign; and "aſſured his Majeſty, that they ſhould never be "wanting in their indeavors to aſſiſt his Majeſty in "maintaining the quiet which he had ſo gloriouſly "reſtored to theſe his kingdoms, and in contribu-"ting all they could to the ſafety of his perſon, "and the ſecurity, peace and proſperity of his "government.

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty, in return, "aſſured their lord-"ſhips of his kindneſs, and told them, he hoped "this peace would be ſo bleſſed, that they might "injoy it."

The commons were not, this time, ſo ready with their addreſs as the lords; for his Majeſty's ſpeech had a various effect upon them. Some thought ſeveral expreſſions in it too magiſterial; others ſeemed to be offended that they were put in mind of what his Majeſty had done for the nation: others

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others again diſtruſted the great promiſes of what he would do for them, and many others began to be jealous of what he had told them, "that England "could not be ſafe without a land-force;" as if his Majeſty meant to keep a ſtanding army, to invade their liberties, in defenſe of which the nation had ſpent ſo vaſt a ſtock of blood and treaſure. However, the 9th of December, they preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which they told him; "that they who had ſo frequently waited on "his Majeſty, with the tender of their aſſiſtance, "for carrying on the war, came now to congratu- "late his Majeſty upon the happy concluſion "of it, in a peace ſo honorable and advantageous "to the nation, as ſufficiently juſtified the wiſdom "of the commons, in adviſing, and his Majeſty's "conduct in the proſecution, of it. That the pro- "ſpect of the benefit his people would receive "from the peace was very pleaſing: that the honor "his Majeſty had reſtored to England, of holding "the balance of Europe, gave his ſubjects great "content: but what his commons were moſt ef- "fected and delighted with, was, that his Ma- "jeſty's ſacred perſon would now be ſecure from "thoſe many and great dangers, to which he had "ſo often expoſed it for their ſake; nothing being "ſo evident, as that his Majeſty's return in ſafety "was a bleſſing more welcome to his people than "peace, and received with greater demonſtrations "of joy. That therefore, with hearts full of af- "fection, duty and gratitude, they did aſſure his "Majeſty, in the name of all the commons of Eng- "land, that this houſe would be ever ready to "aſſiſt and ſupport his Majeſty, who, by puting "a period to the war, had confirmed them in the "quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties, and "ſo fully compleated the glorious work of their "deliverance.

Addreſs of the commons.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered;

"That nothing, which related to the peace, "pleaſed him ſo much, as the ſatisfaction they "had in it, and as they had aſſiſted him in the war, "beyond all expreſſion, ſo he did not doubt but "they would be as zealous in maintaining the "peace.

The ſame day, the commons voted a ſupply, and order'd an account to be laid before them of the deficiencies of the laſt year's aids, of the arrears of the army and navy, and of the debt charged on the revenue. The next day, they conſidered, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, and what forces ſhould be diſbanded, was the main point in debate. The court-party was for preſerving part of the army, and, therefore, alledged, "That the "nation was ſtill unſettled, and not deliver'd from "the fear of King James; that the friends of that "abdicated Prince were as bold and numerous as "ever, and himſelf ſtill protected by the French "King, who having as yet reformed none of his "troops, was conſequently as formidable as be- "fore; that if the army was intirely diſbanded, "the peace, which was obtained at the expenſe of "ſo much blood and treaſure, would be altogether "precarious, and not only England, but all Europe, "ly, once more, at the mercy of that ambitious "Monarch, an inveterate enemy to King William, "the Proteſtant religion and the liberties of Chriſt- "endom, whom the neceſſity of his affairs, not his "inclination, had reconciled."

A ſupply voted.

Reaſons for and againſt diſbanding the army.

The country-party, and the repulicans, on the other hand, who, tho' diametrically oppoſite in their views, upon this occaſion, ſpoke the ſame language, both in this debate, viva voce, and in their writings, was only repreſented the danger of keeping up a ſtanding army. The arguments they made uſe of to ſupport this aſſertion, taken partly from the examples ſo plentifully found in the hiſtories of other nations, ancient and modern, and partly from the preſent circumſtances of things, were too numerous and prolix, to find place here, and are, beſide, the leſs neceſſary, as they are much the ſame as have been frequently made uſe of ſince, upon the like occaſions, and are conſequently freſh in the minds of moſt readers. I ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that this party, whether by the force of their arguments, or their ſuperior number, I ſhall not determine, had the fortune to prevail, and the commitee of the whole houſe came thereupon to this reſolution, "that all the land- "forces of this kingdom, which had been raiſed, "ſince the 29th of September, 1680, ſhould be "paid and diſbanded." This reſolution being reported to the houſe, on the 11th, the courtiers moved, that the report be re-commited: but their motion being rejected, the houſe agreed with the committee, in their reſolution. The 14th, the commons took into conſideration the ſervices of the officers and common men, who, amidſt ſo many hardſhips, dangers, and diſappointments in nine ſucceſſive campains, had recovered the declining reputation of the Engliſh valor, and preſerved the kingdom from the aſſaults of the moſt potent Empire that perhaps was ever erected in the world, and thereupon paſſed a vote, "that it be an in- "ſtruction to the committee who were to conſider "of the ſupply, that they ſhould likewiſe con- "ſider of a gratuity to be given to ſuch officers "and ſoldiers of the Engliſh army, who were or "ſhould be diſbanded." At the ſame time they ordered mr. Hammond and mr. Moyle to bring in a bill "to inable ſoldiers who ſhould be diſbanded, "to exerciſe their trades in any town or corporation "throughout the country." The 17th, they appointed ſeveral members to prepare and bring in a bill, "to regulate the militia, and make them more "uſeful"; and the next day, they reſolved, "that "10,000 men were ſufficient for a ſummer and "winter-guard at ſea for the year 1698 (1).

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The diſbanding of the army voted.

The 20th of December, the commons took the ſupply into conſideration, and reſolved, "that in "a juſt ſenſe and acknowlegment of what great "things his Majeſty had done for theſe kingdoms, "the ſum of 700,000 l. per annum, be granted to "his Majeſty, during his life, for the ſupport of "the civil liſt." Some members moved indeed, the next day, that this reſolution might be re-commited, but it was, nevertheleſs, approved by the houſe.

A ſupport for the civil liſt voted.

The 14th of January 1698, the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent, 1. To "an act to prevent the farther currency of any "hammer'd ſilver coin; for re-coining ſuch as was "now in being, and the making out new exchequer "bills, where the former bills were or ſhould be "filled up with indorſements. 2. An act againſt "correſponding with the late King James, and his "adherents. 3. An act for continuing the impri- "ſonment of ſeveral conſpirators; and, 4. An act "to give farther time for the adminiſtring of oaths "relating to tallies and orders, and for the eaſier "diſpatch of public buſineſs in the exchequer, and "in the bank of England.

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The ſame day the houſe of commons agreed to the reſolutions which had been taken in a grand committee

Farther reſolutions concerning the ſupply.

(1) Theſe reſolutions very much diſpleaſed the King, who, tho' he was willing to eaſe his Engliſh ſubjects, and free them from the apprehenſions of a ſtanding army, by diſbanding a good number of regiments, and reducing others, did not think proper abſolutely to comply with the commons, as to the diſcharging all the troops which had been raiſed ſince the year 1680, whereby he muſt leave himſelf and his kingdom too much expoſed.

mittee

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mittee, about the ſupply; viz. Firſt, "That the "ſum of 350,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty, "for maintaining guards and gariſons for the "year 1698. Second, that a ſupply be granted "to his Majeſty, which, together with the funds "already ſettled for that purpoſe, ſhould be ſuf-"ficient to anſwer and cancel all exchequer-bills, "iſſued, or to be iſſued, not exceeding 2,700,000l. "and Third, that a ſupply be granted to his Ma-"jeſty, for the ſpeedy paying and diſbanding the "army."

The 18th, the houſe ſettled the bounty which was to be given to every trooper, foot-ſoldier, and non-commiſſion'd officer, upon their being diſbanded; voted a ſupply of 250,000 l. for that charge, and reſolved, that proviſion be made, for giving half-pay to the commiſſion-officers (being his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects) diſband-ed, or to be diſbanded, till they ſhould be fully paid off and cleared, and otherwiſe provided for. At the ſame time, they order'd, that a liſt be laid before them of ſuch commiſſion-officers as were to injoy the benefit of this reſolution (1). The 22d, the commons granted 536,000 l. for making good the deficiency of the aid of 4s. in the pound, and 940,000 l. for ſupplying the other deficient ſubſidies granted the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and having afterward taken the arrears of the army into con-ſideration, they reſolved, that the ſum of 1,254,000l. was neceſſary to clear the arrears of pay due to the land-forces, according to the eſtabliſhment, from the 1ſt of April 1692, 'till the laſt of September 1697, beſide 940,815 l. for ſubſiſtence; 28,295 l. for contingencies; 50,000 l. for the general-officers, and 75,000 l. for the guards and gariſons; in all 2,348,102 l. and that there was but 855,502 l. remaining in the hands of the pay-maſter of the army, the firſt day of January 1697-8.

Ways and means.

The 9th of February, they reſolved, in order to raiſe the ſums voted neceſſary for diſbanding the army, paying off of quarters, paying of ſea-men, and towards making good loans, and the de-ficiencies of former funds, to lay an aid of three ſhillings in the pound upon land, by way of aſſeſſ-ment upon every county, in proportion to the rates of the firſt four ſhillings aid, granted in 1691, by which they put a ſtop to any future deficiencies of this aid.

National debts.

The 10th, they conſidered the eſtimate of what was due, to ſome of his Majeſty's allies, as well for arrears of ſubſidies, as for payment of auxiliaries, and reſolv'd, "that 180,000 rix-dollars were due "to the Elector of Brandenburg; 250,000 rix-"dollars to the Land-grave of Heſſe-Caſtle; 121,203 rix-dollars to the duke of Wolfembuttle; "149,997 rix-dollars to the biſhop of Munſter; "50,000 rix-dollars to the dukes of Hanover and "Zell; 25,000 rix-dollars to the duke of Holſtein; "and 200,000 rix-dollars to the King of Denmark, "as well on the accounts abovemention'd, as in "conſideration of an intire prohibition of com-"merce, between that crown and France." They alſo reſolved, that there was due "177,000 l. "to the contracters for bread and forage." The 15th, they continued their examination of the debt of the nation, and reſolved, "that the ſum of "1,392,742 l. was due upon the ſeveral heads of "the eſtimate of the general debt of the navy; "204,157 l. to the office of ordnance; 340,708 l. "for tranſports for reducing Ireland; 125,785 l. "for other tranſport-ſervice; and 49,929 l. for "quartering and cloathing the army raiſed by "act of parliament in 1677, and diſbanded by "another act in 1679.

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This debt being ſo very conſiderable, that it was impoſſible for the parliament to think of providing for it at once, the commons came to a reſolution of doing it by degrees: to this end, they voted, Firſt, "that of the debt due for clearing the army, "from the firſt of April 1692, to the laſt of Sep-"tember 1697, amounting to 1,254,000 l. the ſum "of 139,066 l. be raiſed in the year 1698, which "would clear the army, to the firſt of April "1693. Second, that the ſum of 203,450 l. be "raiſed for the clearing the arrears of ſubſiſtence to "the troops in England, between the firſt day of "January 1696, and the firſt day of Auguſt "1697. Third, that 450,816 l. be raiſed, for "clearing the arrear of ſubſiſtence due to the troops "in Flanders, to the 4th of October 1697. Fourth, "that the ſum of 50,000 l. be raiſed for the "general officers. Fifth, that 137,990 l. be raiſed "for clearing the arrears of ſubſiſtence due to the "troops in Flanders, from the 4th of October "1697, to the laſt of December. Sixth, that the "ſum of 1,100,117 l. be raiſed for the navy, "viz. 100,000 l. for wear and tear; 600,000 l. "for ſeamens wages, in part of 1,862,849 l. due "on that ſcore; 16,389 l. due to the regiſter'd "ſeamen; 24,000 l. for the ſallaries of the com-"miſſioners of the admiralty, and other officers, "and for contingencies; 28,663 l. for the half-"pay ſea-officers; 90,073 l. for penſions to ſu-"peranuated ſea-officers and widows; 15,927 l. "for the charge of the yards; 849 l. for the "muſter-maſters of the out-ports; 43,399 l. for "wages to ſhips and veſſels in ordinary; 19,608 l. "for victuals of the ſhips in ordinary; 32,558 l. for "harbor-moorings; 35,848 l. for ordinary repairs "of the navy; 55,520 l. for the two marine "regiments; and 37,286 l. for the charge of the "office for regiſtering ſeamen. Seventh, that the "ſum of 60,000 l. be allowed for the ordnance; "and Eighth, that proviſion be made towards pay-"ment of the principal and intereſt of the tran-"ſport-debt; all which ſums, they reſolved to "raiſe, in the year, 1698."

Part of the national debt provided for.

Farther ways and means.

To this end, beſide the land-tax, already voted, on the 7th of April, they laid "a duty upon all "coal and culm, over and above the duties, already "payable," and reſolved, on the 9th, "that the "fourth part of the clear value of all the benefi-"cial grants from the crown of England or Ire-"land, and all the forfeited eſtates, which had been "reſtored by the crown, by reverſal of outlawry, "or otherwiſe, ſince the 29th day of May 1660, "be applied to the uſe of the public. On the 14th, "they continued the poll or capitation-tax for "one year longer. The 16th, they laid a duty "upon all coals imported from Scotland, or other "parts beyond the ſeas. The 28th, they doubled "the duties upon ſtamp'd vellom, parchment and "paper, 'till the firſt day of Auguſt 1706; con-"tinued the duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and "ſpices; as alſo the duties payable by hawkers "and pedlars, for the term of three years, to com-"mence from the expiration of the preſent duties "upon them. The 7th of May, they laid a far-"ther duty upon ſalt; and, the 14th, they doubled "the duties upon luſtrings and alamodes imported, "and inlarged the time for purchaſing annuities, "upon the ſeveral acts of parliament for granting "the ſame." As even all this was not ſufficient to anſwer the neceſſities of the year, the commons

(1) The court was very backward in leting this liſt be laid before the commons, being, as it has been ſaid, unwilling to let them know, how few of the regiments were actually diſbanded: and, when the commons addreſs'd the King, on this account, his Majeſty put them off, by telling them, "he would comply with their deſire as ſoon as conveniently he could."

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resolved, on the 19th, "that towards raising a "fund for two millions, the duties upon salt, "granted before and during this session, and "the additional duty upon stamp'd vellom, "parchment, and paper, voted three weeks be- "fore, be granted to his Majesty, his heirs and "successors, redeemable by parliament."

In order to keep my account of the supplies voted this session, and the ways and means provided for the raising of them, intire, and in one connexion, I have postponed my relation of several other transactions in parliament which I shall now resume: but shall first mention an occurrence or two, which happen'd, during this time, out of parliament.

Some transactions out of parliament.

Towards the conclusion of the foregoing year, James Vernon, esq; was constituted secretary of state, on the resignation of mr. secretary Trumbal; and the commons being about to address his Majesty, to remove the earl of Sunderland (1), his lordship prudently withdrew, and resigned his office of lord-chamberlain.

Whitehall consumed by fire.

This winter proved fatal to the ancient palace of Whitehall, which was burnt down by accident, on the 4th of January, in the evening, nothing of it remaining the next morning, but the Banqueting-house, which, indeed, was the only part of it that had any shew of grandeur.

The Czar of Muscovy arrives in England.

The 11th of the same month, arrived in England, Peter Alexowitz, Czar or Emperor of Russia, who having form'd a design of civilizing his barbarous subjects; of introducing arts and sciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his Empire, by sea and land, equal to those of his politer neighbors, travelled incognito, in the retinue of his own embassador, thro' most countries in Europe, for his instruction: tho' he made his longest stay in England and Holland (2), to make himself master of navigation and ship-building; being persuaded, that nothing could contribute so much to his grandeur, as his having fleets of men of war, in the Baltick, the Black-sea, and the Caspian-sea. He was magnificently entertain'd, during his stay in this kingdom, and had several private conferences not only with the King, but with the Prince and Princess of Denmark.

The 14th, the earl of Portland, who, as I mention'd above, had been appointed his Majesty's embassador to the court of France, departed for that kingdom, and, on the 27th of the next month, made his public entry into Paris, with the utmost magnificence.

The 4th of April, the earl of Jersey was appointed to succeed the earl of Portland, in the embassy of France. Soon after, the marshal de Tallard arrived here as embassador from that court, and, the 18th of May made his public entry thro' the city of London. The 18th of June, the earl of Portland return'd from France, and the same day, the earl of Marborough was declared governor to the duke of Glocester, who was then entring the tenth year of his age, and dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was appointed his preceptor. But to return to the parliament.

Farther proceedings of parliament.

The commons, after their inquiring into the grants made by King Charles II, and King James II, proceeded to examine those made by his present Majesty in Ireland; and finding, on the 16th of February, that there was one made to mr. Roylton, which mr. Mountague, chancellor of the exchequer, own'd to be for his benefit, a warm debate arose, thereupon, in the house; and it was mov'd, that he should withdraw, which, however, pass'd in the negative. It was, thereupon, resolved, by a great majority; "that it was the opinion of this "house, that the honorable Charles Montague, "esq; chancellor of the Exchequer, for his good "services in this government, did deserve his Ma- "jesty's favor:" which will stand a monument to his fame, to all succeeding ages.

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An address of the commons against impiety, &c.

The commons having observed, that the enemies of Christianity were more audacious at this time than ever, in ridiculing the mysteries of that holy faith, both in their conversations, and the blasphemous pamphlets they publish'd, and that prophaneness and immorality daily gained ground among us, presented, on the 17th of the same month, an address to the King, in a body, in which, among other things, they desired "his Majesty would issue his procla- "mation, requiring the judges, and inferior ma- "gistrates, to put the laws in execution against "prophaneness and immorality, and to discounte- "nance them in his officers and courtiers, and that "he suppress all pernicious books and pamphlets, "which contained impious doctrines against the "Holy Trinity, and other fundamental articles of "our faith:" To this, his Majesty answered; "that he could not but be very well pleased with "an address of this nature: and he would give im- "mediate directions, in the several particulars they "desired: but that he could wish some more ef- "fectual provision were made for the suppressing "those pernicious books and pamphlets, which "their address took notice off." Accordingly, on the 28th, was published, his Majesty's proclamation, for preventing and punishing immorality and prophaneness. In the mean time, the house of lords, to shew their zeal for so laudable a design, prepared and pass'd a bill "for the more effectual suppressing "Atheism, Blasphemy, and Prophaneness," to which, after several conferences, the commons gave their concurrence.

His Majesty's answer.

A bill for that end.

Society for the reformation of manners.

On this occasion, probably, and about this time, by the incouragement of the King, not only the archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates and divines, but a great many of the laity, formed themselves into a "society for the refor- "mation of manners (3);" which proved the fore-runner of another, "for the propogation of "the gospel in forein parts."

Acts pass'd.

The 7th of March, the King came to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent, First, to "an "act for explaining another act for laying certain "duties on malt, mum, sweets, cyder and perry. "Second, an act for satisfying arrears of several "annuities which incurr'd between the 17th of "May 1696, and the 17th of May 1697. Third, "an act, that all retailers of salt shall sell by weight. "Fourth, an act for rendering the laws more ef- "fectual, for preventing the importation of forein "bone-lace, needle-work, point and cut-work.

(1) His enemies accused him of most of the arbitrary proceedings taken in the late reign, and pretended to have well-grounded suspicions of advising the like in this, and especially the keeping up a standing army. Salmon's history of England, vol. 24. p. 260.

(2) He had before had an interview with his Majesty, in Holland, which was managed in the following manner: the Russian embassadors having had their audience of the States-general at the Hague, they were admited to that of King William at Utrecht; which being over, his Majesty and the Czar met in a small gallery, into which they entered both at a time, out of the adjoining apartments. Hearty imbraces and compliments being mutually pass'd, they had a long conference together about the posture of affairs, in which, it is said, the Czar highly applauded his Majesty's indefatigable indeavors, and constant aim to reduce France within its ancient limits.

(3) This institution is, in itself, certainly very laudable, tho' it be not attended with all the success that were to be wish'd, and is not only render'd, in a great measure, useless, but laid open to censure, by the scandalous and unwarrantable practices of those beggarly informers, whom the society are under a necessity of imploying, for the detecting of vicious persons.

"And

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" And, Fifth, an act to prevent the throwing and " firing of ſquibs, ſerpents, and other fireworks " (1)." And, on the 2d of May, his Majeſty came again to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to, " Firſt, an act for granting to his Majeſty " 1,484,015 l. for diſbanding forces and paying " ſeamen. Second, an act for explaining an act " for the relief of the poor; and, Third, an act " for diſſolving the marriage between Charles earl " of Macclesfield, and Ann his wife, and to illegi- " gimate her children."

The earl of Macclesfield's caſe.

His lordſhip caſe was this: going to travel, ſoon after he was married, he left his lady, at his father's houſe; but ſhe, not liking the place or company, went to her mother, the lady Maſon's. The earl, being returned home, and reſenting this ſtep of his lady's, which ſhe had made without his privity or conſent, inſtead of recalling her, ſuffered her to live in a ſtate of ſeparation: during this time, the counteſs entertain'd a gallant, by whom ſhe had a daughter, towards the latter end of the year 1696. This child dying before the earl had heard any thing of the matter, by the interceſſion of friends, he was prevailed upon to allow her 500 l. per annum, as a ſeparate maintenance, till he heard ſhe had another child; and then, being out of all patience, he indeavor'd to get a divorce in Doctor's-commons: but conſidering that court could not authorize his marrying again, he brought the matter before the houſe of lords.

While this cauſe was depending in Doctor's-commons, the counteſs inſiſted on her innocence, and ſaid, that her huſband, neglecting to cohabit with her on his return from his travels, ſhe had, with the aſſiſtance of a woman of intrigue, ſurprized him into a private meeting with her; and he, not diſcovering ſhe was his wife, had got her with child: but this matter being afterwards diſcover'd, ſhe only inſiſted, in the houſe of lords, that the late earl had turn'd her out of doors, and that the preſent earl had been the occaſion of her misfortune, by refuſing to live with her, at a time when he could make no juſt objection to her conduct; notwithſtanding ſhe had ſaved his life, by petitioning King James in his behalf. The lords, tho' they paſs'd the bill for diſſolving the marriage, and to make her children illegimate, had ſuch a regard to her repreſentations, that they added a proviſo, whereby the earl was obliged to reſtore her fortune.

Affairs of the Eaſt-India trade.

The buſineſs of the Eaſt-India-trade, which had been depending many years, and was look'd on as ſo nice and difficult, that it had been refer'd to the King and his council, and back again by them to the parliament, was now brought upon the carpet again. The old company having offer'd to advance 700,000 l. at four per cent, for the ſervice of the government, in caſe the trade to India might be ſettled on them, excluſive of all others, the houſe ſeem'd inclined to imbrace their propoſal; when another number of merchants, the chief of whom was mr. Shephard, who were, likewiſe, favor'd by the court, propoſed to the houſe to raiſe two millions, at eight per cent, on condition the trade to India might be ſettled on the ſubſcribers excluſive of all others. They alſo propoſed, that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint-ſtock, but if any members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe. The houſe judged this new overture not only to be more advantageous to the government, but, likewiſe, very likely to ſettle this controverted trade, on a better footing than it had hitherto been. A bill was, therefore, ordered, the 26th of May, to be brought into the houſe, " for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, on " thoſe who ſhould ſubſcribe the two millions, " according to the limitations before-mentioned," and then they made the following reſolutions:

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" 1ſt, That every ſubſcriber might have the " liberty of trading yearly, to the amount of his " reſpective ſubſcription, or might aſſign over his " liberty of trading, to any other perſon.

" 2d, That his Majeſty be impower'd to in- " corporate ſuch of the ſaid ſubſcribers as ſhould " deſire the ſame.

3. " That the powers and privileges for carrying " on the Eaſt-India trade ſhould be ſettled by par- " liament.

4. " That the ſaid ſubſcribers ſhould injoy the " ſaid eight per cent, and liberty of trading to the " Eaſt-Indies, excluſive of all others, for the term " of ten years, and until the ſame ſhould be re- " deemed by parliament.

5. " That every perſon ſubſcribing 500 l. have " a vote, and no perſon to have more votes than " one.

6. " That all ſhips laden in the Eaſt-Indies " ſhould be obliged to deliver in England.

7. " That no perſon who ſhould be a member of " any corporation trading to the Eaſt-Indies, ſhould " trade otherwiſe, than in the joint-ſtock of ſuch " corporation of which he was a member.

8. " That 5 l. per annum, ad valorem, upon all " returns from the Eaſt-Indies, be paid by the im- " porter, to be placed to the account of the ſub- " ſcribers, towards the charge of ſending em- " baſſadors, and other extraordinary expences; " and;

9. " That over and above the duties now paya- " ble, a farther duty of one ſhilling and ten pence " per pound weight, be laid upon all wrought-ſilks " imported from India and Perſia, to be paid " by the importer.

The bill being accordingly brought into the houſe, the old Eaſt-India-company petitioned againſt it, to which the commons had ſo much regard, as to offer the ſettling of this trade on them, if they would accept it on the ſame terms and limitations, on which the others were contented to take it, and which the parliament judged moſt advantageous for the kingdom; but the members of the old company having rejected this propoſal, the commons paſſed the bill, the 25th of June, in favor of the new adventurers.

Notwithſtanding this bill had paſſed the houſe of commons, the old company would not yet give up their cauſe, but followed the bill to the houſe of lords, where they were heard by their council, ſir Thomas Powis and ſir Bartholomew Shore, as their antagoniſts were, in anſwer to their allegations. The lords having weighed the reaſons on both ſides, and chiefly conſidered, that the propoſal the old company had at length made, to lend the two millions, was like to prove ineffectual, by reaſon that ſome of their principal members were known to have no great affection to the preſent government, upon mature conſideration they gave their concurrence to the bill (2). As

(1) This bill was order'd upon the complaints of ſeveral perſons who had been maim'd, or otherwiſe hurt by theſe diminutive fire-works, and particularly the lord Jermyn, who, on the thankſgiving-day for the peace, had the misfortune to have one of his eyes put out, by a ſquib thrown into his coach, as he paſs'd along Fleet-ſtreet.

(2) Biſhop Burnet gives us the following account of the paſſing of this act: while the houſe of commons (ſays he) was ſeeking a fund for paying the arrears of the army, and for the expence at ſea and land, for the next year; a propoſal was made for conſtituting a new Eaſt-India-company, which ſhould trade with joint-ſtock, others being admited in a determinate proportion to a ſeparate trade. The old Eaſt-India-company oppoſed this, and offered to advance a ſum (but far ſhort of what the public occaſions,

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Affairs of the African company.

As I am now upon the affairs of trade, it may not be improper to mention here, that the commons took likewiſe into conſideration, thoſe of the African company, which had long wanted a due regulation: and upon account of the neceſſity of keeping up forts and caſtles, for the defenſe of the Engliſh factories, on the coaſt of Guinea, the parliament made a bill to ſettle the ſaid company, and to inable them to maintain all ſuch forts, as they now had in their poſſeſſion, or ſhould hereafter purchaſe or erect, for the preſervation of their trade: and inacted, at the ſame time, that any of the ſubjects of this realm, as well as the ſaid company, might, after the 24th of June 1698, trade from England, or after the 1ſt of Auguſt, from any of his Majeſty's plantations in America, to the coaſt of Africa, between Cape-mount, and the Cape of Good Hope, both the ſaid company, and the interlopers, anſwering a duty of 10 per cent, of the value of the goods exported thither from England, or from his Majeſty's American plantations, towards the maintenance of the forts and ſettlements.

Owlers and ſmugglers puniſh'd.

This ſeſſion, likewiſe, the parliament, for the benefit of trade, made ſeveral prudent proviſions, in an act "for the explanation and better execution "of former acts made againſt tranſportation of "wool, fuller's-earth, and ſcouring clay;" they likewiſe applied themſelves with great diligence, to diſcover and puniſh ſuch offenders, who carried on a fraudulent and ſecret commerce with France, and, to the great damage of the royal luſtring company of this kingdom, had, for diverſe years paſt, ſurreptitiouſly brought in great quantities of French alamodes and luſtrings. Many of theſe private ſmugglers being detected, were impeached before the houſe of lords, of high-crimes and miſdemeanors; and eight of them were, by that houſe, fined in the ſum of 18,000 l. which, at the requeſt of the commons, was appropriated towards the building of Greenwich-Hoſpital.

Falſe indorſements on exchequer bills detected.

Offenders of another kind were likewiſe animadverted upon, this ſeſſion, by the commons, tho' they had the good fortune to come off at a rate no way adequate to their crime. Theſe were certain officers concerned in the revenue, who found means to rob the public many ways; but more particularly by falſe indorſements on exchequer notes; by which they gained 7. l. 12 s. per cent, which indeed was allowed, upon the ſecond iſſuing of exchequer-bills, but not upon the firſt, 'till theſe plunderers of their country found means clandeſtinely to procure ſuch indorſements to defraud the public. The chief of theſe were mr. Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the exciſe; John Knight, treaſurer of the cuſtoms; Bartholomew Burton of the exciſe-office; and Reginald Maryot, one of the deputy-tellers of the exchequer; the laſt of whom procured his pardon, by being an evidence againſt the reſt. Duncomb and Knight, who were members of the commons, were expelled the houſe and commited to the Tower, and Burton was ſent to Newgate. But after a bill had paſſed in the houſe of commons, to puniſh Duncomb, it was loſt in the upper houſe, by one ſingle voice; upon which the proſecution was dropped, and they all eſcaped (1).

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Acts paſſed.

The 16th of May, the King came again to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent, 1. To "an act for laying ſeveral duties upon coals "and culm. 2. An act to execute judgments and "decrees, ſaved in a clauſe in an act made in this "reign, for taking away the courts holden before "the preſident and council of the marches of "Wales. 3. An act for continuing the duties "upon coffee, tea, chocolate and ſpices; for the "ſatisfaction of the Iriſh tranſport-debt. 4. An "act for the better preventing the counterfeiting "and diminiſhing the coin of this kingdom. "5. An act for determining differences by arbi-"tration. 6. An act for the better payment of "inland-bills of exchange. 7. An act to natura-"lize the children of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, the "natural-born ſubjects of this realm, who had been "born abroad during the war; the parents of ſuch "children having been in the ſervice of the govern-"ment. 8. An act to repeal an act made the "39th year of Queen Elizabeth, for reſtraining "malſters from making of malt;" and ſeveral "private acts.

The dependance of Ireland, on the parliament of England aſſerted,

The 21ſt, a complaint being made to the houſe of commons, of a printed book, intitled: "the "caſe of Ireland's being bound by acts of parliament "in England," (written by William Molyneux of Dublin, eſq;) which denied the dependance of Ireland on the parliament of England; the commons in a body preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, wherein they ſet forth; "the dangerous attempts which had "been made by ſome of his ſubjects of Ireland, to "ſhake off their ſubjection to and dependance on "England; which appeared not only by the book "above-mention'd, but more fully by the proceedings "of the houſe of commons in Ireland, who pretend-"ed to paſs an act for the confirming an act of the "Engliſh parliament, for the ſecurity of his Ma-"jeſty's perſon and government, expreſly binding "Ireland, and making ſeveral alterations therein, "which amounted to a repeal of what was in-"acted in England: they therefore humbly be-"ſought his Majeſty, that he would give his or-"ders for preventing any thing of the like nature "for the future, and to diſcourage all things which "might in any degree leſſen the dependance of Ire-"land and England:" to which his Majeſty anſwered: "that he would take care what they "complained of ſhould be redreſſed.

The King's revenue provided for.

The 28th the commons reſolved, in order to make up the King's revenue, "that of the hereditary and "temporary exciſe, poſt-office, ſmall branches "of the new ſubſidies of tonage and poundage, "continued to the firſt day of February 1699, "700,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty, during "his life, and that whatſoever the ſaid revenues "ſhould exceed 700,000 l. yearly ſhould be ap-

occaſions required) for an act of parliament, that ſhould confirm their charters. The projectors of the new company offered two millions, upon the ſecurity of a good fund to pay the intereſt of their mony at eight per cent; great oppoſition was made to this; for the King, upon an addreſs that was made to him, by the houſe of commons, had granted the old company a new charter, they being obliged to take in a new ſubſcription of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to increaſe their ſtock and trade. Thoſe impowered by this new charter were not charged with any malverſation. They had been trading under great diſadvantages, and with great loſſes, by reaſon of the war; it is true, the King had reſerved a power to himſelf, by a clauſe in the charter, to diſſolve them, upon warning given, three years before ſuch diſſolution: ſo it was ſaid, that no injuſtice was done them, if public notice ſhould be given of ſuch an intended diſſolution. To this it was anſwered, that the clauſe, reſerving that power, was put in many charters; but that it was conſidered only as a threatning, obliging them to a good conduct; but that it was not ordinary to diſſolve a company, by virtue of ſuch a clauſe, when no error or malverſation was objected. The old company came at laſt to offer the whole ſum that was wanted; but the party was now formed, ſo they come too late, and this had no other effect, but to raiſe a clamor againſt this proceeding, as extreamly rigorous, if not unjuſt: but the act was carried: the King was very indifferent in the matter at firſt, but the greatneſs of the ſum that was wanted, which could not probably be raiſed by any other project, prevailed on him.

(1) It was then generally believed, that Duncomb came off by the force of almighty gold, and that his ill acquired wealth, computed by ſome at 400,000 l. was ſunk at leaſt a third, if not one half, on this account. The commons were however ſo diſſatisfied at Duncomb's being ſet at liberty, by order of the houſe of lords, without their conſent, that they cauſed him to be remanded to the Tower, where he continued 'till the end of the ſeſſion.

"propriated

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" propriated to ſuch uſes as ſhould be directed by " parliament.

Duties upon glaſs, &c. taken off.

The glaſs and tobacco-pipe-makers having juſtly complained of the grievous taxes which had been laid on their manufactures, the commons reſolved, on the 25th of June, " to take off half the duties " now upon glaſs-wares, and the whole duties upon " ſtone and earthen-wares and tobacco-pipes, and " to grant an equivalent to his Majeſty, by laying " a farther duty upon whale-bone, and upon Scotiſh " linen imported.

Complaints againſt the woollen manufactures in Ireland.

The laſt thing I have to mention of note, which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, this ſeſſion, was the complaints made, that the woollen manufacture was carried on in Ireland, to the great prejudice of that ſtaple-trade in England. To ſtop the progreſs of this growing evil, they enter'd indeed upon a bill, but it terminated in an addreſs to the King, in which, among other things, they told his Majeſty, " that the par- " liament of England would be neceſſitated to inter- " poſe, to prevent this miſchief, unleſs his Ma- " jeſty, by his authority and great wiſdom, ſhould " find means to ſecure the trade of England, by " making his ſubjects of Ireland, to purſue the " joint intereſt of both kingdoms :" to this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered : " he ſhould do all that in " him lay, to promote the trade of England, and to " diſcourage the woollen, and incourage the linen- " manufacture in Ireland."

Acts paſſed.

The 5th of July, the King came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal ſanction, 1. " To an act for " raiſing two millions, and for ſettling the trade to the " Eaſt-Indies. 2. An act for laying farther duties on " ſtamped vellom, parchment and paper. 3. An act " for granting to his Majeſty an aid by a quarterly " poll for one year. 4. An act for laying a far- " ther ſubſidy upon tonage and poundage towards " raiſing a yearly ſum of 700,000 l. for the civil " liſt, &c. 5. An act for increaſing his Majeſty's " duties upon luſtrings and alamodes. 6. An act " for applying to the uſe of the navy and ordnance " the overplus of the mony and ſtores, which were " provided for the building twenty-ſeven ſhips of war. " 7. An act for inlarging the time for purchaſing " certain annuities. 8. An act for the better and " more orderly payment of the lottery tickets ; " now payable out of certain additional duties of " exciſe, and of other annuities lately payable out " of the tonage-duties. 9. An act for licenſing " hawkers and pedlars, for a farther proviſion of " intereſt for the tranſport-debt, for the reducing " of Ireland. 10. An act for taking away half " the duties on glaſs-wares, and the whole duties " on ſtone and earthen-wares and tobacco-pipes, " and for granting (in lieu thereof) new duties upon " whale-fins and Scotiſh linen. 11. An act for pre- " venting abuſes in charging, collecting and paying " the duties upon marriages, births, burials, bache- " lors and widowers. 12. An act for the better pre- " venting the imbezzlement of his Majeſty's ſtores " of war ; as alſo the cheats and abuſes in paying " ſeamens wages. 13. An act for the more effec- " tual ſuppreſſing blaſphemy and prophaneneſs. " 14. An act to ſettle the trade to Africa. " 15. An act for the better incouragement of the " royal luſtring company, and for the more effec- " tual preventing the fraudulent importation of lu- " ſtrings and alamodes. 16. An act for the increaſe " and preſervation of timber, in the new foreſt, " in the county of Northampton. 17. An act to Will' III. " ſtop the coining of half-pence, and farthings for An' 1678. " one year. 18. An act for the exporting watches, " ſword-hilts, and other manufactures of ſilver. " 19. An act for adjuſting the proportions of fine " ſilver and ſilk, for the better making ſilver and " gold-thread ; and for preventing the abuſes of " the wire-drawers. 20. An act for raiſing the " militia, for the year 1698, altho' the month's-pay, " formerly advanced, be not repaid. 21. An act " for inlarging the time for regiſtring ſhips, pur- " ſuant to the act for preventing frauds and regu- " lating abuſes in the plantation-trade. 22. An " act for the explanation and better execution of " former acts made againſt exportation of wool, " fuller's-earth, and ſcouring-clay 23. An act to " repeal the act made, the laſt ſeſſion of parlia- " ment, for relief of creditors, by making com- " poſition with their debtors, in caſe two-thirds " in number and value, did agree (1) :" and to twenty other private acts. This being done, his Majeſty told both houſes :

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" That he could not take leave of ſo good a " parliament, without publicly acknowleging the " ſenſe he had of the great things they had done " for his ſafety and honor, and for the ſupport and " welfare of his people. Every one of your ſeſſions " (continued he) has made good this character : the " happy uniting of us in an aſſociation, for our " mutual defenſe ; the remedying the corruption of " the coin, which had been ſo long growing upon " the nation ; the reſtoring of credit ; the giving " ſupplies, in ſuch a manner, for carrying on the " war, as did by God's bleſſing, purchaſe an hono- " rable peace ; and after that the making ſuch pro- " viſions for our common ſecurity, and towards " ſatisfying the debts contracted in ſo long a war, " with as little burden to the people as is poſſible, are " ſuch things as will give a laſting reputation to this " parliament, and will be a ſubject of emulation to " thoſe who ſhall come hereafter." He added, " that " beſide all this, he thought himſelf perſonally ob- " liged to return his thanks to the houſe of com- " mons, for the regard they had had to his honor, by " the eſtabliſhment of his revenue ; that there was " nothing he valued ſo much as the eſteem and love " of his people : and as, for their ſakes, he avoided " no hazards during the war, ſo his whole ſtudy " and care ſhould be to improve and continue to " them the advantages and bleſſings of peace." He concluded, " by earneſtly deſiring them all, in " their ſeveral ſtations, to be vigilant in preſerving " peace and good order, and a due and regular " execution of the laws, eſpecially thoſe againſt " irreligion and prophaneneſs.

The parliament diſſolved, and another called.

Then the parliament was prorogued to the 2d of Auguſt : but, on the 7th of July, a proclamation was iſſued, for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and calling another, to meet the 24th of Auguſt.

A new Eaſt-India-company erected.

The act for eſtabliſhing the new Eaſt-India-company having obtained the royal ſanction, the commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, for taking ſubſcriptions towards the raiſing of two millions, and for ſettling a new Eaſt-India-company, opened their books, the 14th of July, at Mercer's-hall, and ſuch was the zeal which people of all ranks, and even foreigners, ſhewed on this occaſion, to aſſiſt the government, and promote the trade of the nation, that in three days, the whole ſum was compleated (2).

(1) Tho' the deſign of this act was good, there was a neceſſity of repealing it ; becauſe debtors took the advantage of it, to make ſo many feigned creditors, that they out-voted the real creditors, and thereby, in a great meaſure, defrauded them of their debts.

(2) When the books were cloſed, it appeared, that there was ſomething more ſubſcribed than the two millions ; and it was then generally believed, that if they had been kept open, 'till the diſtant corporations, private men in remote countries, and merchants beyond-ſea could have remited their commiſſions, for the large ſums they intended to ſubſcribe, the ſubſcription would have amounted to, at leaſt two millions more : an aſtoniſhing inſtance of the opulence of England, and of the ſtrength of the government, hardly to be parallelled in the hiſtory of former times, and which poſterity will ſcarce believe.

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His Majeſty afterwards granted a charter, bearing date the 5th of September, grounded upon this act of parliament, made and paſſed for that purpoſe, to this new ſociety for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies, by the name of; "The General Society, "intitled to the advantages given by an act of par- "liament, for advancing a ſum not exceeding two "millions, for the ſervice of the crown of England." For which, every ſubſcriber towards it, beſide the freedom of traffic to the Eaſt-Indies, under the reſtrictions and limitations mentioned in the ſaid charter, are intitled to an annuity of eight per cent for ever, in the manner by the act preſcribed.

We have an abſtract of this charter, in Harris, to which are annex'd heads of an agreement between the two Eaſt-India-companies; but they are too prolix to be here inſerted.

Some domeſtic occurrences.

I muſt now go back to ſome other tranſactions which happened during the ſeſſion of parliament. I have already mentioned monſ. de Tallard's arrival in England, as embaſſador from France: the 28th of March, he had his firſt private audience of the King at Kenſington. The next day baron Simeoni, captain of the guards of the elector of Bavaria, had his firſt public audience of his Majeſty; and the count de Platen, chamberlain to his electoral highneſs of Brumſwick, had, the ſame day, his audience of leave.

The King goes to New-market.

The 4th of April, the King went to New-market, to take the diverſions of hunting and horſe-racing: and the next day, the univerſity of Cambridge paid their duty to his Majeſty, being introduced by their chancellor, the duke of Sommerſet. Monſ. de Tallard followed his Majeſty to that place, and was not a little ſurprized to ſee ſo vaſt a concourſe of nobility and gentry (eſpecially as it was in time of parliament) and the prodigious ſums of mony that were either won or loſt there. The 16th, his Majeſty returned to Kenſington; the 26th, the count de Bonde, embaſſador extraordinary from the court of Sweden, made his public entry in mourning on occaſion of the death of the late King of Sweden; and on the 29th had his firſt public audience of King William at Windſor. The 16th of May, the French embaſſador made his public entry, with a very handſome, tho' ſmall retinue, and on the 19th had his firſt public audience at Windſor, where he was ſplendidly entertained at dinner. The 30th the Swediſh embaſſador returned to the Sovereign the Garter and George of his late Majeſty Charles XI, King of Sweden, with the whole habit, and other enſigns of the order, that he had been inveſted with in 1669; which act was performed at Kenſington with great ce remony.

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The earl of Portland's embaſſy to France.

I have already mentioned the earl of Portland's embaſſy to France, where he made his public entry with ſuch pomp and ſplendor, as had never been ſeen at that court, ſince the duke of Buckingham was there, to demand the Princeſs Mary Henrietta, of France, in marriage for King Charles I. The 11th of March, he was admited to hi firſt public audience, where nothing was wanting on the ſide of the court, to ſhew him the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of honor (1). Nor were the Princes of the blood, and the marſhals of France, and other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in that kingdom, leſs forward in ſhewing him the moſt ſingular marks poſſible of honor and reſpect. He was in particular treated four days, with great magnificence at Verſailles (2).

The 4th of June, the earl of Portland had his laſt private audience (having had ſeveral before) of the French King, at Verſailles, in his cloſet, when he took his leave, as he did of the reſt of the court ſoon after. The King ſent the earl the uſual preſent of his picture ſet with diamonds: but it was obſerv'd that the ſtones were of three times the value uſual on thoſe occaſions. The 8th, he left Paris, and arrived at Kenſington, on the 19th of the ſame month (3).

Lords-juſtices appointed.

The 16th of July, the King declared in council his intention of going to Holland, in a ſhort time, and that he had nominated the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Sommers, lord chancellor; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of his Majeſty's houſhold; the earl of Dorſet; the earl of Marlborough, governor to his Highneſs the duke of Glouceſter; the earl of Romney, lord warden of the Cinque-ports; the earl of Oxford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; and Charles Montague eſq; firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, to be lords-juſtices of England, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his abſenſe. Four days after, the King ſet ſail for Holland, attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and landing the next day at Orange-polder, lay that night at his palace at Hounſlardike, and went from thence to the Hague; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give a brief account of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

The King goes to Holland.

Affairs of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland meeting, the 19th of July, the King's letter to them was read, in which

(1) He had this audience, in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King ſtood, with the three young Princes his grandſons, the count de Thouloufe, the duke d'Aumont, and the marſhal de Noailles; an honor rarely ſhewn any embaſſador, unleſs on very extraordinary occaſions.

(2) I muſt not here omit a paſſage between mr. Prior, ſecretary of the embaſſy, and one of the French King's officers. The latter leading the ſecretary about the apartments, ſhewed him, among other curioſities, thoſe fine pieces of Le Brun, repreſenting Lewis XIVth's victories, and could not forbear being ſo vain, to aſk him, in a taunting manner, whether King William's actions were, likewiſe, to be ſeen, in his palace? To which mr. Prior, as wittily, as aptly replied: "No, ſir, "the monuments of my maſter's actions are to be ſeen every where but in his own houſe."

(3) Thus ended this famous embaſſy, which, it has been ſaid, coſt King William 80,000 l. to little or no purpoſe, but to do honor to his favorite; for, as it has been very juſtly obſerved, "no embaſſador was ever more honored, or leſs ſucceſsful, than "the earl of Portland: not having been able to gain one of the two points, which he had principally in commiſſion; I mean "the removal of King James, and the relief of the Proteſtants of France, againſt whom the perſecution, which had been, in "ſome meaſure, interrupted by the war, began to rage afreſh, with redoubled violence; both which, Lewis XIV flatly "denied:" and he perhaps, may have been the more tenacious, in thoſe and other points, as France had not found any great immediate benefit by the peace, farther than the diſcontinuance of a war, they were not in a condition to carry on, and a time to breathe, in order to prepare for the execution of other great ſchemes, they had even now undoubtedly in view. The continuator of Rapin, in French, gives this matter a very different turn, and will not allow that the French King was reduced to any neceſſity of making peace, being (as he expreſſes it) every where conqueror; but that it was a meer ſtrain of policy: however it is moſt probable that they both concurred. As to their commerce with England, in particular, they did not find their expectations anſwered. The Engliſh were uſed, before the war, to ſend vaſt ſums of mony yearly into France, not only for wines, paper, ſtuffs, linen, hats and ſilks; but alſo for a great many unprofitable and unneceſſary bawbles, which were all paid for with ready mony; they taking little or nothing of our growth or manufacture: but the Engliſh had, by this time, learnt to make ſhift without theſe commodities of the product of France. They ſupplied themſelves with wines, chiefly from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, with linen from Holland and Sileſia; and for papers, ſtuffs, hats and ſilks, the manufactures of thoſe goods ſet up here by the French refugees ſufficiently furniſhed us; ſo that when the French King ſent over a commiſſary-general, to regulate the commerce between the two nations, he met with inſuperable difficulties; as well on this account, as becauſe of the great duties laid on all French goods, which were already appropriated to ſeveral uſes.

"he

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" he thanked them for the proofs they had given " him of their loyalty and affection during the war, " and aſſured them, he would give them ſuch in- " couragement, on all occaſions, that they ſhould " find the advantages of their fidelity and duty to " him; and he was ſorry the ſituation of his affairs " prevented his deſign of holding this ſeſſion of " parliament in perſon: he acquainted them, that " it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the forces to be " continued, and deſired ſupplies accordingly. " He recommended the diſcouragement of irre- " ligion, vice and immorality: and put them in " mind of the great deliverance he had been the " occaſion of; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, of " his care to maintain their religious and civil " rights, and of his favor and protection, in all " their concerns.

The Scots Eaſt-India-company were, however, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, very uneaſy, on account of the ſtop put to their ſubſcriptions, by England; they therefore prefered a petition to their parliament, in which they repreſented; " that " notwithſtanding the King and parliament had, " by two ſeveral ſolemn acts, and letters-patent, " eſtabliſhed their company, with ſuch powers and " privileges, as were neceſſary to incourage their " undertakings; and particularly, impowered them " to raiſe a joint-ſtock, and to infranchiſe ſuch " foreiners, as would become partners with them, " and to enter into treaties of commerce, with " any in amity with his Majeſty: and accordingly " their directors propoſing to ſhare theſe privileges " with their country-men, and their neighbors in " England, 300,000 l. had been ſubſcribed, by " the ſubjects of both kingdoms, within the " ſpace of nine days, as one half of their capital- " ſtock, and one-fourth thereof paid in ſpecie: " that the commons of England had, notwith- " ſtanding, defeated their enterprize, by ſum- " moning, not only the Engliſh ſubſcribers, but " ſeveral of the ſubjects of Scotland, before them, " and laid them under ſuch diſcouragements, that " they were forced to relinquiſh the undertaking: " that, however, the nobility, gentry, and mer- " chants in Scotland, upon the faith of the " ſaid acts of parliament and letters-patent, raiſed " ſtill a more conſiderable ſtock, for carrying on " this trade, and had as great expectations of fo- " rein aids as their hearts could wiſh; eſpecially " at Hamburg, where the merchants of that city " entered into a contract with their directors, to " join at leaſt 200,000 l. ſterling with them: but, " to their great ſurprize, the Engliſh miniſters, un- " der pretenſe of a warrant from his Majeſty, put a " ſtop thereto, not only diſowning the authority of " the ſaid acts of parliament, and letters-patent, " but by threatning both the ſenate and inhabi- " tants of Hamburg, with the King's utmoſt diſ- " pleaſure, if they countenanced or joined in the " ſaid trade.

" That as the proſpect they had of aſſiſtance " from Hamburg, and ſeveral other places, had " induced them to prepare a far greater equipage, " than otherwiſe they would have done; ſo the ren- " dring thoſe meaſures abortive had not only weak- " ened their ſtock, leſſened their credit, retarded " their firſt expedition, and diſheartned many of " their partners at home, but even ſlackened their " reſolution and power of proſecuting, at that time, " ſeveral other branches of forein and domeſtic " trades and improvements, which they had in " view, that tho' their company was more imme- " diately and ſenſibly touched, by theſe proceed- " ings; yet they conceived, that the honor and " independency of the nation, as well as the credit " and authority of parliament, was ſtruck at, " thro' their ſides: and therefore they could not " avoid laying this matter before the great " council of the nation, that they might provide " ſuch remedies, as they, in their great wiſdom, " ſhould judge proper, and vindicate their com- " pany's reputation abroad, by ſupporting the " credit of the acts of parliament and letters " patent, by which the ſame was eſtabliſhed, and " wherein the honor of the nation was ſo much " concerned."

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The parliament, hereupon, addreſſed his Majeſty, and ſet forth, " that having conſidered the " repreſentation made to them, by their company " trading to Africa and the Indies, ſhewing ſeveral " obſtructions they had met with in their trade, by " a memorial preſented to the ſenate of Hamburg, " by his Majeſty's reſident, and otherwiſe; they, " therefore laid before his Majeſty, the whole nation's " concern in that matter; earneſtly intreating, and " aſſuredly expecting, that his Majeſty would take " ſuch meaſures as might effectually vindicate the " undoubted rights and privileges of the ſaid com- " pany, and ſupport the credit and intereſt thereof; " and as they returned his Majeſty their hearty " thanks for the aſſurances he had given them of all " due incouragement, for promoting the trade of that " kingdom, they humbly recommended to the " more eſpecial marks of his favor, the concern " of the ſaid company, as that branch of their " trade, in which they, and the nation they " repreſented, had a more particular inte- " reſt."

This addreſs, and two petitions from the Eaſt-India-company to the King, had, however no effect; his Majeſty thinking it neceſſary to continue diſincouraging the undertaking, both at Hamburg and in England. This was ſo highly reſented by the parliament of Scotland, that they came to ſome threatning reſolutions; upon which, the high commiſſioner adjourned them, from time to time, which did but more and more incenſe the nation. Under all theſe difficulties, they however proceeded to ſettle a colony or Darien, and might probably have maintained it, if the jealouſy of the Spaniards, and their precautions, backed by a prohibition from England to the iſland of Jamaica, and all other Engliſh ſettlements in America, to have any intercourſe or correſpondence with the Scots at Darien, or to furniſh them with proviſions of any kind, had not deprived them of all means of ſubſiſtence: but I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this matter, in the ſequel.

Affairs of Ireland.

While the King was in Holland, a parliament was alſo aſſembled in Ireland, which met the 17th of September, according to their laſt prorogation, and was opened with a ſpeech by one of the lords-juſtices; in which he reminded the Iriſh, " that it was to King William they owed their de- " liverance, their preſent ſafety, and their hopes of " future proſperity: he then recommended to the " parliament the incouragement of the linen- " manufacture; and told them, that the woollen- " manufacture could never be incouraged there, " being the ſtaple-trade of England, from whence " all forein markets were ſupplied: he likewiſe " informed them, that the King would ſend over " from England part of the forces, which had " ſerved abroad, and diſband moſt of thoſe in Ire- " land (except five regiments of French refugees) " however, the King declared he would keep the " officers in pay 'till they could be otherwiſe pro- " vided for, and deſired ſupplies accordingly."

Upon this, both houſes voted " their thanks to " his Majeſty for what he had done, and intended " to do for them; but could, by no means, come " into the ſcheme for ſuppreſſing their woollen " manufacture: they hoped to regulate it ſo (they " ſaid) that it might not be prejudicial to England."

A motion

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A motion was alſo made, for addreſſing his Majeſty, to diſband the five French regiments in Ireland; but it was rejected. The parliament then proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply, and readily granted what was demanded of them. The bill for levying the ſupply granted being compleated, the lord-juſtices adjourned the parliament, and then took a progreſs into the country, to view the ſtate of ſeveral places in the kingdom, and give ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the government.

Maritime affairs.

I ſhould now, according to the method I have hitherto obſerved, give an account of our maritime affairs: but nothing happen'd this year at ſea, worthy our notice (1); towards the latter end of the year, rear-admiral Bembow was, indeed, ordered to the Weſt-Indies, with three men of war of the fourth-rate, and a ſmall French prize: and he ſailed, accordingly, the 29th of November: but as nothing occured, before the concluſion of this year, I ſhall defer my relation of his proceedings to the next; and give ſome account of what was doing, during this time, beyond the ſeas. We left the King at the Hague, ſtill imploying his thoughts how to eſtabliſh the public tranquility of Europe, as well by mediating a peace between the Chriſtians and the Turks, as by providing againſt the pretenſions which France might make upon the death of the King of Spain, who was in a languiſhing condition. His Majeſty having aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States of Holland, and that of the States-general, and given audience to ſeveral public miniſters, went, the 6th of Auguſt, N. S. to Loo, whither he was attended by the earls of Eſſex, Portland and Selkirk, with ſeveral other perſons of quality.

Negociation of the firſt treaty of partition.

Here it was the count de Tallard, in the name of the French King, made the firſt propoſal to King William (2), of coming to an agreement with his Britanic Majeſty, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown of Spain. The French embaſſador being very urgent for his Majeſty's anſwer, the earl of Portland was ordered to write a letter to mr. ſecretary Vernon, and inform him; "that count "Tallard having declared an accommodation "might be found out, in relation to the Spaniſh "ſucceſſion, his Majeſty had founded France upon "the conditions, of which he ſubjoined the par-"ticulars (3)". The King, at the ſame time, acquainted the lord Sommers by letter, "that "he had ordered mr. Vernon, not to communi-"cate the propoſals made by count Tallard, to "any other beſide his lordſhip, and to leave to his "lordſhip's judgment, to whom elſe he ſhould "think proper to impart them; to the end that "his Majeſty might know his lordſhip's opinion "upon ſo important an affair, which required the "greateſt ſecreſy, and in which no time was to "be loſt, if it was fit the negociation ſhould be "carried on." For that purpoſe, his Majeſty commanded the lord Sommers, "to ſend him the "full powers, under the great-ſeal, with the names "in blank, to treat with count Tallard, which he "believed might be done ſecretly, that none but "his lordſhip and Vernon, and thoſe to whom "his lordſhip ſhould communicate it, might "have knowledge of it; and ſo that the clerks "themſelves, who were to write the warrant, and "the full powers, might not know what it was." To preſs the neceſſity of this treaty, his Majeſty obſerved; "That, according to all intelligence, "the King of Spain could not out-live the month "of October, and that the leaſt accident might "carry him off, before that time."

The King's letter to the lordSommers.

The lord Sommers being at Tunbridge, when mr. Vernon received the earl of Portland's letter, that to his lordſhip was immediately ſent him thither, and he as ſoon returned it to mr. Vernon, deſiring him to communicate the contents of it to the lord Orford, mr. Montague, and the duke of Shrewſbury, and to let them know, at the ſame time, how ſtrictly his Majeſty required that it ſhould remain an abſolute ſecret. Mr. Vernon, however, did not think it proper to impart it then to any but the earl of Shrewſbury. Some time after, mr. Montague and mr. Vernon going to Tunbridge, they and the lord Sommers, debated this important matter; and thereupon his lordſhip writ a letter to the King, acquainting him:

The lord Sommers's anſwer.

"That, upon the whole diſcourſe, three things "had principally occured to be humbly ſuggeſted "to his Majeſty: Firſt, that the entertaining a "propoſal of this nature ſeem'd to be attended "with very many ill conſequences, if the French "did not act a ſincere part; but that they were "ſoon at eaſe, as to any apprehenſion of that ſort, "being fully aſſured his Majeſty would not act "but with the utmoſt nicety, in an affair wherein "his glory, and the ſafety of Europe, were ſo "highly concern'd. Second, that the next thing "to be conſidered was the very ill proſpect of what "was like to happen, upon the death of the King "of Spain, in caſe nothing was done previouſly, "towards the providing againſt that accident, "which ſeemed probably to be very near; the "King of France having ſo great a force, in ſuch "a readineſs, that he was in a condition to take "poſſeſſion of Spain, before any other Prince could "be ready to make a ſtand. That his Majeſty, "who was ſo perfectly inform'd of the circum-"ſtances of parts abroad, was the beſt judge whe-"ther this was the caſe: but that ſo far as related to "England, it would be want of duty, not to give "his Majeſty this clear account; that there was "a deadneſs and want of ſpirit in the nation uni-"verſally, ſo as not at all to be diſpoſed to the "thoughts of entring into a new war; and that "they ſeem'd to be tired with taxes, to a degree "beyond what was diſcerned, 'till it appear'd upon "the occaſion of the late elections; and that this "was the truth of the fact, upon which his Ma-"jeſty would determine what reſolutions were pro-"per to be taken. That what remained was,

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that before the King departed for Holland, there came news from Spain, that their King was dying. The French (continues he) upon this ſent a fleet to ly before Cadiz, which came thither at the time the gallions were expected home, from the Weſt-Indies; and, it was apprehended, that if the King had died, they would have ſeized on all that treaſure: we ſent a fleet thither, to ſecure them; but it came too late to have done any ſervice, if it had been needed. This (adds the Biſhop) was much cenſured: but the admiralty excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that the parliament was ſo late in fixing the funds, for the fleet, that it was not poſſible to be ſooner than they were: However the King of Spain recovered for that time. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) This propoſal had been made by the French King to the earl of Portland, while he was in France, and it was probably in order to ingage King William to give into it, without ſuſpecting any latent ſubterfuge, that he indeavor'd to dazzle his Majeſty's eyes, by the extraordinary reception he gave to his embaſſador, and by the marks of his eſteem and affection which he gave him in ſeveral letters: which overture King William had communicated to his chancelor before he left England.

(3) Theſe conditions were in ſubſtance, "that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria ſhould have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, "and the Low-Countries, and all that depended upon the Spaniſh dominions, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province "of Guipuſcoa, on this ſide of the Pyrenees, Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian, Final, and the places in Tuſcany, of which Spain "ſtood poſſeſſed, in conſideration of which France was abſolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the ſucceſſion of Spain, "and as for Milan, it was to be given to the arch-duke Charles, the Emperor's ſecond ſon (now Emperor)."

"Third,

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" Third, the conſideration, what would be the " condition of Europe, if the propoſal took place? " that of this they thought themſelves little capable " of judging; but it ſeem'd, that if Sicily was in " French hands, they would be intirely maſters of " the Levant-trade; that, if they were poſſeſs'd of " Final, and thoſe other ſea-ports on that ſide, " whereby Milanſ would be intirely ſhut out from " relief by ſea, or any other commerce, that duchy " would be of little ſignification in the hands of " any Prince; and that if the King of France had " poſſeſſion of Guipuſcoa, which was mentioned " in the propoſal, beſide the ports he would have " in the ocean, it was apparent there would be as ea- " ſy a way of invading Spain on that ſide, as he now " had on the ſide of Catalonia: but that it was not " to be hoped, that France would quit its " pretences to ſo great a ſucceſſion, without con- " ſiderable advantages; and that they were all " aſſured his Majeſty would reduce the terms as " low as could be done, and make them, as far " as poſſible, in the preſent circumſtances of things, " ſuch as might be ſome foundation, for the future " quiet of Chriſtendom, which, all his ſubjects " could not but be convinced, was his true aim. " That if it could be brought to paſs, that Eng- " land might be ſome way a gainer by this tranſ- " action, whether it was by the Elector of Bava- " ria (who was the gainer by his Majeſty's inter- " poſition in this treaty) his coming to an agree- " ment, to let the Engliſh into ſome trade to the " Spaniſh plantations, or in any other manner, it " would wonderfully indear his Majeſty to his ſub- " jects. That it did not appear, in caſe this ne- " gociation ſhould proceed, what was to be done " on his Majeſty's part, in order to make it take " place; whether any more was required, than " that the Engliſh and Dutch ſhould ſit ſtill, and " France itſelf ſhould ſee it executed? that if it " were ſo, what ſecurity ought to be expected; " that if by their being maſters, the French were " ſucceſsful, the latter would confine themſelves to " the terms of the treaty; and not attempt to make " farther advantages of their ſucceſs?" the lord Sommers concluded theſe prudent and weighty cautions, by telling the King; " that he ſuppoſed " his Majeſty would not think it proper to name " commiſſioners, that were not Engliſh, or natura- " lized, in an affair of this nature."

The negociation was, in the mean time, ſo eagerly carried on, that, on the 29th of Auguſt N. S. ſeveral days before his Majeſty had received the lord Sommers's anſwer, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed:

The firſt treaty of partition.

I. " That the peace of Ryſwick ſhould be " confirm'd.

II. " That in conſideration of the ill ſtate of the " King of Spain's health, and for preſerving the " public peace, in caſe the ſaid Prince ſhould die " without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and " Sicily, with the places then depending upon " the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituated on the coaſts of " Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, comprehended " under the name of Santo-Stephano, Porto-Her- " cole, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piom- " bino, the marquiſate of Final, the province of " Guipuſcoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia " and St. Sebaſtian, and eſpecially Port-Paſſage; " and, likewiſe, all places on the French ſide of " the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, " Alava or Biſcay, on the ſide of the province of " Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips and gallies, and " other appurtenances belonging to the ſaid gallies, " ſhould be given to the Dauphin, in conſideration " of his right.

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III. " That the crown of Spain, and the other " kingdoms, and places, both within and without " Europe, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral Prince of " Bavaria, of whom his father, the Elector, was " to be a guardian and adminiſtrator, till he came " of age.

IV. " That the duchy of Milan ſhould be re- " ſerved and alloted to arch-duke Charles, the " Emperor's ſecond ſon."

This treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria, by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General; and if they did not agree to it, then the proportion of the party not agreing, ſhould remain in ſequeſtration, 'till things could be brought to an accommodation. And in caſe the Electoral Prince of Bavaria ſhould come to inherit his ſhare, and yet die before his father, without iſſue, the Elector was to ſucceed him in thoſe dominions, and his heir after him. Likewiſe the duchy of Milan, upon the arch-duke's refuſal to accept of it, was to be ſequeſtred and govern'd by the Prince of Vaudemont, and, after him, by his ſon, Prince Charles of Vaudemont.

Intreagues of the marquis de Harcourt.

While the French King was thus decoying King William into the treaty of partition, the marquis de Harcourt, the French embaſſador, at the court of Spain, was ſeting all his engines to work, to pave the way, for a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon, to mount the Spaniſh throne: but the Queen of Spain, who was nearly related to the King of the Romans, and intirely in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, by her vigilance, ſo circumvented his intreagues, that all he could do, for the preſent, was to ingage cardinal Portocarrero in the intereſt of France (1).

Farther intreagues of France.

The French King was no leſs aſſiduous to ſtrengthen his intereſt in the Northern parts of Europe, than in the Southern; to which end he ſought the alliance of the King of Sweden, with whom, at length, he concluded a treaty, at Stockholm, the 9th of July: and as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in order to be in a readineſs, at all events, had cauſed 60,000 of his beſt men to file towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre; and ſent a conſiderable number of his ſhips of war and gallies, into ſeveral ports of Spain; ſo, on the other hand, he cauſed a great camp to be formed at Campiegne, under the pretenſe of inſtructing the duke of Burgundy in the art of war: but which was thought to be deſign'd, to make, upon occaſion, a ſudden irruption into the Spaniſh Netherlands. However, the unexpected recovery of the King of Spain's health, diſpell'd the fears of one party, and diſappointed the hopes of the other, for the preſent.

King William goes to Zell.

King William, having taken a review of the Dutch troops near Arnheim, went, on the 20th of September, to pay a viſit to the duke of Zell, at his reſidence of that name, where he was received with extraordinary reſpect, and was waited upon by ſeveral neighboring Princes and Princeſſes, particularly the Electreſs of Hanover, with the Electoral

(1) By this, and what follows, the reader may form a judgment how juſt the precautions, and how ſalutary the counſels were, which the lord Sommers laid before his Majeſty, tho' they came too late to take effect. This, however, the author of the continuation of Rapin in French denies, and calls it a miſtake of the author of the compleat hiſtory of England. " It is " certain, ſays he, that the treaty was not ſign'd till September, or October; for the beſt writers are divided, as to which " of theſe two months, and even as to what day it was in either. There are very ſtrong reaſons to believe it was not ſign'd till " the 31ſt of October. Book 25. p. 327. Whenever this treaty was ſign'd, the private views France had in it are too evident, and will too plainly appear in the ſequel, to need any illuſtration here.

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Prince and the Princeſs his ſiſter, and at his return to Loo, the duke of Bavaria came thither to pay his acknowlegements to his Majeſty for the care he had taken, in the late treaty of partition, for his intereſt. King William's journy to Zell gave the court of France great uneaſineſs; tho' he had nothing more in view but to cement the union of the Princes of Germany, by a match between the King of the Romans, and the Princeſs of Hanover, which was now agreed on, and ſoon after compleated; and by removing the apprehenſions ſome members of the Empire were under of the growing power of the Emperor. This latter, King William, to his immortal honor, found means to do effectually, in concert with the States, by puting a ſtop to the Hungarian war, which had laſted above fifteen years, and by their joint mediation ſet on foot the conferences at Carlowitz, which ended in the ſeveral treaties of peace and truce between the Turks, the Emperor, the Muſcovites, the Poles and the Venetians (1): and as, by this time, the new King, Auguſtus of Poland, had brought the Cardinal-Primate, who had all along ſtickled for the Prince of Conti, to acknowledge his title, and the troubles of Lithuania were likewiſe compoſed, there ſeemed now to be a univerſal peace ſettled, throughout Chriſtendom: but it proved of ſhort duration, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Treaty of Carlowitz.

King William returns to England.

The 9th of November, O. S. King William arrived at the Hague, from Loo; and having regulated all things neceſſary with the States-general, he imbark'd, the firſt of December, on board the William and Mary-yacht, and ſet ſail from the coaſt of Holland, attended by ſeveral other yachts, and a ſquadron of men of war commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel. The 3d his Majeſty landed at Margate, and the 6th the parliament met.

The parliament meets.

The King being come to the houſe of peers, the chancelor ſignified to the commons his Majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould forthwith proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker. The commons, thereupon, returned to their houſe, and having made choice of

Sir Thomas Littleton choſen ſpeaker.

ſir Thomas Littleton, baronet, preſented him, at the appointed time, to the King, who having declared his approbation of their choice, his Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them:

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That he had no doubt but they were met together, with hearts fully diſpoſed to do what "was neceſſary for the ſafety, honor, and happineſs of the kingdom, and that was all he had to "aſk of them: that, in order to this, two things "ſeemed principally to require their conſideration.

"One was, what ſtrength ought to be maintained at ſea, and what force kept up at land, for "this year; that all he ſhould obſerve to them "upon this head was, that the flouriſhing of trade, "the ſupporting of credit, and the quiet of peoples minds at home, would depend upon the "opinion they had of their ſecurity; and that to "preſerve to England the weight and influence it "had at preſent, on the counſels and affairs abroad, "it would be requiſite Europe ſhould ſee they "would not be wanting to themſelves.

"That the ſecond thing he ſhould mention "to them, as of great conſequence, was the making ſome farther progreſs towards diſcharging "the debts which the nation had contracted by "reaſon of the long and expenſive war. That "in this, the public intereſt, as well as juſtice, was "concerned, and he thought an Engliſh parliament could never make ſuch a miſtake, as not to "hold ſacred all parliamentary ingagements. He, "therefore, earneſtly recommended theſe things to "the houſe of commons; that they might provide ſuch ſupplies, as they ſhould judge neceſſary "for theſe ſeveral occaſions; and concluded, by "telling both houſes, that he thought it would be "happy, if ſome effectual expedient could be found, "for imploying the poor, which might tend to the "great increaſe of our manufactures, as well as to "remove a heavy burden from the people: that "he hoped alſo they would imploy their thoughts "about ſome good bills for the advancement "of trade, and for the farther diſcouraging of "vice and prophaneneſs: and theſe things which he "now mentioned to them, being of common con-"cern, he could not but hope for unanimity "and diſpatch."

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It is remarkable, that the King, in this ſpeech, does not ſo much as mention the partition-treaty he had ſo lately concluded abroad; his Majeſty, for what reaſons I ſhall not pretend to determine, making it a ſecret, as well to the privy-council as the parliament. It appears, however, by this ſpeech, that the King was deſirous of having a good body of land-forces kept on foot, as well as a good navy maintained at ſea, to compel the execution of that treaty, if upon the King of Spain's death, France ſhould attempt to fly off from it: but the parliament not being acquainted (at leaſt not in form) with this treaty, did not apprehend it neceſſary, to have a great army on foot, in time of peace; the firſt reſolution, they, therefore, came to, in this ſeſſion was; "that all the land-forces "in Engliſh pay, exceeding 7000 men (and thoſe "conſiſting of his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects) "be forthwith paid off and diſbanded: and that "all the forces in Ireland, exceeding 12,000 men, "(and thoſe his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects, to "be kept and maintained by the kingdom of Ire-"land) be, likewiſe, forthwith diſbanded, and they "ordered a bill to be brought in, purſuant to that "reſolution," which had a quick paſſage thro' both houſes. Theſe proceedings occaſioned a great clamor, and it was ſtrongly urged, "that this great "reform would leave the kingdom naked, and "expoſed to the enemy:" but, on the other hand, it was argued, that the King had ſtill an army of 24 or 25,000 men, viz. the 7000 in England, 12,000 in Ireland, and 4 or 5000 in Scotland, and beſide, that all the officers of the late army were kept either in whole or half-pay; ſo that, at a very ſhort warning, the Engliſh army might have been increaſed to 50,000 men. But even allowing all this, if the nation had been in diſtreſs, either by an invaſion, from abroad, or an inſurrection at home, it would have found but very little ſafety, from theſe troops, ſo diſperſed in the three kingdoms.

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Theſe proceedings could not but make the King very uneaſy: however, his Majeſty conſidering, that to contend with the commons would but be to kick againſt the pricks, went to the houſe of lords, on the firſt of February, and gave the royal aſſent to,

Acts paſs'd.

"Firſt, an act for granting an aid of 800,000 l. for "the effectual diſbanding of the army. Second, an "act to prevent the making or ſelling of buttons "made of cloth, ſerge, druget or other ſtuff. "Third, an act to prohibit the exportation of any "corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biſcuit or ſtarch, "for one year;" and ſome private bills. On this occaſion, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

(1) By this peace, the Emperor preſerved his late acquiſitions, and vaſtly inlarged his territories: the Poles had the important place of Caminieck reſtored to them, with other advantages: the Muſcovites were gainers by the keeping of Aſſoff: and the Venetians had all the Morea, and ſeveral fortreſſes in Dalmatia, yielded up to them; ſo that the Turks loſt the beſt half of their dominions in Europe.

My

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The King's speech to both houses.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I am come to paſs this bill (meaning the " mony-bill) as ſoon as I underſtood it was ready " for me; tho', in our preſent circumſtances, there " appears great hazard in breaking ſuch a number " of the troops; and tho' I might think myſelf " unkindly uſed, that thoſe guards, who came over " with me, to your aſſiſtance, and have conſtantly " attended me, in all the actions wherein I have " been ingaged, ſhould be removed from me; yet " it is my fix'd opinion, that nothing can be ſo " fatal to us, as that any diſtruſt or jealouſy ſhould " ariſe between me and my people; which I muſt " own, would have been very unexpected, after " what I have undertaken, ventured and acted, for " the reſtoring and ſecuring of their liberties.

" I have thus plainly told you the only reaſon, " which has induced me to paſs this bill; and now " I think myſelf obliged, in diſcharge of the truſt " repoſed in me, and for my own juſtification, " that no ill conſequences may ly at my door, to " tell you as plainly my judgment, that the na- " tion is left too much expoſed.

" It is, therefore, incumbent upon you, to take " this matter into your ſerious conſideration, and " effectually to provide ſuch a ſtrength as is ne- " ceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the " preſervation of the peace, which God has given " us.

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, hereupon, unanimouſly voted an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, which was preſented, the fourth, by the whole houſe; wherein they ſet forth;

" How ſenſible they were of the difficulties and " labors he had ſuſtained; and the hazards he had " run in reſcuing their religion, and liberties, and " giving peace to Chriſtendom; they thank'd him " for his good will and affection to his people, " and the undeniable proofs he gave to comply " with their deſires in parliament, and, laſtly, aſ- " ſured him, he ſhould never have reaſon to think " his commons undutiful or unkind to him, but " that they would always ſupport his perſon and " government, againſt all his enemies.

In anſwer to this, the King told them:

The King's anſwer.

" That he was fully ſatisfied of their duty and " affection, and had no doubt but they would always " act in the manner they had expreſſed on this occa- " ſion.

Addreſs of the lords.

The lords, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty on this occaſion; " thanking him for his " willingneſs to diſband the army, as well as for " his great care and concern for the ſafety of the " kingdom upon all occaſions, aſſuring his Ma- " jeſty, that, at all times, for the ſafety of the king- " dom, and the preſervation of the peace, which " God had given them, they would aſſiſt and de- " fend his Majeſty, againſt all his enemies, both " at home and abroad:" for which addreſs, the King returned them his thanks.

The army reduced to 7000 men.

By theſe addreſſes it plainly appeared, that neither of the houſes ſeemed inclined to indulge the King, in keeping on foot a greater number of troops; upon which, his Majeſty wiſely gave into what he found would be to no purpoſe to oppoſe, and gave effectual orders for reducing the army, according to the late act: but he retained a greater number of horſe than foot, according to the uſual proportion, as likewiſe a larger number of officers, than that body of troops required. Amidſt theſe compliances, his Majeſty could not, however, conceal the reluctance he had of being obliged to ſend away his Dutch guards; a regiment, which he ſet the greater value upon, as they had attended his perſon from the cradle, followed his fortune every where, and to whom, beſide many other ſignal ſervices, he thought the famous victory of the Boyne chiefly owing; with theſe, I ſay, his Majeſty had the utmoſt regret to part. He therefore, on the 18th of March, ſent the following meſſage to the commons by the lord Ranelagh, not only ſigned, but all written with his own hand. Will' III. An' 1699.

The King's meſſage about the Dutch guards.

" His Majeſty is pleaſed to let the houſe know, " that the neceſſary preparations are made for tranſ- " porting the guards, who came with him into " England; and that he intends to ſend them " away immediately, unleſs, out of conſideration " to him, the houſe be diſpoſed to find a way for " continuing them longer in his ſervice, which " his Majeſty would take very kindly." W. R.

The queſtion was hereupon propoſed; that a day be appointed to conſider of his Majeſty's meſſage: but it was rejected, and inſtead thereof, they voted an addreſs to his Majeſty, in which they repreſented:

The addreſs of the commons thereupon.

" That the paſſing the late act for diſbanding the " army gave great ſatisfaction to the ſubjects, and " the readineſs his Majeſty had expreſſed, to com- " ply with the punctual execution thereof, would pre- " vent all occaſions of diſtruſt and jealouſy between " his Majeſty and his people.

" That it was an unſpeakable grief to them, his " Majeſty ſhould be adviſed to propoſe any thing, " to which they could not conſent, with due regard " to that conſtitution his Majeſty came over to re- " ſtore, and had ſo often expoſed himſelf to pre- " ſerve; reminding him of his declaration, that all " the forein forces he brought over ſhould be ſent " back.

" In duty therefore, to his Majeſty, and to diſ- " charge the truſt repoſed in them, they begged " leave to lay before him, that nothing conduced " more to the happineſs and welfare of this king- " dom, than an intire confidence between his Ma- " jeſty and his people, which could no way be ſo " firmly eſtabliſhed, as by intruſting his ſacred per- " ſon, with his own ſubjects, who had ſo eminent- " ly ſignalized themſelves during the late long " and expenſive war.

This addreſs being reported, the 20th of March, to the houſe, a motion was made, and the queſtion put, that it ſhould be re-commited, which having paſſed in the negative, the addreſs was preſented, the 24th, to his Majeſty, by the whole houſe.

The King's anſwer.

To this, the King replied, " that he came hither " to reſtore the ancient conſtitution of this govern- " ment; that he had all poſſible regard to it ſince " his coming, and was reſolved, thro' the courſe of " his reign, to indeavor to preſerve it intire, in all " the parts of it. That he had a full confidence in " the affections of his people, and was well aſſured, " they had the ſame in him; and as to his ſub- " jects, who had ſerved in the army, he was an " eye-witneſs of their bravery and zeal for his perſon " and government, and had all the reaſon to rely " upon them, that a Prince could have; he was ſa- " tisfied, that there was not a man among them " capable of entertaining a thought, that what " was propoſed in his meſſage, proceeded from any " miſtruſt of them.

" That it ſhould be his ſtudy to perform the part " of a juſt and good King; and as he ſhould ever " be nicely careful of obſerving his promiſes to his " ſubjects ſo he would not doubt of their tender " regard for him.

The Dutch guards return to Holland.

Hereupon his Majeſty finding the commons not to be removed from their reſolutions, the Dutch guards were ſoon after ſhipped off for Holland.

Acts paſſed.

The ſame day, the King came to the houſe of lords and gave the royal aſſent, 1. " To an act to prevent " the exceſſive diſtilling of ſpirits and low-wines " from corn, and againſt the exporting of beer and " ale, and to prevent frauds in diſtillers. 2. An " act to inlarge the trade to Ruſſia. 3. An act for " preventing

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" preventing irregular proceedings of ſheriffs and " other officers, in making the returns of members " choſen to ſerve in parliament. 4. An act for the " clearing, repairing and maintaining the haven and " peers of Great Yarmouth, in the county of " Norfolk. 5. An act for making and keeping the " river Tone navigable, from Bridgwater to Taun- " ton in the county of Sommerſet.

Miſmanagements of the navy inquir'd into.

The army being thus diſbanded, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the navy, and after a ſtrict examination of the preſent and paſt management of the maritime affairs, preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, complaining of ſome miſconduct therein.

Addreſs of the commons thereupon.

In particular they repreſented, that the Streights ſquadron not ſailing 'till September laſt was prejudicial to England, and a great miſmanagement. That the orders made by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, the 12th of September 1695, giving Henry Prieſtman, eſq; an allowance of ten ſhillings per diem, from the date of his commiſſion, as commander in chief, before Sallee, in the year 1684, 'till the ſhip Bonadventure was paid off, over and above his pay, as captain of the ſaid ſhip, was very unreaſonable, and a miſapplication of the public mony. That the victualling any of his Majeſty's ſhips, by others than by the victualers appointed for that ſervice, or their agents, was contrary to the courſe of the navy, and might be of ill conſequence. That many new and unneceſſary charges had, in an extraordinary manner, been introduced into the navy, which was a great miſmanagement. That the deductions of poundage, taken by the paymaſters of the navy, for ſlop-cloths, dead-mens wages, tobacco, cheſt at Chatham, chaplain and ſurgeon was without warrant, and ought to be accounted for. That it was inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the navy, for the ſame perſon to be one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, and treaſurer of the navy, at the ſame time. And that the paſſing of any account of monies impreſſed for the contingent uſes of the navy, without regular vouchers, or ſuch other proof as the nature of the ſervice would admit, either with or without a ſign manual, was contrary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dangerous conſequence. All which they beged leave to lay before his Majeſty, deſiring that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, to take effectual care, that the miſmanagements herein complained of might be prevented for the future (1).

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty's anſwer was; " That he would " conſider their addreſs; that it was his deſire, that " all ſorts of miſmanagements and irregularities " ſhould be prevented or redreſſed; and that they " might be aſſured he would take the beſt care he " could in relation to the navy, the right ma- " nagement whereof was of ſo great concern to he " kingdom."

The diſaffected, and more eſpecially the Papiſts, being very elate upon the diſbanding of the army, the commons thought fit to take notice of it, in the following addreſs to his Majeſty:

Addreſs of the commons againſt Papiſts &c.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub- " jects, the commons in parliament aſſembled, having " obſerved the great concourſe to this city of Pa- " piſts and other diſaffected perſons, who have not " owned your Majeſty to be lawful and rightful " King of theſe realms, and the boldneſs they aſ- " ſume from your Majeſty's unexpected clemency, " not only to keep horſes and arms, contrary to law, " but alſo to frequent all public places of reſort, " near your two houſes of parliament, and even to " approach near your royal palaces, whereby they " may have opportunities to perpetrate any wicked " attempt againſt your perſon, on the ſafety and " preſervation whereof our religion and liberties, " and the peace and welfare, not only of theſe " kingdoms, but of all Europe, do in a very great " meaſure depend.

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" And having alſo conſidered the many plots and " conſpiracies againſt your Majeſty's perſon and go- " ment, but eſpecially the late horrid intended aſ- " ſaſſination, contrived and carried on, not only by " Papiſts (whoſe religion and intereſt might lead " them to it) but even by ſuch who at their death " (to the great ſcandal of our religion) profeſſed " and owned themſelves to be members of the " church of England, which chiefly (under God) " owes its preſervation and defenſe to your Majeſty, " and whoſe doctrines are directly oppoſite to all " ſuch inhuman and treaſonable practiſes.

" And having alſo certain information, that great " numbers of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, within " this city, and parts adjacent, intrude themſelves " into the preſenſe of ſick and dying perſons, with " deſign to prevail upon them, in their weakneſs, " to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and " daily indeavor to pervert and ſeduce from their al- " legiance, your Majeſty's good ſubjects, in poiſoning " them with their wicked and damnable doctrines and " principles, and that they have imported great " quantities of Popiſh books, to keep ſchools to " breed up and inſtruct children in the Romiſh " ſuperſtition and idolatry.

" We, therefore, hold ourſelves obliged, for " quieting the minds of your good ſubjects, and " in duty to your Majeſty, to intreat that you " will be graciouſly pleaſed (in order to ſuppreſs " ſuch practiſes, of the reſtleſs and notorious " enemies of your government) to iſſue out your " royal proclamation, for removing all Papiſts " and others, who diſown your Majeſty's govern- " ment, from the city of London, and parts ad- " jacent, according to the laws; and that the laws " may be put in execution againſt them, in ſuch " manner, that their wicked deſigns may be effectu- " ally diſappointed.

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered: " He " would take care that the laws ſhould be put in " execution, according to the deſire of the com- " mons: and, in order thereunto, on the ſecond of " March, he cauſed his royal proclamation to be " publiſh'd.

A ſupply granted.

I return now to the ſupply: the 18th of February, the commons reſolved; " that 15,000 men be im- " ployed, for a ſummer and winter guard of the " ſea, for the year 1699, and that they ſhould " conſiſt of ſeamen only (2)."

Ways and Means.

The 9th of March, they ordered a bill to be brought in, " for granting to his Majeſty the ſum " of 1,484,015 l. (including the 800,000 l. before " voted) for diſbanding and paying off the army, " providing for the fleet, maintaining the guards " and gariſons, and for other neceſſary occaſions;" to raiſe which ſum, they reſolved, " that an aid " of three ſhillings in the pound be laid upon all " lands, penſions, offices and perſonal eſtates, to

(1) This addreſs of the houſe of commons was chiefly levelled againſt the earl of Orford, who was both treaſurer of the navy, and one of the lords-commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, and who it was believed had been a great gainer by his late expedition in the Mediterranean; tho' it was likewiſe thought by many, that the riches he acquired there proceeded from preſents he received from the States he protected, and not from any undue practices. However, his lordſhip ſeing what ſtorm was gathering againſt him, thought it prudence to retreat, and lay down all his imploys.

(2) The reaſon of this was, leſt the King, under the notion of marines, ſhould keep more ſtanding forces, than the 7000 men already mentioned.

" be

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" be rated according to the proportions laid upon " the ſeveral counties, cities, towns, and places, by " an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for granting " to his Majeſty the like ſum of 1,484,015 l.

Proviſion ordered for ſeveral debts.

The 28th, the commons reſolved; " that proviſion be made, from time to time, for making " good the principal and intereſt, due on all the " parliamentary funds, granted ſince his Majeſty's " happy acceſſion to the crown; and particularly, " that farther proviſion be made, within the year " 1699, for the exchequer-bills; that proviſion be " made both for ſecuring and paying off the prin- " cipal and intereſt, due on the aid of three ſhillings " in the pound, granted in the year 1697, the " duties on paper, vellom and parchment; and on " ſuch of the malt-tickets, as were or ſhould prove " deficient: for paying and diſcharging the arrears " of the annuities lately charged on the tonage- " duties, and now on the aditional exciſe: for " ſecuring and paying the debt due for tranſport- " ſervice, performed at any time ſince the begin- " ing of the late war.

The 31ſt, they took the ſame reſolution, " for " giving half-pay to the commiſſion-officers (his " Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects of England) of " horſe, dragoons and foot, diſbanded and to be " diſbanded, 'till the ſaid officers ſhould be fully " paid off, or otherwiſe provided for: for ſecur- " ing and paying the arrears due to the general- " officers of the army upon the Engliſh eſtabliſh- " ment, and for ſecuring and paying the arrears of " pay and ſubſiſtence, due to the officers and ſoldiers " of the army, upon the Engliſh eſtabliſhment (1).

Petition of the old Eaſt-India company.

I have already given an account of the eſtabliſh- ment of the new Eaſt-India-company, by which the old company thought themſelves ſo aggrieved, that, in hopes of obtaining ſome relief, they preſented, the 24th of February, a petition to the commons, praying: " that their caſe might be " taken into conſideration; and that this houſe " would make ſome proviſion, that their corpora- " tion might ſubſiſt, for the reſidue of the term of " twenty-one years, granted by his Majeſty's " charter.

" That the payment of the five per cent, by the " late act for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, " might be ſettled and adjuſted, in ſuch a man- " ner, as it might not remain a burden upon the " petitioners: and that ſuch farther conſideration " might be had for the petitioners relief, and for the " preſervation of the Eaſt-India-trade to England, " as ſhould be thought meet."

A bill in their favor rejected.

The commons having taken this petition into conſideration, ordered, the 27th of February, a bill to be brought in, purſuant thereunto; but it was rejected, the 9th of the next Month, without coming to a ſecond reading.

Acts paſs'd.

The 4th of May, the King came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent, Firſt, to " an " act for granting to his Majeſty the ſum of " 1,484,015 l. for diſbanding the army, provid- " ing for the navy, and for other neceſſary occa- " ſions. Second, an act for levying farther duties " upon ſweets, and for leſſening the duties on vine- " gar, certain low wines, whale-fins, and brandies " imported; and for the more eaſy raiſing the " duties upon leather, and for charging cinders, " and for permiting the importation of pearl-aſhes, " and for preventing abuſes in the brewing of " beer and ale, and frauds in importation of to- " bacco. Third, an act for the more effectual charg- " ing the duties upon rock-ſalt. Fourth, an act to " incourage the trade to Newfoundland. Fifth, an " act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the " kingdoms of Ireland and England, into forein " parts, and for the incouragement of the woollen " manufactures of the kingdom. Sixth, an act for " limiting certain times, within which writs of er- " ror ſhall be brought, for the reverſing fines, " common recoveries, and ancient judgments. " Seventh, an act for raiſing the militia, for the " year 1699, altho' the month's pay, formerly ad- " vanced, be not repaid. Eighth, an act for the " better apprehending and puniſhing houſe- " breakers, robbers and horſe-ſtealers. Ninth, " an act for making Billingſgate a free market, for " the ſale of fiſh. Tenth, an act for continuing " the act for the more eaſy recovery of ſmall " tithes. Eleventh, an act for ſuppreſſing of Lot- " teries. Twelfth, an act for taking off the re- " maining duties upon glaſs-wares. Thirteenth, " an act for making and keeping navigable the " rivers of Air and Calder, in the county of York. " Fourteenth, an act to inable poſthumous chil- " dren to take eſtates, as if born in their father's " life-time. Fifteenth, an act to inable ſuch officers " and ſoldiers, as have been in his Majeſty's ſer- " vice, during the late wars, to exerciſe trades, " and for officers to account with their ſoldiers. " Sixteenth, an act for continuing the impriſon- " ment of Counter, and others, for the late horrid " conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate the perſon of his ſacred " Majeſty. Seventeenth, an act for making and " keeping the river Trent, in the counties of " Leiceſter, Derby, and Stafford navigable. Eigh- " teenth, an act for ſettling augmentations on cer- " tain vicariges for ever: "and to ſeveral private acts.

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After this, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes;

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" At the opening this parliament, I told you " my opinion was, that you were come together, " with hearts fully diſpoſed to do what was neceſſary " for the ſafety, honor and happineſs of the king- " dom; and having nothing elſe to recommend to " you, I had reaſon to hope for unanimity and " diſpatch.

" You have now ſat ſo many months that the " ſeaſon of the year, as well as your particular af- " fairs, make it reaſonable you ſhould have a " receſs. I take it for granted you have finiſh'd " all the bills which, for the preſent, you think " requiſite to be paſs'd into laws, and I have given " my aſſent to all you have preſented me. If any " thing ſhould be found wanting for our ſafety, " the ſupport of public credit, by making good " the faith of the kingdom, as it ſtands ingaged " by parliamentary ſecurities, and for diſcharge " of the debts occaſioned by the war, or towards " advancing of trade, the ſuppreſſing of vice, and " the imploying of the poor, which were all the " things I propoſed to your conſideration, when " we met firſt, I cannot doubt but effectual care " will be taken of them next winter; I wiſh no " inconvenience may happen in the mean time."

The parliament prorogued.

This done, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 1ſt of June next.

I muſt now give a brief account, of ſome tranſactions which happened during the latter part of this ſeſſion of parliament.

The King's order to the play-houſes.

His Majeſty, who had always the reformation of manners at heart, ſent an order, on the 18th of February, to both play-houſes, importing: " that " his Majeſty being informed, that notwithſtand- " ing an order made, the 4th of June 1697, by " the earl of Sunderland, then lord chamberlain " of his Majeſty's houſhold, to prevent the pro- " phaneneſs and immorality of the ſtage, ſeveral " plays had lately been acted, containing expreſſi- " ons contrary to religion, and good manners;

(1) Theſe reſolutions were not, however, put in execution, this ſeſſion.

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" and whereas the maſter of the revels had repre-
" ſented, that in contempt of the ſaid order, the
" actors did neglect to leave out ſuch prophane and
" indecent expreſſions, as he had thought proper
" to be omited, therefore, it was his Majeſty's
" pleaſure, that they ſhould not hereafter pre-
" ſume to act any thing, in any play, contrary to
" religion and good manners, as they ſhould an-
" ſwer it at their utmoſt peril.

The maſter of the revels was at the ſame time commanded not to licenſe any plays, containing irreligious or immoral expreſſions; and to give notice to the lord chamberlain, or in his abſenſe to the vice-chamberlain, if the players preſumed to act any thing, which he had ſtruck out (1).

Proclamation for a general faſt.

The 12th of March, his Majeſty's proclamation was iſſued, for a general faſt to be obſerved throughout the kingdom, to implore God's mercy, for ſuch as ſuffered abroad, for the Proteſtant religion.

Trials of the lords Warwick and Mohun,

The 28th, Edward earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, in Weſtminſter-hall, before the houſe of peers, for the murder of Richard Coote, eſq; and was found guilty of manſlaughter only; and the next day, Charles lord Mohun, was tried for the ſame fact and acquited. The caſe was this: theſe two noble peers, with mr. Coote, and three other gentlemen, were drinking late at night, at Locket's (then a famous tavern in the Strand) and ſome words ariſing, they all took chairs, and were carried to Leiceſter-fields, where they ingaged three againſt three, and Coote was killed, but by whom it did not certainly appear (2).

Preferments.

The duke of Shrewſbury, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, being in a declining ſtate of health, reſigned that poſt, in order to travel into Italy, and was ſucceeded, the 14th of May, by the earl of Jerſey, then lately returned from his embaſſy at the court of France; where he was ſucceeded by the earl of Mancheſter. And the 18th the King declared, Thomas earl of Pembroke lord preſident of the council; and John lord viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal, in his room.

Lords-juſtices appointed.

The 31ſt, the King nominated the following perſons lords-juſtices, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his Majeſty's abſenſe, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord-preſident, the lord privy-ſeal, the duke of Devon, the earls of Bridgwater, Marlborough and Jerſey, and mr. Montague, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury.

King William goes to Holland.

The 1ſt of June, the King left Kenſington, and imbarking the next day at Martgate landed ſafely, the day following, at Orange-polder, from whence he went to the Hague; where I ſhall leave his Majeſty to give an account of the affairs of Scotland and Ireland.

Scotiſh affairs.

Tho' the ſituation of the Scotiſh India-company's affairs gave that whole nation no ſmall uneaſineſs, and notwithſtanding the company had met with ſeveral repulſes in England, their court of directors wrote, towards the begining of the year to the lord Seafield, to put him in mind of ſeconding their petition, and the parliament's addreſs to his Majeſty; to which his lordſhip anſwered, the 7th of February;

" that he had repreſented their petition to the King,
" and that he was commanded to let them know,
" that there being accounts, that the ſhips belong-
" ing to the company were arrived on the coaſts of
" America, and the particular deſign not being
" communicated to his Majeſty, he, therefore,
" delayed giving any anſwer, 'till he received cer-
" tain information of their ſettlement."

This intimation being given the company, by the King's orders, their council-general wrote a letter to his Majeſty, on the 21ſt of March, importing; Will'III. An' 1699.

" that they had arrived ſafe at their intended port,
" within a league of the Golden-iſland, on the
" coaſts of Darien; and after having treated, on
" board their ſhips, with the natives, who were al-
" ways owned to be the only proprietors of that
" part of the coaſt, their men had, at the requeſt,
" and with the conſent of the ſaid natives, landed
" on the 4th of November 1698, and taken poſ-
" ſeſſion of an uninhabited place, never before occu-
" pied by any European whomſoever; and that,
" in purſuance of the ſaid treaty, the chief men
" and leaders of the ſaid natives, had joined with
" and taken commiſſion from the ſaid council. That
" they thought it their duty, at their firſt meet-
" ing, to give his Majeſty an account thereof,
" and likewiſe, that by letters from the ſaid coun-
" cil, bearing date at NewEdinburg, in Caledonia,
" (the name of their new ſettlement) the 28th of
" December, they were poſitively informed, that
" the French had a deſign upon all that coaſt, or
" or leaſt to make a ſettlement ſomewhere there-
" abouts: and they humbly conceived, that the firſt
" ſettlement of their colony, in thoſe parts, might
" be a means of preventing, or at leaſt leſſening the
" evil conſequences that might ariſe to his Majeſty's
" kingdoms and dominions every where, by the
" ſettlement of any powerful foreign neighbor in,
" upon, or near any part of that coaſt. And that,
" as they were always bound thankfully to acknow-
" lege his Majeſty's goodneſs, for granting them
" thoſe privileges mentioned in the acts of parlia-
" ment, and his Majeſty's letters-patent, by which
" their company was eſtabliſhed; ſo they did, in
" all humility, confidently expect his Majeſty's
" royal favor and protection, as having, in all
" the ſteps of their conduct, tho' the whole courſe
" of that affair, ſtrictly obſerved the conditions re-
" quired by the ſaid act of parliament, and letters-
" patent: and they refered that, together with the
" contents of their laſt petition to his Majeſty's
" royal conſideration, to give ſuch directions there-
" in, as in his royal wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet and
" expedient."

This ſettlement, in the mean time, gave alarm to " all the nations of Europe, who had plantations in that neighbourhood:" and eſpecially the Spaniards, who thinking themſelves more immediately concerned, their embaſſador in England preſented a memorial to his Majeſty, on the 3d of May; in which they termed this undertaking of the Scots, an inſult upon his Catholic Majeſty's ſovereign dominions in America, and particularly in the province of Darien, and as a rupture of the alliance ſubſiſting between the two kiugdoms of Great-Britain and Spain: adding, that his Majeſty would take ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think convenient, to reſiſt ſuch hoſtilities and unjuſt procedures, The company were unwilling, after the great expences they had been at, to abandon their deſign; and, therefore to juſtify the legality of their ſettlement, in oppoſition to the pretentions of the Spaniards or any other nation whatſoever, and to ſhew that it could be no prejudice to the Engliſh but rather an advantage, they made ſeveral long repreſentations to his Majeſty: but the King and council muſt have thought otherwiſe; for, on the 8th of April, the governor of Jamaica by expreſs commands from his Majeſty, ſignified to him by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, iſſued a proclamation, " forbiding all manner of

(1) This reſtraint upon the play-houſes was, perhaps, in ſome meaſure, occaſion'd by " mr. Jeremy Collier's view of the " immorality and prophaneneſs of the Engliſh ſtage," publiſhed not long before.

(2) The earl claiming the benefit of his peerage, according to the ſtatute, in that caſe provided, was thereupon, diſcharged: but was adviſed, by the lord chancellor, who was conſtituted lord high-ſteward for the day, not to offend again, becauſe he could injoy that benefit but once.

inter-

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" intercourſe between any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, " and the colony of Darien, or the furniſhing them " with any aſſiſtance of arms and ammunition, pro- " viſions, or any other neceſſaries whatſoever, at " their utmoſt peril. And the like proclamations " were about the ſame time, iſſued by the governor " of Barbadoes, New York and New England."

The Spaniards making, in the mean while, great preparations in America, to diſlodge the Scots, the council of Caledonia had again recourſe to his Majeſty's clemency and protection, in an addreſs preſented in the month of September, about which time, the Spaniſh embaſſador preſented a ſecond memorial againſt this Scotiſh ſettlement, as did likewiſe the French embaſſador another, which occaſioned a ſecond petition from the company to the King to implore his protection, to which his Majeſty directed the lord Seafield to anſwer; " that he very " much regreted the loſs, which that kingdom and " the company had lately ſuſtained: that he would " upon all occaſions protect and incourage the trade " of the nation: and would alſo take care, that " the ſubjects of that kingdom ſhould have the " ſame freedom of trade and commerce, with the " Engliſh plantations, as they ever had formerly:" and as for the parliament (which they had begged might be allowed to meet) his Majeſty ordered them to be acquainted, " that it was adjourned to the " 5th of March next inſuing, and that he would " cauſe them to meet, as ſoon as he judged the " good of the nation required it."

Affairs of Ireland.

The commons of England having voted, as we have ſeen above, that 12,000 men ſhould be maintained in Ireland, the parliament of that kingdom applied themſelves to find the neceſſary funds for that purpoſe: and on the 26th of January, the lords-juſtices gave the royal aſſent, 1. " To an " act for raiſing 120,000 l. on all lands, tenements " and hereditaments, in Ireland. 2. An act to " compleat the ſupply to his Majeſty, and to build " and finiſh the barracks. 3. An act for laying an " additional duty upon woollen manufactures export- " ed out of that kingdom. 4. An act for making " improvements on church-lands. 5. An act for " confirming eſtates and poſſeſſions injoyed under " the acts of ſettlement and explanation. 6. An act " for the preſervation of the game. 7. An act " againſt deceitful, diſorderly and exceſſive gaming. " 8. An act for planting and preſerving timber- " trees. 9. An act to prevent Papiſts being ſolli- " citors. 10. An act for determining differences by " arbitration. 11. An act for explaining an act for " confirming the acts of ſettlement and explana- " tion. 12. An act to hinder the reverſal of ſeveral " outlawries." And to ſome other as well private as public bills.

Spencer Cowper's

While the King was abroad, a remarkable trial came on at Hertford, which, at that time, was ſo much the converſation of the town, that it might be look'd upon as a neglect to paſs it by wholly in ſilence; I mean that of Spencer Cowper, eſq; then an eminent counſel, and afterwards a judge, for the pretended murder of mrs. Sarah Stout, a young Quaker at Hertford. She was not only a client, but an intimate acquaintance of mr. Cowper's, and was, at the ſame time, in great intimacy with his wife. Mr. Cowper coming down to Hertford, as counſel at the Lent aſſizes of this year, came late that night the judge came in, to mrs. Stout's, the mother of the unfortunate young woman, with a deſign, as it was ſaid, to ly at her houſe; but, while his bed was warming, the young lady and he, ſiting by themſelves, in the parlor, had ſome words; upon which he went to his inn and lay there, and ſhe was found, the next morning, drowned, in the river, a little diſtance from the town. The whole body of Quakers, thereupon, pretended, Cowper had hired certain perſons, who came with him to Hertford, to murder her, if he had not a hand in it himſelf; and being indicted, he was tried for it accordingly: preſumptions were likewiſe ſo ſtrong againſt him, that all his eloquence, in his own defence, with that of his brother, afterwards lord chancelor, for him, and the joint intereſt they had in that country, were but barely ſufficient to bring him off. Being, however, acquited, a writ of appeal was lodg'd againſt him: but on occaſion of ſome practices to deſtroy it, that affair came before the court of King's-bench, where it dropp'd: upon this, the whole body of Quakers indeavor'd to revive it by an act of parliament, in order to try him again: but, on this occaſion, it appeared, that the intereſt of the Cowper's was more powerful than that of the Quakers, for their petition was rejected: for farther particulars, I ſhall refer the reader to the ſtate-trials (1).

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Before I return to his Majeſty in Holland, I ſhall ſay a word or two of maritime affairs: I juſt hinted, among the tranſactions of the foregoing year, that rear-admiral Bembow ſailed the 20th of November, with a ſmall ſquadron, for the Weſt-Indies: his inſtructions were to viſit Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Caribbee-iſlands, and ſo to imploy the ſhips under his command, as might be moſt proper, for the defenſe of the trade and plantations: he was, likewiſe, inſtructed to demand ſatisfaction of the Spaniards, for ſeveral depredations they had commited on our ſhips, goods and men: and as the government was informed, that one Kidd, who ſailed from England, a conſiderable time before, on a private account, in a ſhip called the Adventure-gally, with a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, and power to ſeize on pirats, and their effects, had ſo far broke his inſtructions, and, indeed, the real and only deſign of his voyage, as to commit ſeveral notorious piracies himſelf; the rear-admiral was particularly charged, to make diligent inquiry after him, and to ſeize on and ſecure his perſon, together with his men, ſhip, and effects, that ſo they might be brought to deſerved puniſhment. Maritime affairs.

As the affair of Kidd made, afterwards no little noiſe, and I ſhall have occaſion to make farther mention of it, I ſhall give the reader a brief account, for what reaſon, and in what manner he was ſent to ſea.

Some pirates (ſays biſhop Burnet) had got together in the Indian-ſeas, and robb'd ſome of the Mogul's ſhips, in particular one, which he was ſending with preſents to Mocca; moſt of which pirats were Engliſh. The Eaſt-India-company having repreſented the danger of the Mogul's taking repriſals of them for theſe loſſes, it appeared that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying theſe pirats, who were harboring themſelves in ſome creek in Madagaſcar: ſo a man of war was to be ſet out to deſtroy them, and one Kidd, who knew their haunts, and was thought a proper man for the ſervice, was pitch'd upon to command it: but there was not a fund to

(1) Upon the whole, I do not find it appears, that mr. Cowper was guilty of the murder: it is certain, ſhe was very fond of, and ſome ſay even troubleſome to him: and it was, thereupon ſuggeſted, that the impoſſibility of having him for a huſband, or his ſlighting her, had driven her to deſpair. It was inſinuated, ſome ſay by mr. Cowper's friends, that ſhe was with child by him, and that ſhe drowned herſelf to avoid the ſhame: but the Quakers, to remove this ſcandal, had her opened, and proved, that there was not the leaſt ground for this report. It is highly probable, that matters had not gone this length, eſpecially as the unfortunate young woman did not want good ſenſe to rule her conduct, except in this unhappy inſtance, and generally bore a fair and virtuous character.

bear

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bear the charge of this: for the parliament had ſo appropriated the mony given for the ſea, that no part of it could be applied to this expedition. The King propoſed the management of it by a private undertaking, and ſaid he would lay down three thouſand pounds himſelf, and recommended it to his miniſters to find the reſt: in compliance with this, the lord Sommers, the earls of Orford, Rumney, Bellamount, and ſome others, contributed the whole expence; for the King excuſed himſelf, by reaſon of other accidents, and did not advance the ſum, that he had promiſed: lord Sommers underſtood nothing of the matter, and left it wholly to the management of others, ſo that he never ſaw Kidd, only he thought it became the poſt he was in, to concur in ſuch a public ſervice. A grant was made to the undertakers of all that ſhould be taken from thoſe pirats, by their ſhip. Here was a handle for complaint; for as it was againſt law to take a grant of the goods of any offenders before conviction, ſo a parity between that and this caſe was urged; but without any reaſon: the proviſions of law being very different, in the caſe of pirates, and that of other criminals. The former cannot be attack'd but in the way of war; and, therefore, ſince thoſe, who undertook this, muſt run a great riſk in executing it, it was but reaſonable, and according to the law of war, that they ſhould have a right to all that they found in the enemy's hands; whereas thoſe who ſeize common offenders, have ſuch a ſtrength by the law, to aſſiſt them, and incur ſo little danger in doing it, that no juſt inference can be drawn from the one caſe to the other. When this Kidd was thus ſet out, he turn'd pirate himſelf; ſo a heavy load was caſt on the miniſtry, but chiefly on him, who was at the head of the national affairs; it was ſaid, he ought not to have ingaged in ſuch a project; and alſo maliciouſly inſinuated, that the privateer turned pirate, in confidence of the protection of thoſe who imployed him; if he had not ſecret orders from them for what he did. Such black conſtructions (continues the biſhop) are men, who are ingaged in parties, apt to make of the actions of thoſe, whom they intend to diſgrace, even againſt their own conſciences: ſo that an undertaking, that was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a deſign for robbery and piracy. This was urged in the houſe of commons as highly criminal, for which all who were concerned in it, ought to be turned out of their imployments; and a queſtion was put upon it: but it was rejected by a great majority.

But to return to rear-admiral Bembow, being arrived at Jamaica, the governor and merchants intreated him to ſail to Puerto-bello, to demand ſatisfaction for the depredations commited by orders of the admiral of the Barlovento-fleet; he ſailed thither accordingly; but to no purpoſe; for tho' after ſome rude treatment at firſt, fair promiſes of ſatisfaction were given him; he was no ſooner departed than they were forgotten and came to nothing. He returned therefore to Jamaica, where having intelligence that captain Kidd was hovering on the coaſt, he went in queſt of him, but without ſucceſs, as he did once more afterwards.

We left King William at the Hague, where having received the compliments of the forein miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, and aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-general, as well as at that of the States of Holland; he left the Hague, on the 22d of June, and went for Loo, where, and at his palace of Dieren he ſpent the ſummer, in his uſual diverſions of hunting and ſhooting. There his Majeſty was waited on by ſeveral embaſſadors from different courts, and received a viſit from the old duke of Zell, who came thither attended with a numerous and magnificent retinue. The duke, having ſpent about a month with King William, departed the 3d of October, N. S. on his return home; and ſoon after his Majeſty came to the Hague, where he again aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-general. The 26th he imbarked on the Maeſe, on board the William and Mary-yacht, landed the next day at Margate, lay that night at Canterbury, and on 18th O. S. arrived at Kenſington.

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King William returns to England.

The 20th, the lord-mayor, recorder, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, waited on the King, to congratulate his ſafe return: on which occaſion, his Majeſty, after having expreſs'd his favorable acceptance of their affections, earneſtly recommended to them the vigorous execution of the laws againſt all ſorts of prophaneneſs and debauchery, and the relief of the poor; and then confer'd the honor of knighthood upon Charles Duncomb and Jeffery Jefferies, eſqs; the two ſheriffs, and William Withers, eſq; alderman. The biſhop of London, at the head of the clergy of London and Middleſex, likewiſe, waited on his Majeſty, to congratulate his happy arrival.

Is complimented by the city;

And the clergy.

The 24th, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and was farther prorogued to the 16th of November; and, the next day, his Majeſty conferr'd the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been ſome time vacant, on his grace the duke of Shrewſbury.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord-chamberlain.

The 16th the parliament met, when the King being come to the houſe of lords, and the commons ſent for up, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I hope you will not think I have called you " out of your countries too ſoon, if you conſider " that our common ſecurity requires a farther pro- " viſion ſhould be made for the ſafety of the king- " dom, by ſea and land, before we are at the end of " what was granted for that purpoſe, the laſt ſeſſion: " and when you enter upon this buſineſs, I believe " you will think it neceſſary to take care of the re- " pairs of the ſhips and of the fortifications, without " which our fleet cannot be ſafe, when it is in " harbor.

" I cannot omit to put you in mind of another " matter, in which ſo great a number of my ſub- " jects is concerned, and wherein the honor of the " kingdom, and the faith of parliaments, is ſo far " ingag'd, that our future ſecurity ſeems to depend " upon it; I mean the making good the deficiences " of the funds, and the diſcharging the debts con- " tracted by reaſon of the war.

" And 'till we may be ſo happy, to ſee the pub- " lic debt paid, I ſhall hope no ſeſſion will end, " without ſomething done towards leſſening them: " while I am ſpeaking to you on this head, I " think myſelf obliged to mention, with a very " particular concern, a debt which is owing to the " Prince of Denmark, the ſtate whereof I have or- " dered to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" Theſe things are of ſuch importance, that I " moſt earneſtly recommend them to your conſide- " ration, and deſire you to provide the neceſſary " ſupplies.

My lords and Gentlemen,

" There is nothing I ſhould more rejoice in, " than that I was not under the neceſſity of ſo often " aſking aids of my people; but, as the reaſon of " it is evident, becauſe the funds formerly applied " to defray the public expence, are now anticipated " for payment of the debts of the kingdom; ſo it " is to my ſatisfaction, that you all ſee, that no- " thing of what is demanded is for any perſonal uſe " of mine, and I do faithfully aſſure you, that no " part of what is given ſhall be diverted from any " purpoſe for what it is deſign'd.

" I believe the nation is already ſenſible of the

" good

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" good effects of peace, by the manifeſt increaſe of " trade, which I ſhall make it my buſineſs to in- " courage by all the means in my power. Probably " it might receive an advantage, if ſome good bill " were prepared for the more effectual preventing " and puniſhing unlawful and clandeſtine trading, " which does not only tend to defraud the public, " but prejudices the fair merchant, and diſcourages " our own manufactures.

" The increaſe of the poor is become a burden " to the kingdom, and their looſe and idle lives do, " in ſome meaſure, contribute to that depravation " of manners, which is complained of (I fear with " too much reaſon.) Whether the ground of this " evil be from defects in the laws already made, or " in the execution of them, deſerves your conſide- " ration. As it is an indiſpenſable duty, that the " poor, who are not able to help themſelves, ſhould " be maintain'd; ſo I cannot but think it extreamly " deſirable, that ſuch as are able and willing ſhould " not want imployment; and ſuch as are obſtinate " and unwilling ſhould be compell'd to labor.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have a full aſſurance of the good affections of " my people, which I ſhall indeavour to preſerve " by a conſtant care of their juſt rights and liberties; " by maintaining the eſtabliſh'd religion; by ſeeing " the courſe of juſtice kept ſteady and equal; by " countenancing virtue and diſcouraging vice, and " by declining no difficulty or dangers where their " welfare and proſperity may be concern'd. Theſe " are my reſolutions; and I am perſuaded, that you " are come together, with purpoſes on your part, " ſuitable to theſe on mine. Since then our aims " are only for the general good, let us act with con- " fidence in one another, which will not fail, by " God's bleſſing, to make me a happy King, and " you a great and flouriſhing people."

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons took 'till the 4th of December, before they addreſs'd the King, and then did it in the following manner: they ſet forth; " that no- " thing being more neceſſary for the peace and wel- " fare of this kingdom, the quieting the minds of " his people, and diſappointing the deſigns of his " enemies, than a mutual and intire confidence, be- " tween his Majeſty and his parliament, they did " eſteem it their greateſt misfortune, that after ha- " ving ſo amply provided for the ſecurity of his " Majeſty and his government, both by ſea and " land, any jealouſy or diſtruſt had been raiſed of " their duty and affection to his ſacred Majeſty and " his people; and begg'd leave humbly to repreſent " to his Majeſty, that it would greatly conduce to " the continuing and eſtabliſhing an intire confidence " between his Majeſty and his parliament, that he " would be pleaſed to ſhew marks of his high diſ- " pleaſure, towards all ſuch perſons who had or " ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings " to his Majeſty: and that the commons, having, " likewiſe, a due ſenſe of the great care and concern " his Majeſty had always expreſs'd for preſerving " and maintaining the religion, laws and liber- " ties of his people (in defence of which his Ma- " jeſty had ſo often expoſed his royal perſon) would " uſe their utmoſt care and indeavors, to prevent " and diſcourage all falſe rumors and reports, reflect- " ing upon his Majeſty and his government, where- " by to create any miſunderſtandings between him " and his ſubjects. (1).

To this addreſs his Majeſty returned the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

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" My parliament have done ſo great things for " me, and I have, upon all proper occaſions, ex- " preſs'd ſo great a ſenſe of their kindneſs, and my " opinion has been ſo often declared, that the hap- " pineſs of an Engliſh King depends upon an intire " good correſpondence between him and his parlia- " ment, that it can't ſeem ſtrange for me to aſſure " you, that no perſons have yet dar'd to go about " to miſrepreſent to me the proceedings of either " houſe: had I found any ſuch, they would have " immediately felt the higheſt marks of my diſplea- " ſure. It is a juſtice I owe not only to my parlia- " ments, but to every one of my ſubjects, to judge " of them by their actions, and this rule I will " ſteadily purſue. If any hereafter ſhall attempt to " put me on other methods, by calumnies or miſ- " repreſentations, they will not only fail of ſucceſs, " but ſhall be look'd upon and treated by me as my " worſt enemies.

The King's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

" I am pleaſed to ſee, by your addreſs, that you have " the ſame thoughts of the great advantages which " will inſue to the kingdom, by our mutual confi- " dence, as I expreſs'd to both houſes, at the open- " ing of the ſeſſion. I take very kindly the aſſurance " you give me of uſing your utmoſt care and in- " deavors, to prevent and diſcourage all falſe ru- " mors and reports, reflecting upon me, and my " government; and I faithfully promiſe you, that " no actions of mine ſhall give a juſt ground for any " miſunderſtanding between me and my people."

What ſincerity there was in theſe fine compliments, on both ſides, the reader will beſt ſee by what follows:

The Iriſh forfeitures reſumed.

The firſt buſineſs the commons went upon was to conſider the report of the ſeven commiſſioners, appointed by them, the laſt ſeſſions, to take an account of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, who were the earl of Drogheda, Francis Anneſly, eſq; John Trenchard, eſq; James Hamilton, eſq; Henry Langford, eſq; ſir Richard Leving, and ſir Francis Brewſter.

Theſe gentlemen having put their commiſſion in execution, with great ſtrictneſs and application, framed a report, which was preſented to the commons, by mr. Anneſly, wherein they ſet forth, among other things:

Report of the commiſſioners

" That they met with great difficulties in their " inquiry, which were occaſioned chiefly, by the " backwardneſs of the people of Ireland, to give " any information, out of fear of the grantees, " whoſe diſpleaſure in that kingdom was not eaſily " born, and by reports induſtriouſly ſpread and be- " lieved, that their inquiry would come to nothing: " nevertheleſs it appeared to them, that the perſons " outlaw'd in England, ſince the 13th of February, " 1688, on account of the late rebellion there, a- " mounted to fifty-ſeven, and in Ireland to 3921. " That all the lands, in the ſeveral counties in Ire- " land, belonging to the forfeiting perſons, as far " as they could reckon, made 1,060,792 acres, " worth, per annum, 211,623 l. which (by comput- " tation of ſix years purchaſe for a life, and thir- " teen years for the inheritance, which was at this " time the value of the lands of that kingdom) " came to the full value of 2,685,130 l. Beſide " the ſeveral denominations, in the ſeveral counties, " to which no number of acres could be added, be- " cauſe of the imperfection of ſurveys. Likewiſe, " a great number of houſes, mills, fairs, mar- " kets, rectories and tithes, ferries and fiſheries.

(1) By this addreſs it is plain, that his Majeſty's ſpeech, ſtudied and elaborate as it was, had not removed the ill impreſſions, which the diſſatisfaction he expreſs'd at the proceedings of the parliament, when he laſt parted with them, had left in their minds; and that they took his advice of " acting with confidence in one another," as an implication of a diſtruſt or want of confidence in them.

Will' III. An' 1699.

" That ſome of thoſe lands had been reſtored to the " old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Li- " merick and Galway, and by his Majeſty's favor, " and by reverſal of outlawries and royal pardons, " obtained chiefly by gratifications to ſuch perſons " as had abuſed his Majeſty's royal bounty and " compaſſion: beſide theſe reſtitutions, which they " thought to be corruptly procured, they gave an " account of ſeventy-ſix grants and cuſtodiams, un- " der the great ſeal of Ireland: as, to the lord " Romney, three grants now in being, containing " 49,517 acres: to the earl of Albemarle, in two " grants, 108,633 acres, in poſſeſſion and reverſion: " to William Bentinck, eſq; lord Woodſtock, " 135,820 acres of land: to the earl of Athlone two " grants, containing 26,480 acres: to the earl of " Galway, one grant of 36,148 acres, and to ma- " ny others: wherein, they obſerved, that the " eſtates ſo mentioned did not yield ſo much to the " grantees, as they were here valued at; becauſe as " moſt of them had abuſed his Majeſty, in the real " value of their eſtates, ſo their agents had impoſed " on them, and had either ſold or let the greateſt " part of thoſe lands at an under-value. But after " all deductions and allowances, there yet remain'd, " 1,699,343 l. 14 s. which they laid before the " commons, as the groſs value of the eſtates, ſince " the 13th of February, and not reſtored: beſide " a grant, under the great ſeal of Ireland, dated " the 30th day of May 1695, paſſed to mrs. " Elizabeth Villiers, now counteſs of Orkney, of " all the private eſtates of the late King (except " ſome ſmall part, in grant to the lord Athlone) con- " taining 95,649 acres, worth per annum 25,995 l. " 18 s. Total value, 331,943 l. 9 s. concluding " that there was payable, out of this eſtate, " 2000 l. per annum, to the lady Suſanna Bellaſis, " and alſo 1000 l. per annum, to mrs. Godfrey, for " their lives, and that almoſt all the old leaſes deter- " mined in May 1701, and then this eſtate would " anſwer the value, abovemention'd. Sign'd,

Francis Annſly,
John Trenchard,
James Hamilton,
Henry Langford.

Votes thereupon.

The commons having read and examined this report, came, on the 15th of December, to an unanimous reſolution, " that a bill be brought in to ap- " ply all the forfeited eſtates and intereſts in Ireland, " and all grants thereof, and of the rents and re- " venues belonging to the crown within that king- " dom, ſince the 13th of February 1688, to the " uſe of the public;" and ordered a clauſe to be inſerted in that bill, " for erecting a judicature for " determining claims touching the ſaid forfeited " eſtates;" they likewiſe reſolved, that they would " not receive any petition, from any perſon whom- " ſoever, touching the ſaid grants or forfeited eſtates, " and that they would take into conſideration the " great ſervices performed by the commiſſioners " appointed to inquire into the forfeited eſtates of " Ireland."

A remarkable paſſage.

Sir Richard Leving, one of the commiſſioners of the forfeited eſtates, having raiſed a report, that while they were in Ireland, executing their commiſſion, a member of the commons wrote to them, that they ſhould make a ſeparate article of the grant to the lady Orkney (which they accordingly did) becauſe it would reflect upon ſomebody (meaning the King); ſir Richard, and ſome of the King's friends infer'd from thence, that this inquiry into the grants of the forfeited eſtates was intended only to caſt an aſperſion on his Majeſty, and therefore, it ought to be droped (1): but upon examining the matter, the reſt of the commiſſioners declared, " they had received no ſuch letter: whereupon, the " commons reſolved: that the ſaid report was falſe " and ſcandalous; that the commiſſioners, who " had ſigned the report, had acquited themſelves " in the execution of their commiſſion, with un- " derſtanding, courage and integrity; and that " ſir Richard Leving had been the author of that " groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion, caſt on the " ſaid four commiſſioners, and that he ſhould be " commited to the Tower for the ſaid offenſe.

Will' III. An' 1699.

Farther votes thereupon.

Upon the ſecond reading of the bill " for ap- " plying the Iriſh forfeitures to the uſe of the pub- " lic," and commiting it to the committee of the whole houſe, the courtiers made a motion, and cauſed the queſtion to be put, " that the ſaid com- " mittee be impowered to receive a clauſe, for re- " ſerving a proportion of the forfeited eſtates in " Ireland to the diſpoſal of his Majeſty;" which paſſing in the negative, it was reſolved; " that the " adviſing, procuring and paſſing the ſaid grants " of the forfeited and other eſtates, in Ireland, " had been the occaſion of contracting great debts " on the nation, and levying heavy taxes on the " people; that the adviſing and paſſing the ſaid " grants was highly reflecting on the King's honor; " and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in " the procuring and paſſing theſe grants, had highly " failed in the performance of their duty and truſt."

During theſe tranſactions, the commons had, at ſeveral times, made the following reſolutions, viz.

Buſineſs of the ſupply.

On the 6th of December, " that the ſum of " 76,383 l. now remaining in the exchequer, on " the account of the ſubſidy of tonage and poun- " dage, with what ſhould ariſe from the ſaid fund, " to the 25th of that month, ſhould be applied to- " wards the payment of ſeamens wages: that " whoſoever ſhould advance or lend a ſum, not " exceeding 220,000 l. for the farther paying of " ſeamens wages, ſhould receive the ſame, with " intereſt at 5 l. per cent. per annum, out of the " firſt aid to be granted this ſeſſion. The 21ſt, " that 7000 men be a complement for ſea-ſervice, " for the year 1700, for thirteen months; and that " the uſual pay of 4 l. per month be allowed for " the maintaining the ſaid 7000 men, including the " ordnance for ſea-ſervice." The 16th of January, An' 1700. they reſolved, " that 18,000 l. be allowed for " bounty-mony, to the officers of the fleet, and " 90,000 l. for the extraordinaries of the navy. " The 21ſt, that 300,000 l. be granted to his Ma- " jeſty for maintaining guards and gariſons, and " 25,000 l. for the office of ordnance for the year " 1700, and that half-pay be allowed to the diſ- " banded officers not otherwiſe provided for.

Ways and Means.

To raiſe the ſupply already granted, the commons reſolved, the 26th, to lay a tax of two ſhillings in the pound, " upon all lands, penſions, offices and " perſonal eſtates," and appointed a day, " to " conſider of the grants made ſince the ſetling of the " civil liſt upon his Majeſty." The firſt of February, the bill for levying the 2 s. aid was read a ſecond time, and commited to a commitee of the whole houſe, to whom the bill for reſuming the forfeited eſtates in Ireland was alſo committed, and who were ordered to join both the ſaid bills together, and to receive a clauſe of credit, and another of appropriation. The 5th, the houſe being informed, that ſeveral grantees of forfeited eſtates in Ireland, were felling timber, and commiting other waſtes, they reſolved, that ſuch perſons ſhould be anſwerable for the ſame, and directed the committee of the whole houſe, to inſert a clauſe in the afore-mentioned bill of reſumption, for the ſaid purpoſe. Theſe ſteps being taken, the commons reſolved, the next day, " to grant a ſupply to his

The reſumption bill tack'd to the mony bill.

(1) It is eaſy to imagine (ſays the author of King William III, Vol. 3. p. 421) how ill theſe proceedings were reliſhed at court: but it is hardly to be conceived how uneaſy the King was about this paſſage.

" Majeſty

WILL' III. AN' 1700.

The ſtate of the nation conſidered.

" Majeſty, for diſcharging the debt due to the army. The 13th, the commons, in a grand committee, conſidered the ſtate of the nation, and a motion was made, and the queſtion put; " That the pro- " curing or obtaining of grants of eſtates, belong- " ing to the crown, by any public miniſter, con- " cerned in the directing or paſſing ſuch grants, " to or for their own uſe or benefit, while the na- " tion lay under the heavy taxes of the late war, " was highly injurious to his Majeſty, prejudicial " to the ſtate, and a violation of the truſt repoſed " in them;" but the court-party had ſo much in- fluence, to get this queſtion carried in the ne- gative: however, they gave, at the ſame time, their conſent, to an order for bringing in a bill, " to reſume the grants of all lands and revenues " of the crown, and all penſions granted by the " crown, ſince the 6th of February 1684; and " for applying the ſame to the uſe of the public." This order was nevertheleſs of no effect.

Farther proceedings about the forfeitures.

The 17th, the commons proceeded to conſider farther of the ſtate of the nation, when, after a long and warm debate, it was reſolved: " that an ad- " dreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, repreſenting " to him the reſolutions of this houſe, relating to " grants of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland.

A farther ſupply granted.

They reſolved, the ſame day; " that a ſupply be " granted to his Majeſty, towards the payment of " his proportion of the debt owing to the Prince " of Denmark; and the monies to be raiſed to be " laid out in this kingdom, and ſettled upon the " Prince and Princeſs, and their iſſue, according " to their marriage-agreement." They farther reſolved, that an addreſs be preſented to his Ma- jeſty, " that he would pleaſe to uſe his indeavors, " to procure other Princes and States, to pay their " proportions of the debt due to his Royal High- " neſs; and that a ſupply be likewiſe granted to " his Majeſty, for the carrying on the coinage of the " gold and ſilver of this kingdom; for continuing " the contracts and circulating exechequer-bills, " for one year longer; for making good both the " deficiencies of the aid of three ſhillings in the " pound, granted in the 8th year of his Majeſty's " reign; of the duty on paper and parchment, " granted the ſame ſeſſion of parliament; of malt- " tickets, and of the quarterly-poll, granted in " the 9th year of his Majeſty's reign, for paying " off the debt due for tranſport-ſervice; and laſtly, " for the payment of the debt due to the navy, and " the ſick and wounded ſeamen.

Farther ways and means.

Towards raiſing theſe ſupplies, the commons reſolved; " that only one moiety of the ſeveral " duties paid upon the importation of tallow-candles, " from Ireland, be drawn back upon the exporta- " tion thereof: that the forfeited eſtates, and other " intereſts in Ireland, to be veſted in truſtees, for " the benefit of the public, be applied towards ſa- " tisfaction of the ſaid debts, to the army, the " tranſport-debts, and tallies or tickets upon " deficient funds; and that a farther duty be " laid upon wrought ſilks, bengals, and ſtuffs " mixed with ſilks, or herba, of the manufacture " of China, Perſia and Eaſt-India, and all calli- " coes painted, died, printed or ſtained there, un- " till the 30th of September 1701."

Addreſs concerning the forfeited eſtates.

The 21ſt, the commons, in a body, waited upon the King, with their addreſs in relation to the Iriſh forfeitures, to which his Majeſty gave the follow- ing anſwer:

The King's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

" I was not only led by inclination, but thought " myſelf obliged in juſtice, to reward thoſe who " had ſerved well, and particularly in the reduction " of Ireland, out of eſtates forfeited to me by " the rebellion there. The long war, in which " we were ingaged, occaſioned great taxes, and " has left the nation much in debt, and the taking " juſt and effectual ways for leſſening that debt, and " ſupporting public credit, is what, in my opinion, " will beſt contribute to the honor, intereſt and " ſafety of the kingdom.

WILL' III. AN' 1700.

Reſolution of the commons thereupon.

The 26th, the ſpeaker reported this anſwer, at which the commons were ſo provoked, that they reſolved; " that whoever adviſed it had uſed his " utmoſt indeavour to create a miſunderſtanding " and jealouſy between the King and his people."

They likewiſe, reſolved, the ſame day; " that " towards raiſing the ſupply, a duty be laid upon " all hops imported into Ireland, except ſuch as are " of the growth of this kingdom.

Votes concerning the exciſe.

The 1ſt of March, colonel Granville reported from the committee of the whole houſe, who had conſidered the ſtate of his Majeſty's revenue; that it was their opinion, " that there had been a " great loſs in his Majeſty's revenue of exciſe, to " the prejudice of the public;" To this reſo- lution, the houſe agreed, and moreover reſolved; " That it be an inſtruction to the committee of " the whole houſe, to whom the land-tax and " Iriſh forfeiture-bill was commited, that they re- " ceive a clauſe to inable his Majeſty, for the im- " provement of the revenue, to let to farm the " duties of exciſe, if he thought fit; and that it " be an inſtruction alſo, that no member of the " houſe be concerned in the farming or managing " the revenue of exciſe.

The commiſſioners of the Iriſh forfeitures rewarded.

The 7th, the commons reſolved, " that the earl " of Drogheda, Francis Anneſly, John Trenchard, " James Hamilton, Henry Langford, eſq; com- " miſſioners, and James Hooper, eſq; ſecretary of " the commiſſion for inquiring into the Iriſh for- " feitures, ſhould receive, each of them, 1000 l. " for their ſervice, and ſir Richard Leving, and ſir " Francis Brewſter, the other two commiſſioners, " each 500 l. in conſideration of their expenſes; " all which ſums were ordered to be paid out of " the Iriſh forfeitures.

Farther votes concerning the ſupply.

The 12th, the commons came to the following " reſolutions: 1. " That the ſurpluſage, over and " above 700,000 l. of this year's produce of the " ſubſidies, duties and ſmall branches of the revenue " appropriated to the ſervice of his Majeſty's " houſhold, be applied for the ſervice of the " year 1700. 2. That towards the farther raiſing " of the ſupply already granted, the ſum of 60,000 l. " be raiſed, by inlarging the time to purchaſe an- " nuities. 3. That the additional duties of 25 per " cent. on all French goods, and 25 per cent. on all " French wines and brandies; the duty of 5 l. per " ton on all French ſhiping; the Plantation-duties, " and duty of one ſhilling and ten pence per pound " weight, upon all wrought ſilks, be applied for the " ſervice of this preſent year. 4. That a farther duty " be laid upon all wrought ſilks, bengals, and ſtuffs " mixed with ſilk or herba, of the manufacture of " China, Perſia, or Eaſt-India, and all callicoes paint- " ed or ſtained there, imported before the 30th of " September, 1701; of 15 per cent. upon the " groſs ſales at the candle, over and above the " duties now payable for the ſame; and, 5. That a " farther duty of 15 per cent. be laid upon all muſ- " lins imported:" which they ordered to be formed into a bill, with a clauſe for a draw-back of the duties upon Eaſt-India goods, upon the exportation thereof.

Truſtees for Iriſh forfeitures appointed.

The 28th, the commons appointed the following gentlemen, by ballot, to be truſtees for the Iriſh for- feitures, viz. Francis Anneſly, James Hamilton, John Baggs, John Trenchard, James Iſham, Henry Langford, James Hooper, eſquires, ſir Cyril Wyche, John Cary gentleman, ſir Henry Sheeres, Thomas Harriſon, William Fellowes, and Thomas Rawlins, eſquires.

The

Will' III. An' 1700.

The report concerning the forfeitures in Ireland printed.

The bill for granting an aid to his Majeſty, by the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, which, as I have ſaid above, was tacked to the land-tax-bill, having paſſed the houſe of commons, they ordered the report of the commiſſioners of the Iriſh forfeitures to be printed, with all the votes, addreſſes and ſpeeches relating to that affair, from the year 1690 to this time (1).

They, likewiſe, reſolved; "That the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants, by any member now of the privy-council, or by any other that had been a privy-counſellor, in this or any former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanor.

Differences between the two houſes about the forfeiture-bill.

The court-party now found themſelves ſo weak in the houſe of commons, that they ſaw it was impoſſible to effect any thing there; they therefore indeavored to oppoſe the paſſing of the complicated bills in the houſe of lords: and, indeed, that illuſtrious aſſembly, did not ſhew any great diſpoſition to favor it: not only, as they look'd upon it as a reflection on his Majeſty, and as it nearly concerned ſome of their body; but becauſe this method of tacking one bill to another was an innovation in parliamentary proceedings, and had a direct tendency to retrench, at leaſt, if not wholly to diveſt the peers of their ſhare in the legiſlative authority. However, as they could not reject the bill, without leaving the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate unprovided for, they only made great amendments in that part of it which related to the forfeitures, and ſo ſent it back again. The commons having taken theſe amendments into conſideration, on the 8th of April, unanimouſly diſapprov'd of them, and demanded a conference, which was held the next day, and managed with great vehemence and warmth on both ſides. This was followed by two more, with as little ſucceſs: at which the commons were ſo exaſperated, that they were upon the point of taking ſome reſolutions, which would have greatly widen'd the breach; when the King, being inform'd of the high ferment the houſe of commons was in, and apprehending the conſequences, ſent a private meſſage (by the earl of Albemarle) to the lords, deſiring them to paſs the bill without any amendments, which the lords did immediately, and acquainted the commons with it (2).

The bill paſſed.

Inquiry into the commiſſions of peace.

There was another inquiry made this ſeſſion, which, it was thought, was not much more agreeable to the court than the former, and which I have hitherto omited mentioning, to keep my foregoing relation intire, and in one connexion; I mean that concerning the qualifications of the juſtices of peace, and deputy-lieutenants, who had been made for ſeven years laſt paſt.

The committee appointed to make this inquiry reported, that not only many perſons diſſenting from the church of England, but men of ſmall fortunes were put into thoſe places; whereupon the commons addreſſed his Majeſty, repreſenting, "that

Addreſs of the commons, thereupon.

"it muſt conduce much to his ſervice, and the good "of the kingdom, that gentlemen of quality, and "good eſtates, be reſtored, and put into the com-"miſſions of peace and lieutenancy, and that men "of ſmall eſtates be neither continued, nor put "into the ſaid commiſſions.

Will' III. An' 1700.

The King's anſwer.

To which addreſs, his Majeſty anſwered: "he "was of opinion, that men of the beſt quality "and eſtates were the moſt proper to be intruſted in "the commiſſions of the peace and lieutenancy, and "directions ſhould be given accordingly.

This anſwer was ſo pleaſing to the commons, that they returned their thanks to his Majeſty in a body; upon which the King aſſured them, "he "ſhould always indeavor to do what was for the "good of the public."

Diſcontent of the commons.

The condeſcenſion of the lords in paſſing the reſumption-bill, without any amendment, did not, however, wholly appeaſe the commons, who purſuing their reſentment againſt the preſent miniſtry, put the queſtion, "that an addreſs be made to his "Majeſty, to remove John lord Sommers, lord "chancellor of England, from his preſenſe and "councils for ever:" which tho' it was carried in the negative, no doubt, by reaſon of his acknowleged merit and great ſervices; yet it was reſolved, "that an addreſs be made to his Ma-"jeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his "dominions, except his Royal Highneſs, Prince "George of Denmark, be admited to his Majeſty's "councils in England or Ireland."

Acts paſſed.

Not to give the commons time to preſent this diſtaſteful addreſs, the King came to the houſe of lords, the 11th of April, and the commons being ſent for up, gave the royal ſanction to the following bills, viz. 1. "To an act for granting an aid to his Majeſty, by "ſale of the forfeited and other eſtates and intereſts "in Ireland, and by the land-tax in England, for the "ſeveral purpoſes therein mentioned. 2. An act for "laying farther duties upon wrought-ſilks, muſ-"lins, and ſome other commodities of the Eaſt-"Indies, and to inlarge the time for purchaſing "certain reverſionary annuities therein mention-"ed. 3. An act for the more effectual imploying "the poor, by incouraging the manufactures "of this kingdom. 4. An Act for aſcertaining "the meaſures of ale and beer. 5. An act to inable "his Majeſty's natural born ſubjects to inherit the "eſtates of their anceſtors, either lineal or collateral, "notwithſtanding their father or mother were "aliens. 6. An act for preventing frivolous and "vexatious ſuits in the principality of Wales, and "the counties palatine. 7. An act for the better "preſerving the navigation of the rivers Avon and "Froom, and cleanſing, paving, and inlightning the "ſtreets of the city of Briſtol. 8. An act to inable "the mayor and citizens of the city of Cheſter, to "recover and preſerve the navigation on the river "Dee. 9. An act for the farther preventing the "growth of Popery. 10. An act for making the "river Larke, alias Burne, navigable. 11. An act "for the more effectual puniſhment of vagrants, "and ſending them by law whither they ought to be "ſent. 12. An act to prevent diſputes that may "ariſe by officers and members of corporations "having neglected to ſign the aſſociation, and "taking the oaths in due time. 13. An act for the "repair of Dover-harbor. 14. An act to puniſh

(1) Whether the deſign of the houſe of commons, in making theſe matters ſo public, was to juſtify their proceedings, or to expoſe the conduct of the court, I ſhall leave undetermined; but their mentioning, in particular, the King's ſpeech to both houſes, of the 5th of January, 1690, in which he aſſured them, that he ſhould not make any grant of the forfeited lands in England and Ireland, 'till there was an opportunity of ſettling that matter in parliament, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be though moſt expedient, ſeems to have a direct tendency to both.

(2) The conſtancy of the commons in purſuing this matter to the deſigned concluſion, was the occaſion of great clamor againſt them, and of their being accuſed of high ingratitude to our glorious deliverer: I ſhall not enter into a diſcuſſion how far theſe clamors were reaſonable or not: but this I think may be ſaid in juſtification of theſe proceedings, that the nation groaning under a load of debts when theſe conſiderable grants were made; his Majeſty having ſolemnly promiſed not to make any ſuch grants without the conſent of parliament; theſe grants being made chiefly, if not wholly to foreiners, and the Britiſh generals, ſuch as the duke of Ormond, the earl of Marlborough, Douglas, Talmaſh, Cunningham, Cuts and others, who were equally inſtrumental in the reduction of Ireland, being excluded the benefit of them, were powerful motives for the reſumption of theſe grants: but biſhop Burnet was of a different opinion. See hiſtory of his own times, &c.

"governors

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" governors of plantations in this kingdom, for " crimes commited by them in the plantations. " 15. An act for the more effectual suppression of " piracies. 16. An act to repeal an act made in the " ninth year of his Majesty's reign, intitled, an act " for rendring the laws more effectual for prevent- " ing the importation of forein bone-lace, loom-lace, " needle-work, point, and cut-work, three months " after the prohibition of the woollen manufactures " in Flanders shall be taken off. 17. An act for the " better ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax. " 18. An act to inable justices of the peace to build " and repair goals in their respective counties. " 19. An act for continuing several laws therein " mentioned, and for explaining an act, intitled, an " act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the " kingdoms of Ireland and England, into forein " parts, and for the incouragement of the woollen " manufactures of the kingdom of England. 20. An " act for the explanation and better execution of " former acts made touching watermen and wherry- " men, rowing on the river of Thames, and for " the better ordering and governing the said water- " men, wherry-men and lighter-men, upon the said " river, between Gravesend and Windsor. 21. An " act for taking away the duties upon the wool- " len manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biscuit and " meal exported. 22. An act for raising the militia " for the year 1700, altho' the month's pay, for- " merly advanced, be not repaid. 23. An act for the " appointing commissioners to take, examine and " determine the debts due to the army and navy, " and for transport-service; and also an account of " the prizes taken during the late war. 24. An act " to dissolve the duke of Norfolk's marriage with " the lady Mary Mordaunt, and to inable him to " marry again (1). 25. An act for continuing the " governor and company of merchants, trading to " the East-Indies, a corporation" (2). And to several private acts.

Toe parliament prorogued.

This done; his Majesty caused the earl of Bridgwater to prorogue the parliament, to the 23d of May.

Mr. Stephens's sermon, before the house of commons, censured.

Tho' I have now done with the proceedings of this session of parliament, I must not omit taking notice of one passage, which, at that time, made not a little noise; the commons having appointed one mr. Stephens to preach before them, on the 30th of January, that minister, instead of asserting the rights and prerogatives of Monarchy, and suiting his sermon to the occasion, exalted the power of the people; preach'd up the exploded opinions that were the first cause of the murder of King Charles I; and would have persuaded his honorable auditors, that the observation of this fast should be utterly abolish'd: beside which it was remark'd, that he omited praying for the parliament, and every branch of the royal family. The next day, a motion being made, and the question put, " that the thanks of the house be " given to mr. Stephens for his sermon," it was carried in the negative, and resolved; " that, for " the future, no person be recommended to preach " before the house, who is under the dignity of a " dean of the church, and has not taken the degree " of doctor in divinity."

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The electoral Prince of Bavaria happening to dy, during this session of parliament (viz. on the 6th of February) the earls of Portland and Jersey were appointed by the King, as his Majesty's plenipotentiaries, for agitating and concluding a new treaty of partition. By this treaty, which was agreed upon the 15th of March, between the English and the Dutch, on the one part, and the French, on the other, it was stipulated; " that Spain, Flanders, and the " West-Indies, which by the former treaty, had " been alloted to the Prince of Bavaria, should de- " volve to the arch-duke Charles, the Emperor's " second son; that Naples and Sicily, with the rest " of the Spanish places on the coast of Italy, as like- " wise the province of Guipuscoa, should be assign'd " to the Dauphin; that Lorain should be annex'd " to France, the duchy of Milan be confer'd on the " duke of Lorain, and the county of Bitsche to the " Prince of Vaudemont (3).

A second treaty of partition.

The King, in the mean time, observing the stream to run so strong against the lord Sommers, that it was a matter of doubt, with him, whether he should be able to stem it, resolved, immediately after the parliament was prorogued, to send the earl of Portland, to the lord chancellor Sommers, to demand the great seal from him (4): and, on the 21st of May, commited the custody of it to sir Nathan Wright, one of his Majesty's serjeants at law, with the title of lord-keeper, who, thereupon, by virtue of his office, took his place in the privy council.

The great seal taken from the lord Sommers;

And given to sir Nathan Wright.

The 14th of the same month, his Majesty admited the earl of Albemarle into the most noble order of the Garter: but to avoid the censure of shewing partiality to a foreiner, that honor was, at the same time, bestow'd on the earl of Pembroke (5).

Knights of the garter made.

On Midsummer-day, the King was pleased to constitute Edward, earl of Jersey, lord chamberlain; Henry, earl of Romney, groom of the stole, and the earl of Carlisle, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. The 27th, his Majesty declared in council; that the public affairs requiring his going over to Holland, he had appointed the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord-keeper of the great-seal; the lord president of the council; the viscount Lonsdale, lord privy-seal; the lord-steward, and the lord-chamberlain of his houshold; the earl of Bridgwater, first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governor to his Highness the duke of Glocester, and the earl of Tankerville, first commissioner of the treasury, to be lords-justices of England, for the administration of the government during his absense.

Lords justices appointed.

July the 24th, his Majesty set out from Hampton-

The King goes to Holland.

(1) The duke of Norfolk met with the less difficulty in geting this act pass'd, becaufe of the precedent in the case of the earl of Macclesfield: and having beside proved, by several unquestionable witnesses, that his duchess lived with sir John Germain, as his wife, at a house they hired at Vaux-hall, and at his lodgings in the Cock-pit, for several years: however, the duke made no advantage of that provision in the act, which inabled him to marry again: but dying some time after, the duchess married sir John Germain, and she was the more acceptable to him, as, by this act, her fortune was returned her. For farther particulars I refer to the State-trials.

(2) The old East-India-company laid hold of this favorable opportunity of the country-party prevailing in the house of commons, to get this bill pass'd, in which they succeeded, notwithstanding all the opposition of the new East-India-company, and the indeavors of the courtiers.

(3) It was again remark'd, and gave occasion to some murmuring, that this treaty was kept a secret, both to the parliament and the privy council: and this murmuring (says the author of the continuation of Rapin, in French) was very much increas'd by the insinuations of the Spanish embassadors, here and in Holland, as well against this as the former treaty.

(4.) It has been matter of dispute, whether the King gained or lost friends by this change: but I think the latter is almost evident: for tho' the lord Sommers had been attack'd by the commons, yet the majority of that house had stood warmly up in his defence: and as the abandoning so faithful a minister could not but discourage others from imbracing his Majesty's service heartily; so his yielding so tamely, to the negative resolves of the house of commons, could not but lay him open to more vigorous attacks.

(5) This could not, however, remove the general dislike conceived on this occasion; and it was remark'd, that tho' the instal- lation of the two new knights was performed at Windsor, on the 5th of June, with great splendor, yet few of the nobility graced the ceremony with their presense, and very severe reflections were thrown upon his Majesty on this occasion.

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court, and, the next day imbark'd at Margate, for Holland, where he arrived the 7th of the ſame month. I come now to the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

During the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament of England, the affairs of Scotland, likewiſe, gave his Majeſty no ſmall uneaſineſs: an addreſs was deſign'd to be preſented to the King by the lord Baſil Hamilton, concerning the Scotiſh Eaſt-India-company: but tho' his Majeſty declared his willingneſs to receive the petition; yet he would not allow the lord Baſil to be the preſenter of it: becauſe he did not wait upon his Majeſty, when he was formerly in London, nor had ever ſince given any public evidence of his loyalty, or had even, hitherto, own'd his Majeſty's right to the throne (1).

The houſe of peers, in England, thought fit, likewiſe, to concern themſelves in this affair, and to addreſs the King againſt the Scots ſettlement at Darien, in America; but the commons would not join with them, in that addreſs; in anſwer to which, his Majeſty propoſed a union between the two kingdoms, which would prevent all diſputes of this nature for the future. The lords accordingly brought in a bill, for authorizing commiſſioners of England, to treat with commiſſioners of Scotland on that ſubject: but the commons refuſing their concurence, the bill drop'd. In the mean time, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's proclamation, iſſued out in Scotland, againſt diſorderly petitioning, the Scots went on with a national addreſs to his Majeſty, which was preſented by the marquis of Tweedale, the 25th of March, in which having, among other things, again preſs'd the ſiting of a parliament in Scotland, his Majeſty appointed the 21ſt of May for that purpoſe, and conſtituted the duke of Queenſborough his high-commiſſioner.

The parliament being met accordingly, his Majeſty's letter was read to that aſſembly; in which he told them; "he did intend to have held that ſeſſion "in perſon, but the preſent circumſtances of affairs "abroad would not allow it; that it would be ne-"ceſſary to keep up the forces they had already, "and deſired ſupplies accordingly: he ſaid he was "heartily ſorry for the loſſes the nation had ſuſtain'd "in their trade: but recommended to them the in-"couraging their manufactures, and the improving "the native product of the kingdom, which was "not only the ſureſt foundation of the forein trade, "but would be an effectual way of providing for the "poor. He aſſured them, he would maintain their "laws, liberties and kirk-government; recom-"mended the preventing the growth of Popery, "and diſcouraging of vice and immorality; con-"cluding with an aſſurance of his favor and pro-"tection.

After the reading of this letter, the lord high-commiſſioner made a ſpeech, as did, likewiſe, the lord Marchmont, lord high chancellor; which done the houſe adjourned to the 24th. The 26th, a ſharp repreſentation came to the parliament from the council-general of the African and India-company, containing a tedious rehearſal of their loſſes, diſappointments, and grievances: which repreſentation was back'd the next day, by an addreſs from the ſhire of Haddington, importing; "that after a long and "expenſive war, they expected to have injoyed the "bleſſing of a happily concluded peace, by the "eſtabliſhment of their forein trade; incouragement "of home-manufactures; imploying the poor in the "improvement of their native product, and the "leſſening of their public burdens: but that, inſtead "thereof, to their unſpeakable loſs, and almoſt "ruin of the nation, they found their trade abroad "ſenſibly decay'd, and their coin carried out by the "importation of commodities, from places where "theirs were prohibited: that their woollen and other "manufactures at home, received not the incourage-"ment which the good of the country required: and "more eſpecially, that their company, trading to "Africa and the Indies, met with ſo much oppoſition "from abroad, and got ſo little ſupport at home, "that, after ſo great a loſs of men, and expence of "treaſure, it was too probable, that their ſettlement "in Caledonia (or Darien) would fall, a ſecond time, "under the ſame unlucky circumſtances as at firſt, if "not prevented: that yet, after all thoſe hardſhips "the nation groan'd under, numerous forces were "kept on foot, which occaſion'd them, in time of "peace, heavy and unneceſſary taxes, while their "much wealthier neighbors diſbanded theirs.

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This addreſs, and ſeveral others of the like tendency, being read, it was moved to reſolve; "that "the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and "rightful ſettlement, and that the parliament would "maintain and ſupport the ſame." The high-commiſſioner obſerving, that this reſolution was likely to be carried, adjourn'd the parliament for three days, and at their next meeting again for twenty days: Upon which a majority of members met that evening, and ſign'd an addreſs to his Majeſty, "complaining of their having been interrupted by a "ſudden adjournment, while they were debating a "motion concerning their colony at Darien, which "was contrary to an act of parliament of the 11th "of King James VI, which inacted, that nothing "ſhould be done or commanded, which might di-"rectly or indirectly prejudice the liberty of free "voting and reaſoning of the eſtates of parliament; "nor was the adjournment for twenty days con-"ſiſtent with their claim of right: wherein it was "declared, that parliaments ought to be frequently "call'd, allow'd to ſit, and the freedom of ſpeech "and debate ſecured to the members. They, there-"fore, earneſtly intreated his Majeſty, that he "would be pleaſed to allow his parliament, to meet "on the day to which it was adjourned, and to ſit "as long as might be neceſſary for redreſſing the "grievances of the nation.

The King, in anſwer to this addreſs, only ſaid, he would conſider of it; and being preſs'd by the lord Roſs, and the reſt of the commiſſioners ſent up with this addreſs, for a farther anſwer, he replied, "that he "could give no anſwer to their petition, at that time; "but they ſhould know his intentions in Scotland." He then adjourned the parliament farther, by proclamation, and, on the 26th of July, directed a letter to the duke of Queenſborough, and the privy-council of Scotland, which letter was publiſh'd in the nature of a proclamation, and in which he told them: "that he was ſorry for the nation's loſs, and would "do all that lay in his power to repair it: but it "was not poſſible for him to agree to the "reſolve offer'd, to aſſert the right of the Eaſt-In-"dia company's colony in America, concluding, "that his neceſſary abſenſe had occaſioned the laſt "adjournment: but as ſoon as God ſhould bring "him back from Holland, he was fully reſolved "they ſhould meet again." In this the King was

(1) How much the Scots reſented this refuſal, the reader may ſee by the letter the directors of their company wrote to this lord, in which, among other things they ſay: "they could not but heartily regret, that the carrying the company's commiſſion "ſhould be the occaſion of puting a diſtinguiſhing mark upon a perſon of his lordſhip's quality and merit, as to be denied acceſs "to his Majeſty's perſon, becauſe he had not waited on his Majeſty when laſt in London. That no body was ſo blind but might "ſee thro' it: and that whereas they never heard, that his lordſhip had ever done any thing unworthy of his quality, or incon-"ſiſtent with the duty of a loyal and peaceable ſubject; ſo they ſtill hoped his Majeſty might be undeceived of any miſrepreſenta-"tion he might have of him."

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as good, or rather better than his word; for, before his return, his Majeſty allowed the parliament of that kingdom to meet, on the 28th of October, and ſent them a letter from Loo, in which, among other things, he told them, "he was greatly concerned at "his not being able to aſſert the company's right of "eſtabliſhing a colony at Darien, without diſturb-"ing the peace of Chriſtendom, and bringing that "ancient kingdom into an inevitable war, without "hopes of aſſiſtance."

During this interval, the Scots received the melancholy news of their people's having abandon'd, or rather ſurrender'd their new ſettlement at Darien, to the Spaniards. This occaſion'd the company to repreſent to the parliament, the firſt day of their ſeſſion; "that for want of due protection abroad, "ſome perſons had been incouraged to break in up-"on their privileges even at home." This repreſentation was back'd by a national addreſs, ſetting forth their grievances; which being preſented to the King, on the 16th of November, his Majeſty anſwered thereto; "that he could not take farther "notice of it, becauſe the parliament was then ſit-"ing, and he had made a declaration of his mind for "the good of his people, with which he hoped all "his faithful ſubjects would be ſatisfied."

The parliament having ſat near three months, at length, notwithſtanding ſome heats about the miſcarriage of their ſettlement at Darien, they came, the 21ſt of January, to the reſolution; "that in con-"ſideration of their great deliverance by his Ma-"jeſty, and that, next under GOD, their ſafety and "happineſs depended wholly on his preſervation, "and that of his government, they would ſupport "both to the utmoſt of their power, and maintain "ſuch forces, as ſhould be requiſite for thoſe ends."

Soon after, the lord high-commiſſioner gave the royal aſſent, "to an act for keeping on foot 3000 "men till the firſt of December 1702, and to ano-"ther for a land-tax to maintain thoſe troops;" which done, he communicated the King's letter, in which it was deſired he might have 1100 men on his own account, to the firſt of June following, which being readily complied with, the parliament was prorogued to the 6th of May.

Death of the duke of Glouceſter.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, England met with a very ſenſible affliction, in the death of that hopeful Prince, William, duke of Glouceſter, who departed this life, the 29th of July, ſoon after the King went for Holland (1).

Maritime affairs.

I proceed now to give a brief account of the maritime tranſactions of this ſummer, which, ſo far as they immediately concern'd the Engliſh nation, conſiſted chiefly in ſending of ſeveral ſmall ſquadrons abroad; as, one under the command of vice-admiral Aylmer, in the Mediterranean, for the ſecurity of the trade to Turky and Italy, and to confirm the treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli.

A ſquadron ſent to the Mediterranean.

And others to Newfoundland.

Captain Andrew Leake, and after him, captain Stafford Fairborn, were ſent to Newfoundland, for the ſecurity of our fiſhery there, and to convoy our ſhips from thence to Portugal, and the Mediterranean, and back again.

Captain Warren ſent with a ſquadron to the Eaſt-Indies.

Another ſmall ſquadron was ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, under the command of captain Thomas Warren, for the greater ſecurity of that rich trade, and ſuppreſſing pirates in thoſe parts. But after theſe ſhips had continued a long time there, to the great expence of the public, and captain Warren dying there, they returned under the command of captain James Littleton, who had the good fortune to burn or deſtroy ſome of the ſhips belonging to theſe pirates, in their lurking holes.

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Another ſmall ſquadron was ſent before Sallee, in the kingdom of Fez, under the command of captain John Munden, to cruiſe againſt the pirates of Barbary, eſpecially thoſe of that port.

But the moſt material maritime tranſactions of this year was ſir George Rooke's expedition to the Baltick, to reconcile the Kings of Sweden and Denmark.

Sir George Rooke's expedition to the Baltick.

The differences which ſubſiſted, at this time, between the two Northern crowns, being likely to prove of very ill conſequence to the affairs of Europe, ſir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, received orders, in the month of November, of the foregoing year, to take upon him the command of a ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips, which were to be joined by ſeveral Dutch ſhips, and afterwards by the Swediſh fleet, in the Baltick, in order to compoſe theſe differences. Admiral Allemonde joined ſir George Rooke, the 24th of May, off of Scheveling, with five ſhips of the line, a frigat, a fire-ſhip, and two bomb-veſſels, and ſoon after rear-admiral Vanderduſſen came to the fleet, with the reſt of the Dutch ſhips; upon which, the united fleet ſailed for Gottenburg, off of which place they arrived the 8th of June. Here it was determined in a council of war, to advance towards the Sound, tho' they were informed the Daniſh fleet was ſo ſtationed, that they might be able to make ſome oppoſition, and ſo indeed they found them, at their arrival there (2).

Not long after, a ſignal was made, as was agreed, from Helſingburg, that the Daniſh fleet were under ſail: whereupon our admiral weighed, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any miſchief, which might otherwiſe happen to the Swedes: but the Daniſh ſhips anchored again, on this ſide of the Grounds, not only to guard the paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the Swediſh ſquadron, which was now come down to the South-ſide of that channel.

The fleets continued in this poſture for ſome time, and ſir George Rooke expected the Swedes would have puſhed thro'; but they having miſſed an opportunity which offered, he got under ſail, and came near to the iſland of Ween, while the Danes plied towards him, in a line of battle; but about noon, they anchored about three leagues off, at the entrance of the channel, which leads to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were on the other ſide of the Grounds, at about the ſame diſtance. The Swediſh fleet having paſſed the channel of Flinterrena, the 3d of July, he got under ſail the next day, and anchoring off of Landſcron, he joined them the 6th; upon which the Danes retreated into their harbor.

The admiral, as ſoon as he got into Copenhagen-road, took a view of the Daniſh fleet, but found it ſo ſecured, that it was judged impracticable to attempt them with the frigats and fire-ſhips; it was

(1) His ſickneſs was in great meaſure occaſion'd by the ſolemnizing the anniverſary of his nativity, on Wedneſday the 24th of July. After the ceremony was over, his Highneſs found himſelf fatigued and indiſpoſed, and the next day he was very bad, and complained of his throat. All Friday he was hot and feveriſh. Saturday morning, after taking away a little blood, he thought himſelf better: but in the evening, his fever appearing more violent, a bliſter was applied to him, and other proper remedies adminiſtred; the ſame day a raſh appeared on his ſkin, which increaſing, on Sunday, more bliſters were laid on. In the afternoon the feaver growing ſtronger, he went into a delirium, which laſted with his life. He paſs'd the night as he did the preceeding; in ſhort broken ſleep, and incoherent talk. On Monday, the bliſters having taken effect, and the pulſe mending, the phyſicians who attended him, thought it not improbable but he might recover; but about eleven at night, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a difficult breathing, and could ſwallow nothing, inſomuch that he expired before midnight; being ten years and five days old. Hiſt. of K. Will. III. vol. 3. p. 457.

(2) He found them to be twenty-eight ſail proper for the line of battle, and that they were ranged athwart the narrow paſſage under the guns of their caſtle of Cronenburg, oppoſite to Helſingburg. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 731.

therefore

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therefore reſolved, in a council of war, to bombard them. Accordingly four bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and the ſame night they threw in about an hundred and forty ſhells, but with little ſucceſs: Three Engliſh, ſix Swediſh, and three Dutch ſhips, were, for that reaſon, ordered into the South channel, going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the Daniſh fleet for ſome hours; but no great damage was either done or received.

Preparations were now making to beſiege the city in form, and the young King of Sweden landed, about the latter end of July, with a body of troops, for that purpoſe; but all differences were ſoon after happily adjuſted, and the ſeveral ſquadrons thereupon retired to their reſpective coaſts (1).

The King returns to England.

The King having diſpatched ſeveral important affairs in Holland, imbarked on his return to England, the 17th of October, O. S. landed the next day ſafe at Harwich, and came the 20th to Hampton-court.

Conſequences of the ſecond treaty of partition.

I have already mentioned the concluſion of a ſecond treaty of partition, which according to agreement, was propoſed, by the contracting powers, to other Princes and States, for their acceptance and guaranty: but it appeared ſo ſtrange and unprecedented to them, that I do not find, any one Prince accepted of it. The Emperor thought himſelf aggrieved by it, becauſe he pretended a right to the whole Spaniſh Monarchy. The Engliſh and Dutch certainly had no other view in it, but to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Europe, and to form a barrier in the Netherlands, for the ſecurity of the latter: but the French had very different and underhand views, and accordingly made quite another uſe of this treaty: for under pretenſe of preſerving the Spaniſh Monarchy intire (a very prevalent argument with the haughty Spaniards) they procured

The King of Spain's laſt will.

a will from the craſy and half-dead King, which was ſigned the 2d of October, N. S. By this will, he conſtituted the duke d'Anjou, his univerſal heir, upon default of iſſue; he was, in default of iſſue on his ſide, to be ſucceeded by the duke of Berry, the duke by arch-duke Charles, and the arch-duke, by the duke of Savoy and his family: provided, however, that none of the crown-lands and ſeigneuries ſhould be alien'd or divided, by any of his ſaid ſucceſſors. This memorable will, which proved afterwards the occaſion of ſo much blood-ſhed, was a contrivance of cardinal Portocarrero, and the marquis de Harcourt, and the King ſurvived it but barely a month, dying the 1ſt of November, N. S.

The duke d'Anjou declared King of Spain.

A copy of this will being ſent to the court of France, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe, at firſt, whether he ſhould accept the will, or obſerve the treaty of partition. But he did not long waver in his reſolution; for, on the 16th of November, N. S. the duke d'Anjou was declared King of Spain, in the court of France, and was proclaimed King, at Madrid, by the direction of his grandfather, Lewis XIV, the 24th of the ſame month; againſt which both the new-elected Pope (Clement XI) and the Emperor proteſted. The Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, likewiſe, repreſented, that this ſtep was not agreeable to the treaty of partition, ſo lately ſigned: but the moſt Chriſtian King anſwered; that the principal deſign of that treaty being to prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain under one ſoverein, this was effectually provided for by the will; the heirs of the duke d'Anjou being rendered incapable of the crown of Spain, if they ſucceeded to that of France (2): ſo that the ſpirit and intention of the partition treaty was ſtill complied with, tho' it might be contrary to the letter of it; adding, that his grandſon's title by the will, accruing ſince that treaty, could not be affected by it.

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The duke of Bavaria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, yielding up at the ſame time all the towns and fortreſſes in that country, to the French, with their gariſons, which were partly compoſed of Dutch troops, the States-general, who were unprovided for a war, were under a neceſſity of acknowleging the duke d'Anjou's title to the crown of Spain, that they might get their ſoldiers again, who were thereupon ſuffered to return home.

The Dutch acknowlege him.

Theſe proceedings of the French courtcould not but ſenſibly affect King William: however, he concealed his reſentment, for the preſent, knowing himſelf not to be in a condition to ſhew it in a proper manner: for when count Tallard came to wait on his Majeſty, at Kenſington, the King, who was then looking out of the window, contented himſelf with ſayinig, "Monſieur, le tems eſt bien changé," (ſir, the times are altered, or the weather is altered, for the French word tems ſignifies either.)

The King's parting with the parliament, at the end of the laſt ſeſſion, without ſpeaking to them, was a plain indication of his diſpleaſure, and as he now looked upon a war with France unavoidable, he was apprehenſive he could not rely upon effectual aſſiſtance from a houſe of commons, which had already ſhewn how much they were piqued againſt the court. He therefore thought fit, the 19th of December, to diſſolve the preſent parliament, which he had before prorogued ſoon after his arrival, and to call another to meet the 6th of February next inſuing.

The parliament diſſolved;

And another called.

In the mean time, to befpeak the affection of the oppoſite party, his Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſome removes in imployments of the greateſt truſt. He appointed the earl of Rocheſter to be governor-general of Ireland; the lord Godolphin to be firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, in the room of Charles Mountague, eſq; whom he had before made auditor of the exchequer, and created lord Halifax; the lord Tankerville he made privy-ſeal, in the room of the lord Lonſdale deceaſed; and ſir Charles Hedges, one of the judges of the admiralty, he made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Jerſey.

Promotions at court.

An' 1701.

The parliament met, according to the writs of ſummons, on the 6th of February, but were prorogued to the 10th, when the commons being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, and having made choice of Robert Harley, eſq; a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed parts, and manly eloquence, they returned to the houſe of lords, the next day, when the King made a ſpeech to both houſes, the ſubſtance of which was;

The parliament meets.

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"That the death of the duke of Glouceſter "having made it abſolutely neceſſary, there ſhould "be a farther proviſion for the ſucceſſion in the "Proteſtant line, on which the happineſs of the "nation, and the ſecurity of its religion ſo much "depended, he could not but recommend it to "their early and effectual conſideration: that the "death of the King of Spain, with the declaration "of his ſucceſſor, had made ſo great an alteration "in affairs abroad, that it required their particular

(1) The King's conduct (ſays biſhop Burnet) in this whole matter was highly applauded, he effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reaſonable terms of peace.

(2) At the ſame time, that the French King was gloſſing over his treachery, in this manner, two remarkable inſtruments were drawing up at Paris, contrary to the meaning of the will, to preſerve the duke d'Anjou's title to the crown of France, in caſe his elder brother died without inheritable iſſue: which plainly ſhewed, that the houſe of Bourbon aimed at the union of the two crowns, as a greater ſtep to univerſal monarchy.

"conſideration;

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" conſideration ; and he did not doubt, but their " reſolutions thereupon, would be ſuch as ſhould " moſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of Eng- " land, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, " and the peace of Europe.

" He deſired ſupplies for the current year, and " put them in mind of the deficiencies and public " debts, which were yet unprovided for ; and re- " commended to them the puting the royal navy in " a good condition, and of fortifying the harbors " for its ſecurity.

" He recommended the improvement of trade, " and making proviſion for the poor, and con- " cluded with an exhortation to a union among " themſelves, as moſt conducive to their ſafety at " home, and rendering them conſiderable abroad."

y in- into.

The firſt thing the commons inquired into was bribery in elections, which they did ſo thoroughly that they at length proceeded to purge their houſe of ſeveral members, who appeared to be come into it by undue meaſures, and not content with this, they called likewiſe their agents and bribed electors to an account, and returned their thanks to ſir Edward Seymor, for acting ſo vigorouſly againſt them: (1) The report of the King's ſpeech being made by the ſpeaker, on the 14th, the conſideration of it was adjourned to the next day : however to give his Majeſty immediate aſſurance of their loyalty and affection, they preſently came to this unanimous reſolution ; " that they would ſtand by and ſupport " his Majeſty and his government, and take ſuch " effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the in- " tereſt and ſafety of England, preſervation of the " Proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe :"

Addreſs of the commons.

The King's anſwer.

The ſubſtance of this reſolution being brought into an addreſs, and preſented to the King, by the whole houſe, his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer : " that he thanked them for their addreſs, and " ready concurence with thoſe great ends therein " mentioned, which he took to be extreamly im- " portant to the honor and ſafety of England." He alſo aſſured them ; " that he would never propoſe " any thing, but what was for their common ad- " vantage and ſecurity :" he farther told them ; " that having this opportunity, he thought proper " to acquaint them, that he had, the day before, " received a memorial from the envoy extraordi- " nary of the States-General, a tranſlation whereof " he left them : and as to the former part of it, he " thought it neceſſary to aſk their advice, as to " the latter he deſired their aſſiſtance."

Two more addreſſes of the commons.

The commons, hereupon, addreſſed the King ; " that his Majeſty would pleaſe to cauſe the treaty " between England and the States General, of the " 3d of March 1677, together with all the re- " newals from that time to be laid before them :" to which the King having readily complied, the commons after maturely conſidering the dangerous ſtate of Europe, on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, made another unanimous addreſs to his Majeſty ; " that he would be pleaſed to enter " into ſuch negociations, in concert with the States- " General, and other potentates, as might moſt " effectually conduce to the national ſafety of theſe " kingdoms, and the United-provinces, as like- " wiſe to the preſervation of the peace of Europe ;" they alſo gave his Majeſty aſſurance " of ſupporting " and aſſiſting him to perform the treaty made with " the States-General, March 3, 1677."

The King's anſwer.

To this his Majeſty anſwered, " that he thanked " them heartily for their addreſs, and promiſed to " inable him to make good his treaty : that he " would immediately order his miniſters abroad, to " enter into ſuch negociations as ſhould be condu- " cive to thoſe great ends they deſired : that no- " thing could more effectually eſtabliſh their ſecu- " rity, than the unanimity and vigor they had " ſhewn upon this occaſion ; and that he ſhould al- " ways indeavor, on his part, to preſerve and in- " creaſe all mutual love and confidence betwixt " him and them (2)."

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The earl of Melford's letter.

The 17th of February, mr. ſecretary Vernon produced a letter, in the houſe of commons, which had been intercepted, from the earl of Melfort, to his brother the earl of Perth, who was at that time governor to the ſuppoſed Prince of Wales. This letter ſuggeſted, in general, that there were men and arms provided by the Papiſts and Jacobites to aſſiſt the French King, if he would make a deſcent in England, in favor of King James : but no particular perſons being named, as concerned in any ſuch conſpiracy, the houſe, looking upon it as a rude and undigeſted ſcheme, only read it, and then laid it aſide, without taking any reſolution thereupon. It was likewiſe communicated to the houſe of lords ; but was as little regarded there : however, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the King, the next day, in anſwer to his Majeſty's ſpeech, in which,

Addreſs of the houſe of lords.

" They returned their thanks and acknowlege- " ments to his Majeſty, for his concern, expreſſed " in his ſpeech, for the Proteſtant religion, and his " care for its preſervation, by recommending to " their conſideration a farther proviſion for the ſuc- " ceſſion to the crown, in the Proteſtant line." They added : " That being deeply ſenſible of the " weight of what his Majeſty had farther recom- " mended to them, they could not but deſire he " ſhould be pleaſed to order all treaties made by " him, ſince the late war, to be laid before them, " that they might thereby, be better inabled to " give their advice. They withal requeſted his " Majeſty to ingage in ſuch alliances abroad, as he " would think proper for preſerving the ballance of " Europe, aſſuring him they would readily concur " with whatever ſhould be conducive to the honor " and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Pro- " teſtant religion, and the peace of Europe. They " next humbly thanked his Majeſty for communica- " ting the afore-mentioned letter to them, and de- " ſired he would be pleaſed to order the ſeizing of all " horſes and arms of Papiſts, and other diſaffected " perſons, and have thoſe ill men removed from " London, according to law : but eſpecially deſired " he would be pleaſed to give directions for a ſearch " to be made after arms and proviſions for war, " mentioned in the ſaid letter ; Laſtly, they re- " queſted, that ſuch a fleet might ſpeedily be fited " out, as his Majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould " think neceſſary for the defenſe of himſelf and " kingdoms."

The King's anſwer.

His Majeſty, in anſwer, " thanked their lord- " ſhips for this addreſs, and aſſured them, he would " take care, to perform all that they had deſired of " him."

Alliance between the Emperor, England and Holland.

King William having now the aſſurances of his parliament to aid and ſupport him in what alliances he ſhould find neceſſary to enter into, for the public good, concluded one, in particular, between the Emperor, England and Holland, to maintain the pretenſions of the former to the Spaniſh Monarchy, which was the baſis of the grand alliance that

(1) By theſe proceedings, which were chiefly levelled at the court-intereſt, it plainly appeared, that the country-party had again the majority in the houſe of commons.

(2) Hitherto the begining of this ſeſſion was very promiſing : but we ſhall find, that the attention of the commons to public affairs was ſoon after taken off by private differences between the two houſes.

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insued, tho' it met with some interruption for the present.

The commons declare for the Protestant succession;

His Majesty had, as we have seen above, recommended to both houses, from the throne, to provide for the succession of the crown, after his and the Princess of Denmark's demise: but not contented with having declared his mind only, he even urged it (1): the commons therefore, took that part of his speech into their early consideration, and came, on the 3d of March, to the resolution; that for "preserving the peace and happiness of this king-"dom, and the security of the Protestant religion, "by law established, it was absolutely necessary, that "a farther provision should be made, for the limita-"tion and succession of the crown, in the Protestant "line, after his Majesty, and the Princess, and "the heirs of their bodies respectively, and that a "farther provision should be first made, for the "rights and liberties of the people.

Under some limitations.

A committee being appointed for that purpose, some resolutions were therein taken, and reported, on the 12th, to the house, who thereupon agreed and resolved:

1. "That all things relating to the well-govern-"ing of this kingdom, which are properly cogni-"zable in the privy-council, shall be transacted "there; and all resolutions taken thereupon shall "be signed by the privy-council.

2. "That no person whomsoever, who is not "a native of England, Scotland or Ireland, or the "dominions thereunto belonging, or who is not "born of English parents beyond the seas (altho' "such person be naturalized or made a denison) "shall be capable of any grant of lands, tenements "or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or "any other in trust for him.

3. "That upon the farther limitation of the "crown, in case the same shall hereafter come to "any person not being a native of this kingdom of "England, this nation be not obliged to ingage in "any war for the defense of any dominions or terri-"tories, not belonging to the crown of England, "without the consent of parliament.

4. "That whosoever shall hereafter come to "the possession of this crown, shall join in the "communion with the church of England, as by "law established.

5. "That no pardon be pleadable to any im-"peachment in parliament.

6. "That no person who shall hereafter come to "the possession of this crown, shall go out of the "dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland, "without consent of parliament.

7. "That no person who has any office under "the King, or receives a pension from the crown, "shall be capable of serving as a member of the "house of commons.

8. "That farther provision be made for the con-"firming of all laws and statutes, for the securing "our religion, and the rights and liberties of the "people.

9. "That judges commissions be made "quam "diu se bene gesserint," and their salaries ascertained "and established; but, upon the address of either "house of parliament, it may be lawful to remove "them.

The house of Hanover agreed to be next in succession.

10. "That the Princess Sophia, duchess Dowa-"ager of Hanover, be declared the next in suc-"cession to the crown of England, in the Protestant "line, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the "heirs of their bodies, respectively; and that "the farther limitation of the crown be to the said "Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being "Protestants." Will' III. An' 1701.

11. "That a bill be brought in upon the said "resolutions."

These resolutions being soon known abroad, many of the blood-royal, who were nearer related to King James I and King Charles I, than any of the Protestant line, except the King and Princess, thought these steps a great infringement of their rights: especially the duchess of Savoy, daughter to the late duchess of Orleans, and grand-daughter to King Charles I, who was neareſt in blood to the crown, after the Princess of Denmark and King William. She, therefore, ordered count Massy, embassador of Savoy, to make a protestation, or rather representation, in her behalf, containing in substance:

The duchess of Savoy's protest:

"That Ann of Orleans, duchess of Savoy, &c. "Princess of the blood-royal, by the royal Prin-"cess of Great-Britain, Henrietta her mother, "puts so high value upon that prerogative, that she "gladly made use of the opportunity which then "offered, to set it forth before the eyes of the whole "English nation, as an evidence she drew from "thence, of having a right to that august throne: "that therefore being informed it had been re-"solved in that parliament, that being the only "daughter of the late Princess Royal, Henrietta, her "mother, she was the next in succession, after his "Majesty William III, and the Princess Ann of "Denmark, according to the laws and customs of "England, which always prefered the neareſt to "the remoteſt line: that her title being thus noto-"riously known and indisputable, stood in need "of no farther proof: however, she thought fit "to protest against all resolutions and decisions, "contrary thereunto, in the best and most effectual "manner that might be practised in such a case, "wherein she complied with custom rather than "necessity: because she had so great an idea of "the wisdom and justice of the King and parlia-"ment, that she had no cause to fear they "would do any thing prejudicial to her and her "children.

Not regarded by the parliament.

The commons took however no notice of it: but proceeded in the bill for the farther limitation of the crown, in the Protestant line.

The convocation meets.

The convocation of the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury being, according to custom, summoned to meet at Westminster, at the same time with the parliament, they attended the King, on the 10th of March, with an address, in answer to which his Majesty assured them of his protection: but soon after, a fatal and memorable difference arose between the two houses, about the power of adjournment, whether it was in the archbishop alone for both houses, or whether the lower house might adjourn themselves.

Exchequer bills renewed.

The 13th of March, the King came to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent to "a bill for "renewing such of the exchequer bills as remained "uncancelled.

The 18th, the King sent a message to the commons by mr. secretary Hedges, importing;

Message from the King to the commons.

"That his Majesty having directed mr. Stanhope, "his envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at "the Hague, to enter into negociations, in con-"cert with the States-General and other potentates, "for the mutual security of England and Holland, "and the preservation of the peace of Europe, "according to an address of their house, to that "effect, and that mr. Stanhope having transmited

(1) The King did not so much as hint at the person he was desirous to have favored, on this occasion: tho' immediately after the death of the duke of Glocester, this important affair was previously concerted at Loo, whither the principal party concerned came to pay a visit to his Majesty.

"to

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" to his Majeſty copies of the demands made by himſelf, and the deputies of the States upon that ſubject, to the French embaſſador there, his Majeſty had thought fit to communicate the ſame to the commons, it being his intention to acquaint them, from time to time, with the ſtate and progreſs of thoſe negociations, into which he had entered, purſuant to their addreſs above-mentioned (1).

Their addreſs in anſwer.

The 21ſt, the commons took this meſſage into conſideration, and having read the propoſals made to the French embaſſador, by mr. Stanhope, and alſo the tranſlation of the reſolutions of the States-General, for treating with monſ. d'Avaux, the 22d of March 1700, they reſolved, that the treaty of partition be read, likewiſe, which being done accordingly, they voted " an addreſs, to return their " thanks to his Majeſty, for his meſſage, in which " he was pleaſed to communicate his royal intentions to acquaint them, from time to time, with " the ſtate and progreſs of theſe negociations, into " which he had entered, purſuant to their addreſs; " and, at the ſame time, to lay before his Majeſty " the ill conſequences of the treaty of partition, " (paſſed under the great-ſeal of England, during the ſiting of parliament, and without " the advice of the ſame) to this kingdom, and " the peace of Europe; whereby ſuch large territories, of the King of Spain's dominions, were " to be delivered up to the French King."

His Majeſty's reply.

In anſwer to this addreſs, the King, without taking notice of the partition-treaty, only told the commons; " that he was glad they were pleaſed " with his communicating to them the ſtate of the " negociations, which he ſhould continue to inform " them of, and receive their advice thereupon; " being perſuaded nothing could contribute more " to the happineſs of the kingdom, and the peace " of Europe, than the concurence of the parliament, in all his negociations, and a good underſtanding between him and his people."

The lords had, ſome days before, ſhewn their diſapprobation of this treaty; and great debates aroſe thereupon in their houſe, in which very ſevere reflections were caſt upon ſeveral peers, but upon none more than the earl of Portland, who was ſuppoſed to be author and chief manager of this fatal treaty: the debate being ended, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them;

The meſſage of the lords to the commons.

" That there having been lately a treaty made " with France, extreamly dangerous in itſelf, and " alſo tranſacted in a moſt irregular manner, the " lords had thought fit to communicate it to the " houſe of commons, and to deſire them to appoint " a committee, for meeting a committee of the " lords, in order to their joint conſideration of " ſome method to be uſed, in making ſuch an application to his Majeſty, about this matter, as " might, for the future, prevent any proceedings of " this kind."

The lords, at the ſame time, deſired the commons, that mr. Vernon, a member of their houſe, might come to a committee of the upper houſe to give an account of ſome matters relating to the treaty of partition, which the commons readily granted.

Addreſs of the the lords.

The 20th, the lords preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, declaring their ſenſe of the partition-treaty, in the following manner:

" That having read and conſidered the ſaid " treaty, of the 3d of March 1700, N. S. made " with the French King, together with the ſeparate " and ſecret articles, which he had been pleaſed to " communicate to them, they had, to their great " ſorrow, found the ſubſtance thereof would be of " very ill conſequence to the peace and ſafety of " Europe: for that, beſide the occaſion it might " have given the late King of Spain to have made " his will, in favor of the duke d'Anjou, if that " treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his Majeſty and his ſubjects, and indeed to all Europe, " by the addition of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral parts " of the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the duchy of Lorrain, had been not " only very great, but contrary to the pretenſe of " the treaty itſelf, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken, by uniting " ſo many ſtates and dominions under one head: " that by all the informations they had had of the " fatal treaty, they could not find, that the verbal " orders or inſtructions (if any were given to his " Majeſty's plenipotentiaries) were ever conſidered " in any of his Majeſty's councils, or that the " draught of that treaty had ever been laid before " his Majeſty, at any meeting of his council, " much leſs that it was adviſed or approved of by " any council or committee of council: wherefore " they thought themſelves bound, in duty to his Majeſty, and juſtice to their country, moſt humbly " to beſeech him, that, for the future, he would " be pleaſed to require and admit, in all matters " of importance, the advice of his natural-born " ſubjects, whoſe known probity and fortunes might " give him and his people, a juſt aſſurance of " their fidelity to his ſervice: and that, in order " thereunto, he would be pleaſed to conſtitute a " council of ſuch perſons, to whom his Majeſty " might be pleaſed to impart all affairs, both at " home and abroad, which might any way concern " him and his dominions: for, as intereſt, and natural affection to their country, would incline " them to wiſh the welfare and proſperity of it, " much more than others, who had no ſuch ties " upon them; and as their experience and knowlege of their country would alſo render them more " capable than ſtrangers, of adviſing his Majeſty, in the true intereſt of it; ſo they were " confident, that after ſuch large and repeated demonſtrations of his ſubjects duty and affection, his " Majeſty could not doubt of their zeal in his " ſervice, nor want the knowlege of perſons fit to " be imployed in all his moſt ſecret and arduous " affairs. And as it appeared, that the French " King's accepting of the King of Spain's will, " was a manifeſt violation of that treaty, they humbly adviſed his Majeſty, in future treaties with " that Prince, to proceed with ſuch caution as might " carry a real ſecurity (2).

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs the King anſwered; " that it contained matters of very great moment, and he " would take care, that all treaties he made " ſhould be for the honor and ſafety of England."

The debates on this treaty were no leſs vehement in the houſe of commons, than in the houſe of peers, and ſome members did not ſtick to caſt very ſevere, or rather indecent reflections upon his Majeſty (3). However, being at length come to a cooler temper, the King, on the 30th, ſent another

(1) By the memorial mentioned in the King's meſſage, the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters demanded of the French embaſſador, that his maſter ſhould withdraw his troops out of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and allow a ſufficient barrier for the ſecurity of England and the States-General: to which, however, that embaſſador did not think fit to return any anſwer.

(2) A motion was made, in the houſe of lords, before this petition was preſented, that it might be ſent to the commons for their concurence, which was back'd by ſome lords, with ſeveral reaſons; but the motion was rejected.

(3) Mr. How among others ſaid, the partition-treaty was a felonious treaty, and compared it to the diſtribution of other mens goods among highway-men.

meſſage

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His Majesty's message to the commons.

message to the house, by mr. secretary Hedges, importing:

" That his Majesty having received an account " from mr. Stanhope, his envoy extraordinary at " the Hague, that the French embassador had de- " clared the King, his master, had no other an- " swer to return to the demands of the States-general, " than that he was ready to renew and confirm the " treaty of Ryswick; it being all the security the " States were to expect: and that he had no orders " to give any answer to his Majesty's said envoy, " but if his Majesty had any thing to demand, it " might be done by his embassador at Paris, or the " French minister at London; and that he had no " command to treat with any but the States: and " his Majesty having also received two resolutions " of the States, and a memoraial from their envoy " in England, relating to the ships they were sending " to join his Majesty's fleet, and the succors they " desired might be hastened to them, by virtue of " the treaty of March 3, 1677, his Majesty had " thought fit to communicate the whole to that " house, that they might be particularly informed of " the present state of affairs abroad, where the nego- " ciations seemed to be at an end, by the positive " answer the French embassador had given to the " States, which his Majesty recommended to the " serious consideration of that house, as a matter of " the greatest weight and consequence, and desired " they would give him such advice thereupon, as " might be for their own security, and that of the " States-general, and the peace of Europe (1).

Advice of the commons to the King.

The commons, having taken his Majesty's mes- sage into consideration, the 2d of April, resolved unanimously to advise his Majesty: " that he would " be pleased to carry on the negociation, in concert " with the States-general, and take such measures " therein, as might most conduce to their security: " and that his Majesty would pursue the treaty made " in 1677, assuring him, that the house would ef- " fectually inable him to support the same.

His Majesty's answer.

To this, his Majesty answered; " that, accord- " ing to their advice, he had given his envoy at the " Hague orders, to carry on the negociation, in " concert with the States-general, and take such mea- " sures therein, as might conduce to their security. " He thank'd them for the assurance they gave him " of inabling him to make good the treaty above- " mentioned, and told them he would pursue the " same, according to their advice; and he did not " doubt but the readiness they had shewn upon that " occasion, would very much contribute to the ob- " taining such a security as was desired."

King William acknowledges the duke d'Anjou, King of Spain.

King William, however, plainly foresaw, that France would never tamely yield up any part of the Spanish monarchy, which he had now in possession, and was at the same time sensible, that the parlia- ment was not inclined to enter into a war for th recovery of those dominions from the duke d'Anjou; he therefore thought it prudence, to keep the French at a bay, by a feign'd negociation, which was dex- trously carrying on by the earl of Manchester at Paris, and mr. Stanhope at the Hague; while his Majesty, the better to cover his designs, acknow- ledged the duke d'Anjou to be King of Spain, and wrote him the following congratulatory letter:

Will' III. An' 1701.

His congratu- latory letter to him.

Most serene and potent Prince, our dear brother and ally;

" We have received your Majesty's letter, of the " 24th of March last, which has been very accept- " able to us upon many accounts: first, because it " brought us notice of your safe arrival into your " kingdom of Spain, and of your coming to the " possession of it, and taking upon yourself the go- " vernment of the dominions thereunto belonging: " and, in the second place, because it has made it " plain to us, that your Majesty has a mind to con- " tinue, and keep inviolably, that most ancient al- " liance which is between the two crowns. Indeed, " we have willingly imbraced this occasion, both to " congratulate your Majesty's happy exaltation to " the Spanish throne, and to shew you how much " esteem we have for your Majesty, and how much " we desire to make it appear to you, that our in- " clination does most readily prompt us to indeavor " what we can, that the mutual conjunction of friend- " ship and alliance between us may be confirm'd and " knit faster, and the common good of the two na- " tions may daily more and more flourish and be " promoted, which we hope also will redound to the " public benefit, and good of all Europe. What " remains is to commend and commit your Majesty " to the care and protection of Almighty God.

Given at our palace of Kensington, the 17th day of April 1701, and the 13th year of the reign of your Majesty's most loving brother and ally,

Sign'd, Gulielmus Rex, (2).

Negociations at the Hague fruitless.

The duke d'Anjou being now acknowledged King of Spain, both by the King of England and the States-general, the conferences were resumed at the Hague, between the English and Dutch ministers, and monsr. d'Avaux, the French embassador, to settle a barrier, pursuant to the advice the commons had given his Majesty: but it plainly appear'd, that the aims of France were to spin matters into a length, while they were indeavoring, tho' in vain, to in- gage the Dutch into a separate treaty.

The earl of Portland im- peach'd.

The commons of England continued, in the mean time, to consider the partition treaty, and the ad- visers and promoters of it; and, in the begining of April, came to a resolution; " that William, earl " of Portland, by negociating and concluding the " treaty of partition, which was destructive to the " trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace " of Europe, was guilty, and should be impeach'd, " of high crimes and misdemeanors:" and sir John Levison Gower, by order of the house, went up to the bar of the house of lords, and there impeach'd the said earl, acquainting their lordships, that they would, in due time, exhibit articles against him. This done, the commons, at a conference, desired the lords to communicate to them, what informa- tions their lordships had received of any transactions relating to the treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The lords, thereupon, delivered to them the two Latin commissions of powers, granted to the earls of Portland and Jersey, for negociating the said treaties, one dated the first of July 1699, and

(1) The demands made by mr. Stanhope were, that reasonable satisfaction should be given the Emperor, upon his pretensions to the Spanish succession: that the French King, by a short and limited time, should withdraw all his troops out of the Spanish Netherlands, and that the towns there should be garisoned by Wa lloon or Netherland troops, except such places as were reserved for the security of England and Holland. That for the particular security of England, Ostend and Nieuport should be garison'd by English troops: that no places belonging to Spain should ever be alienated or transfer'd to France, or come under the power of the French King: that the subjects of England should have the same privileges within the Spanish dominions, as at the King of Spain's death, and be upon the same foot, with respect to trades, in the Spanish dominions, as the French.

(2) This step has been very much censured by some authors, and particularly by bishop Burnet, as the manner of taking it has been by others, while he was actually forming alliances against the Prince he congratulated. But if all circumstances be con- sidered, I think he is far from having incur'd blame on either account. The Dutch had long before acknowledged him; the French had refused to treat with his Majesty's envoy at the Hague: and there was now no medium but either to acknowledge the duke d'Anjou, or to declare war, which latter neither the King nor the nation were yet in a condition to do. The French King deceived King William in the partition-treaties, and made a handle of the latter of them to ingage the Spaniards to play the whole Spanish monarchy into his hands. If ever it was justifiable to deceive the deceiver, it surely was, in the case before us.

the

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the other the 2d of January 1700: as alſo a private paper of the lord Portland's, in which ſecretary Vernon adviſes him to negociate the firſt treaty.

The lord Sommers impeach'd.

The 14th, while the commons were in debate, whether they ſhould impeach the lord Sommers for adviſing that treaty, his lordſhip, before they were come to any reſolution, came down to their houſe, and deſired to be heard, when being admited, he made an apology for his conduct, and delivered the copies of two letters, to the houſe, the firſt of which he received from the King, deſiring his advice in the firſt treaty of partition, and the ſecond his lordſhip's anſwer to it; of both which, the reader has ſeen copies above. Notwithſtanding this, he was no ſooner withdrawn, than the commons came to a reſolution, "that John, lord Sommers, by adviſing "his Majeſty, in the year 1698, to the treaty of "partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, whereby large "territories of the King of Spain's dominions were "to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high "crime and miſdemeanor;" and mr. Harcourt, by the command of the commons, impeach'd that lord, at the bar of the houſe of peers, declaring that the houſe would, in due time, exhibit articles againſt him.

Addreſs of the commons againſt the impeach'd lords.

The 15th, the commons formed an addreſs to the King, in which "they humbly craved leave to re- "preſent to his Majeſty, the great ſatisfaction they "had from their late inquiry concerning the treaty "of partition, made in 1698, (on which the treaty "in 1699 was founded) to ſee his Majeſty's great "care of his people, and this nation, in not enter- "ing into that negociation, without the advice of "his Engliſh counſellors; and finding, that John, "lord Sommers (on whoſe judgment his Majeſty "chiefly relied, in that important affair) did, in "concert with Edward, earl of Orford, and Charles, "lord Hallifax, adviſe his Majeſty to enter into "that treaty, of ſo dangerous conſequence to the "trade and welfare of the nation, and who, to "avoid the cenſure which might juſtly be appre- "hended to fall on thoſe who adviſed the ſame, in- "deavored to inſinuate, that his Majeſty, without "the advice of his council, entered into that treaty, "and, under his ſacred name, ſought protection, "for what they themſelves had ſo adviſed, of "which treatment his Majeſty could not but have "a juſt reſentment; and that they might be no "longer able to deceive his Majeſty, and abuſe his "people, they humbly beſought his Majeſty, that "he would be pleaſed to remove the lord Sommers, "the earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax, from "his council and preſenſe for ever; as alſo, "William, earl of Portland, who tranſacted thoſe "treaties, which were ſo unjuſt in their own na- "ture, and ſo fatal in their conſequences to England, "and the peace of Europe. After which, they "humbly craved leave, upon that occaſion, to re- "peat their aſſurances to his Majeſty, that they "would always ſtand by, and ſupport his Majeſty, "to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all his ene- "mies, both at home and abroad."

The earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax impeach'd.

Tho' this addreſs, I ſay, was voted, the 15th, the commons did not preſent it 'till the 23d, in which time they likewiſe impeach'd the earl of Orford, and the lord Hallifax. In the mean while, the houſe of lords, tho' they had themſelves ſaid very hard things, againſt the partition treaty, and the manner of tranſacting it, in their addreſs, were now alarm'd at this forward ſtep of the commons, and reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent the effect of it; to this end, they preſented the King, on the 16th, an addreſs, in which they repreſented; "that the com- "mons having ſeverally impeach'd, at the bar of "their houſe, the earls of Portland and Orford, and "the lord Sommers and Hallifax, of high crimes and "miſdemeanors, and having acquainted their lord- "ſhips, that they would, in due time, exhibit par- "ticular articles againſt thoſe impeach'd lords, and "make the ſame good; they moſt humbly be- "ſought his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to "paſs no cenſure upon them, 'till they were tried "upon the ſaid impeachments, and judgment given, "according to the uſage of parliament, and the "laws of the land." To this addreſs, tho' it was preſented by the duke of Devonſhire, and the earl of Romney, two perſons great in the King's intereſt, his Majeſty did not think fit to give any manner of anſwer (1).

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Addreſs of the peers in favor of the impeached lords.

The King's anſwer to the addreſs of the commons.

When the addreſs of the commons came to be preſented, the 23d, tho' his Majeſty could not but be uneaſy at it, yet he was pleaſed to anſwer; "that "he was willing to take all occaſions of thanking "them very heartily, for the aſſurances they had "frequently given him, and repeated then, of "ſtanding by, and ſupporting him, againſt all his "enemies, towards which, nothing, in his opinion, "could contribute ſo much as a good correſpon- "dence between him and his people; and, there- "fore, they might depend upon it, that he would "imploy none in his ſervice, but ſuch as ſhould be "thought moſt likely to improve that mutual truſt "and confidence betwen them, which was ſo neceſ- "ſary, in that conjuncture, both for their own ſe- "curity, and the defenſe and preſervation of their "allies." This anſwer, tho' ambiguouſly fram'd, was ſo ſatisfactory to the commons, that they re- turned his Majeſty their thanks for it.

Indirect practices of the French.

Before I proceed to give an account of the ſucceſs of theſe impeachments, it may not be amiſs to ſay a word or two of the negociations at the Hague, which were carried on, by monſ. d'Avaux, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame views as I have mentioned above, and, indeed, with the ſame ſucceſs; the French inſiſting, that the States ſhould treat without the admiſſion of the Engliſh envoy, and the Dutch as ſtrenouſly reſiſting all their importunities and temptations. During theſe negociations, the French were advancing, with great bodies of troops, to the very gates of the Dutch frontier-towns, and tho' King William did all that was in his power, to ſupport them, and ſent over into Holland the three regiments, which were retained in Scotland, in his own pay; and, beſide, the States had, with their own mony, procured ſome auxiliaries from Germany; yet all theſe being inſufficient to remove their juſt apprehenſions, they wrote a very lamentable and affecting account of the dangerous ſituation of their affairs, to his Majeſty, earneſtly intreating, that the Engliſh forces might be ſent to their relief, without delay, purſuant to the treaty of 1677.

Apprehenſions of the Dutch.

His Majeſty hereupon ſent a meſſage to the commons on the 11th of the May, importing;

The King's meſſage to the commons concerning them.

"That having received an account from mr. "Stanhope, of the preſent poſture of affairs in Hol- "land; and, likewiſe, a letter from the States-general, "which was of the greateſt importance, and his "Majeſty, who had ſo perfect a knowledge of "their country, being intirely convinced of the "hardſhip of their preſent condition, and the "great preſſures they lay under, which were parti- "cularly expreſs'd in that letter, he thought it ab- "ſolutely neceſſary to communicate the ſame to that

(1) The houſe of lords were ſo diſſatisfied, at the King's ſilence, that they appointed a committee to inquire if there was any pecedent of the like nature. However, we may, upon this occaſion, obſerve that his Majeſty did, in effect, grant their requeſt, tho' he made a ſhew rather of complying with the commons,

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" houſe, that the expectations the States had of " preſent aſſiſtance from his Majeſty might more " fully appear: and his Majeſty did not doubt, but " that houſe would be ſo juſtly ſenſible of theſe im- " mediate dangers, to which they ſtood expoſed, as " to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſide- " ration, it being moſt evident, that the ſafety of " England, as well as the very being of Holland, " very much depended upon their reſolution in that " matter.

Votes of the commons thereupon

The commons having read, and maturely conſider'd as well of this meſſage, as of the moving letter of the States, they came to the following unanimous reſolution;

" That they would effectually aſſiſt his Majeſty " to ſupport his allies, in maintaining the liberties " of Europe, and would immediately provide ſuc- " cors for the States-general, and order'd, that this " reſolve ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty by the " whole houſe." This being done accordingly the King returned them " his hearty thanks, for the " zeal they expreſs'd for the common cauſe; adding, " he knew nothing that could be more effectual for " the ſupport of it, both at home and abroad, than the " unanimous concurrence they had ſhewn, upon this " occaſion, and that it would be a particular ſatiſ- " faction to him, in his time, to renew the glory " which the Engliſh formerly had of maintaining " the liberty and balance of Europe."

This letter being, likewiſe communicated to the lords, they thank'd his Majeſty for it, in an addreſs. But to return to the impeachments:

The 5th of May, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to remind them, that there were yet no articles prefered againſt the impeached lords; upon which the commons, on the 9th, ſent up articles againſt Edward, earl of Orford, in maintainance of their impeachment. Theſe articles ſet forth:

Articles againſt the earl of Orford.

" That, prefering his private intereſt to the pub- " lic good, he had, during an expenſive war, pro- " cured ſeveral grants from his Majeſty, of lands, " and exorbitant ſums of mony: that while he com- " manded the royal navy in the Streights, he re- " ceived the public mony, and converted it to his " private uſe, and then procured a privy-ſeal to diſ- " charge him of it: that he receiv'd conſiderable ſums " from the King of Spain alſo, with great quantities " of wine, oil, and other proviſions for the fleet; " which he converted to his own uſe: that he ſold " and diſpoſed of ſeveral veſſels, as prizes, without " condemnation: that preſiding in the commiſſion " of lord high-admiral, he had rejected the requeſt " of the Eaſt-India company, for ſuppreſſing pirates, " and had procured a commiſſion for William " Kidd (1), who had commited piracy, incouraged " thereto by his hopes of the earl's protection: that, " in the time of the aſſaſſination-plot, he had taken " ſeveral ſeamen out of the Ducheſs, to be put on " board captain Kidd, to the prejudice of the public " ſecurity: that in the time of the war, he ſent out " the King's ſhip the Dolphin, upon a private " voyage to his own advantage, but at the public " charge: that he had procured and poſſeſs'd offices, " which were inconſiſtent one with the other. That " while he commanded the royal navy, he loſt " ſeveral opportunities of deſtroying the enemy's " ſhips, and that he had adviſed the King to enter " into the treaties of partition, to the prejudice of the " nation, with ſome other things of leſs moment.

To theſe articles, the earl ſoon put in his anſwer, and ſaid; " that his Majeſty, in conſideration of " his many years ſervice, had voluntarily made him " a reverſionary grant, for the value of about " 10,000 l. That he had legally paſs'd his accounts, " for all monies he had received on account of the " public: that whatever he received of the King of " Spain for the fleet, was duly diſtributed among " the ſeamen. That he denied having injoyed any " offices that were inconſiſtent one with another. " That he conſtantly gave orders for proceeding " againſt the prizes, that were taken according to " law: that he never diſcouraged the Eaſt-India " company's requeſt for the ſuppreſſing of pirates: " that Kidd's commiſſion was granted according to " law, and intended for the public good, and if he had " commited piracy, he was never incouraged in it " by him: that as to the taking of men out of the " Ducheſs, to put on board captain Kidd, they were " but ſome of the very perſons taken before from on " board of captain Kidd, and that all fears of the in- " vaſion were then over: that he had no intereſt or " concern in the ſhip Dolphin. That he had not " neglected his duty againſt the enemy; and, con- " ſidering his ſervices againſt the French fleet, he " did not expect to be charged therewith: and he " denied that he adviſed his Majeſty to enter into " the partition treaty, avering, that he had ob- " jected to it, and gave his opinion againſt it."

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His lordſhip's anſwer.

The next againſt whom the commons exhibited articles was the lord Sommers, the charge given in, the 19th of May, was as follows:

Articles againſt the lord Sommers.

" That he, contrary to his truſt, put the great " ſeal to the commiſſion for treating about the par- " tition, without the participation of the council: " that having no warrant for the ſame, he after- " wards indeavored to procure one to be tranſmited " to him: that he ratified the treaty of partition " in 1698. That he did the ſame by the other " treaty of partition in 1699: that he did not " cauſe the ſaid commiſſions and ratifications to be " inrolled: that he procured diverſe grants to him- " ſelf, of which they inſtanced diverſe particulars " in two or three articles, eſpecially of the forfeited " eſtates in Ireland. That beſide the fees and per- " quiſites of his office, he procured a penſion of " 4000 l. per annum; that he was concerned, as " well as the other lords, in ſending out of captain " Kidd: that he did not do his office at chancery, " but aſſerted ſome things dangerous to the conſti- " tution of the kingdom; with ſome other mat- " ters of leſs moment."

Lord Sommers's anſwer.

To theſe articles, the lord Sommers anſwered: " that he had, according to his duty, given the " King his opinion freely, on the partition-treaties, " and had his Majeſty's letters for his warrants, in " ſeting the ſaid great ſeal to the ſaid commiſſions " and treaties: that it was not incumbent on him, " as-lord chancellor, to ſee the ſaid commiſſions or " treaties inrolled; but the care of it belonged to " the prothonotary of the court of chancery: that " he never paſſed any grants without ſufficient war- " rants, and that more conſiderable grants had " paſſed in the times of his predeceſſors. That " the penſion of 4000 l. per annum had been allow- " ed to other chancellors: that he never begged " any grant: but what he had received was given " him voluntarily by his Majeſty, in conſideration " of his ſervices: that the commiſſion to captain

(1) This arch-pirate, returning with his booty to New-England, was there taken by the lord Bellamont, the governor, and ſent to England, where he was tried at a ſeſſions of admiralty, held at the Old-baily, and condemned and executed for murder and piracy. The houſe of commons, upon his being brought to England, which was in the begining of the year 1700, addreſs'd his Majeſty; " that the ſaid captain Kidd might not be tried, diſcharged or pardoned, 'till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and " that the governor of New-England might remit over all inſtructions or papers taken with, or relating to the ſaid Kidd:" with which his Majeſty complied, and Kidd was not executed, 'till the 22d of May, of this year, that is, 'till it appeared, that he either could not, or would not (the former of which is, however, moſt probable) diſcover any thing to the prejudice of the impeached lords. Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 728.

Kidd

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" Kidd was then thought neceſſary, for the preſer-
" vation of trade and navigation: he acknow-
" leged, that Samuel Newton's name, in the grant
" of the veſſels and goods, that ſhould be taken
" by Kidd, was uſed in truſt for him (the lord
" Sommers) but that Kidd, having abuſed his com-
" miſſion, and turned pirate, his imployers had loſt
" their expences, inſtead of making any gain by
" ſending him out.

Articles againſt the lord Halliſax.

The articles againſt the lord Halliſax ſet forth,
" that whereas the commons had thought it rea-
" ſonable to apply the forfeited eſtates in Ireland
" to the uſe of the public, he had procured a grant
" of ſeveral ſums forfeited to the crown, in that
" kingdom, amounting to 13,000 l. that he had
" alſo procured ſeveral grants in England, particu-
" larly a grant of 14,000. l. to be raiſed out of
" ſcrubbed beech, birch, holly, &c. growing in
" his Majeſty's foreſts, under color whereof he had
" cut down and ſold, for his own benefit, ſappling
" oaks, and many tuns of well-grown timber;
" that he procured ſeveral offices and places in the
" treaſury and exchequer, which he injoyed at
" the ſame time, tho' they were manifeſtly incon-
" ſiſtent, and ought to have been a check on each
" other; and laſtly, that he adviſed the partition-
" treaties."

The lord Halliſax's anſwer.

To this charge, the lord Halliſax anſwered,
" that he did accept a grant of debts, &c. for-
" feited to the crown, in Ireland, amounting to
" 13,000l. as he lawfully might: but that they had
" been taken away from him by the late act of re-
" ſumption and he had not made clear of them,
" above 400l; that he had not accepted of the grants
" mentioned in England, and particularly 2000 l.
" per annum for ſeven years, to be raiſed by the
" fall of ſcrub, beech, birch, &c. and if any
" abuſe had been in cuting of the wood, he was not
" anſwerable for the ſame, it being done by the
" direction of his Majeſty's ſurveyor-generals, and
" other officers. He did not deny his injoying
" the ſaid places in the treaſury, and the exchequer:
" but ſaid, it was but for a while; he deſigned,
" from the begining, to lay ſome of them down,
" and had actually relinquiſhed ſome of them: he
" ſaid, he never adviſed the partition-treaties, or
" was conſulted thereupon: but when the matter
" was diſcourſed of at Tunbridge-wells, he made
" ſeveral objections to the ſame."

A meſſage from the lords to the commons.

And now thoſe differences between the two houſes, which afterwards run a great length, and were a great obſtruction to the public affairs, began to ſhew themſelves, and to increaſe daily: for, on the 24th of May, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to put them in mind of replying to the earl of Orford's anſwer, that a day might be appointed for his trial, and of exhibiting articles againſt the earl of Portland, and the other lords.

The anſwer of the commons.

The commons, who began to ſhew ſome uneaſi-neſs and reſentment at this meſſage, anſwered: " that
" they defered bringing up the replication againſt
" the earl of Orford, becauſe they thought fit
" to begin with the trial of the lord Sommers;
" and to the other part of the lords meſſage, put-
" ing them in mind of ſending up articles of im-
" peachment againſt the earl of Portland, &c.
" they held it to be unparliamentary, they, as proſe-
" cutors, being the proper judges, where articles of
" impeachment ought to be brought up.

A ſecond meſſage of the lords.

This anſwer of the commons had the ſame effect upon the lords, as their meſſage had upon the commons, and jealouſies thereupon increaſed: inſomuch that the peers ſent a ſecond meſſage to the lower houſe, acquainting them, " that they had appoint-
" ed the 9th of June, for the trial of the earl of
" Orford, and that the commons might reply if
" they thought fit: they alſo put them in mind
" again, that no articles were exhibited againſt the
" earl of Portland; which, after an impeachment
" had ſo long depended, they obſerved was a hard-
" ſhip, and not agreeable to the uſual method of
" parliament."

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Reply of the commons.

The commons replied to this: " that it was
" their undoubted right, when ſeveral perſons ſtood
" impeached to bring to trial ſuch of them, in the
" firſt place, as they thought fit, and that no day
" ought to be appointed by their lordſhips for the
" trial, without ſome previous ſignification to their
" lordſhips, from the commons, of their being
" ready to proceed therein; and therefore the
" commons could not agree, to the day appointed
" by their lordſhips for the trial of the earl of Or-
" ford; and as to the ſending up articles againſt
" the earl of Portland, they thought their lord-
" ſhips, by the frequent repetition of it, intended
" to introduce diſputes to the delay of juſtice, and
" in breach of that good correſpondence, which
" ought to be obſerved between the two houſes."

The lords inſiſt on their right.

The controverſy began now to be very warm, in both houſes: and the lords, to ſhew that they intended to perſiſt in their former meſſage, gave a freſh inſtance of this their reſolution, by " puting
" the commons in mind of replying to the lord
" Sommers," and on that occaſion aſſerted, " that
" the right of limiting a convenient time for the trial
" was lodged in them."

The commons propoſe a committee of both houſes, &c.

At a conference held, on this occaſion, the commons afterwards propoſed the appointing of a committee of both houſes, to conſider of the moſt proper ways and methods of proceeding on impeachments: but the lords, by another meſſage, inſiſted on " their right of appointing the day of trial,
" without any previous ſignification from the com-
" mons of their being ready, and complained that
" the commons ſhould charge them with delaying
" juſtice." On the other hand, the commons in-ſiſted as ſtrenuouſly on the nominating " a commit-
" tee of both houſes, to adjuſt the neceſſary preli-
" minaries to the trials: as whether the impeached
" lords ſhould appear at their trials, at their lord-
" ſhips bar, as criminals, and whether they ſhould
" ſit as judges, at each others trials, or vote, in
" their own caſes, as they found, by their lord-
" ſhips journals, they had been admited to do."

Which the lords refuſe.

The lords ſtill perſiſted to refuſe appointing any ſuch committee to conſider of the ways and methods of impeachments; and to ſhew they would not be controuled, in what they called their right, they appointed the 13th of June, for the trial of the lord Sommers: but the commons were as reſolute, on their ſide, and refuſed to appear at any trial, 'till the preliminaries were ſettled.

Reſolutions of the lords.

The lords, hereupon, came to two reſolutions, which they communicated to the commons, and were as follows: 1. " That no lord of parliament, impeach-
" ed for high crimes and miſdeamenors, and coming
" to his trial, ſhall be without the bar. 2. That no
" lord, impeached of high crimes and miſdeame-
" nors, can be precluded from voting on any occa-
" ſion, except in his own trial:" and becauſe the commons ſhould not pretend they were ſtreightned for time, " they ordered the trial of the lord Som-
" mers to be put off to the 17th of June, and agreed
" to a free conference with the commons.

A free conference held.

At this conference the lord Haverſham ſaid;
" one thing there is which a worthy member men-
" tioned, tho' I cannot ſpeak to it large: becauſe
" I think myſelf bound up by the reſolutions of
" the houſes: yet it muſt have ſome anſwer; that
" is, as to the lords voting in their own caſe, it
" requires an anſwer, tho' I cannot enter into the
" debate of it. The commons themſelves have
" made this precedent. For in theſe impeachments
" they have allowed men, equally concerned in the

" ſame

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" ſame facts (1), to vote in their own houſe: and " we have not made this diſtinction in ours, that " ſome ſhould vote, and ſome not. The lords " had ſo high an opinion of the juſtice of the houſe " of commons, that they hope juſtice ſhall never be " made uſe of as a maſk for any deſign: and there- " fore give me leave to ſay (tho' I am not to argue " it) it is to me a plain demonſtration, that the " commons think theſe lords innocent; and I " think the propoſition is undeniable: for when " there are ſeveral lords in the ſame circumſtances " (2), in the ſame facts, there is no diſtinction: " and the commons leave ſome of theſe men at the " head of affairs, near the King's perſon, to do any " miſchief if they are inclined to it, which looks as " if they thought them all innocent." Theſe expreſſions were immediately objected to by ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and the managers for the commons, took them to be ſuch an aſperſion on the honor of that houſe, that they immediately withdrew from the conference (3); and theſe managers being returned to their houſe, it was reſolved; " that " John lord Haverſham had, at the free conference, " uttered moſt ſcandalous reproaches and falſe ex- " preſſions highly reflecting upon the honor and " juſtice of the houſe of commons, and tending to " the making a breach in the good correſpondence " between the lords and commons, and to the inter- " rupting the public juſtice of the nation, by de- " laying the proceedings on impeachments: and " reſolved that John lord Haverſham be charged " before the lords, for the words ſpoken at the ſaid " conference; and that the lords be deſired to " proceed in juſtice againſt him, and to inflict ſuch " puniſhment on the ſaid lord, as ſo high an offenſe " againſt the commons does deſerve."

The commons reſent words ſpoken there, by the lord Haverſham.

The lords afterwards deſired that the free conference might be renewed, in order to ſet all matters right: but the commons reſolved, " that it was not " conſiſtent with their honor to renew the free con- " ference, 'till juſtice was done them on the lord " Haverſham."

Farther reſolutions of the commons.

The 16th of June, the lords ſent the commons the following rules, to be obſerved the next day, at the trial of the lord Sommers:

Rules given by the lords, for the trial of the lord Sommers.

1. " That the whole impeachment be read, and " then the anſwer; which being done, the lord- " keeper to tell the commons, that they may go " on with their evidence.

2. " If any of the peers, or the members of the " houſe of commons, who manage the evidence, or " the lord impeached, do deſire, do have any queſ- " tion aſked, they deſire the lord-keeper to aſk the " ſame.

3. " If any doubt ariſes at the trial, no debate to " be in the court, but the queſtion ſuſpended, to " be debated in this houſe.

4. " The members of the houſe of commons to " be there before the peers come.

5. " None but the peers to be covered at the " trial.

6. " Such peers, at the trial of the impeach- " ed lord, who at the inſtance of the ſaid lord, " or of the commons, ſhall be admited wit- " neſſes, are to ſworn at the clerk's table, " and the lord-keeper to adminiſter the oath, " and to deliver their evidence, in their own " places.

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7. " Thoſe witneſſes who are commoners, are to " be ſworn at the bar, by the clerk, and are to " deliver their evidence there.

8. " The impeached lords may croſs-examine wit- " neſſes, viva voce."

The commons received, the ſame day, the lord Haverſham's anſwer to their charge; in which he juſtified the expreſſions he had made uſe of, in the late conference between the two houſes; and ſtill aſſerted, " that the commons had ſhewn them- " ſelves partial, and even unjuſt, in proceeding " againſt the impeached lords, while they ſuffered " the earl of Jerſey, mr. ſecretary Vernon, ſir " Joſeph Williamſon, ſir Edward Seymour, " ſir Stephen Fox, and mr. Pelham, who were " ingaged in the ſame tranſactions, to remain un- " moleſted."

Lord Haverſham's anſwer to the charge againſt him.

The commons, on the other hand, gave ſeveral reaſons why they could not appear, at the lord Sommers's trial, of which the following were the principal:

Reaſons given by the commons for not appearing at the trial.

1. " That the lords had not agreed to a commit- " tee of both houſes, for ſettling the preliminaries.

2. " That they could never appear as proſecu- " tors, before their lordſhips, 'till they had given " them ſatisfaction, that lords impeached of the " ſame crimes ſhould not ſit as judges, on each " others trials, for thoſe crimes.

3. " Becauſe the commons had yet received no " reparation for the great indignity offered them, " at the free conference, by the lord Haverſham."

This did not hinder the lords from proceeding to the trial of the lord Sommers, the 17th, in Weſtminſter-hall; or rather to the acquiting him; for the whole proceſs was this: they cauſed the articles againſt him, with his anſwer, to be read, and the commons not having replied, and conſequently no iſſue joined, they put the following queſtion: " that John lord Sommers, be acquited of the ar- " ticles of impeachment exhibited againſt him by " the houſe of commons, and of all things therein " contained; and that the ſaid impeachment be " diſmiſſed?" which was reſolved in the affirmative.

The lord Sommers acquited.

To juſtify their proceedings, the lords ſent, on the 20th, their anſwer to the reaſons given by the commons, why they could not appear, at the trial of the impeached lords, in which their lordſhips ſaid: " they acknowleged that the houſe of com- " mons have a right of impeaching: but that the " lords have an undoubted right of doing juſtice " upon ſuch impeachments, by bringing them to " a trial, and condemning or acquiting the parties, " in a reaſonable time: that there never was an in- " ſtance of a committee of both houſes yielded to " by the lords, in caſe of impeachment for high " crimes and miſdemeanors; and they ſhould make " no new precedent on this occaſion:" and, as to the pretence the commons made to delay the trials, on account of ſome expreſſions which fell from the lord Haverſham, their lordſhips anſwered; " they " had omited nothing that might give the commons

Anſwer of the lords to the reaſons given by the commons, &c.

(1) This his lordſhip afterwards explained in print, alleging; " that the lord Hallifax was impeached, for that he, being " a commiſſioner of the treaſury, aſſented to the paſſing of diverſe grants from the crown, for ſeveral lands in Ireland; and " yet ſir Edward Seymor, ſir Stephen Fox, and mr. Pelham, who being alſo lords-commiſſioners of the treaſury did " ſeverally aſſent to the paſſing of diverſe like grants, ſtood unimpeached.

(2) This his lordſhip, likewiſe, indeavored to juſtify, by urging " that the lords Portland, Sommers, Orford and Hallifax, " were impeached for adviſing the treaty of partition, yet the earl of Jerſey, who ſigned the partition in 1699, ſir Joſeph " Williamſon, who tranſacted and ſigned the firſt treaty of partition in 1698, and mr. ſecretary Vernon, who promoted the " latter, ſtood unimpeached: and that one of the articles againſt the earl of Orford, and the lord Sommers was for procuring " a commiſſion for captain Kidd, and likewiſe a grant of the ſhips and goods of certain perſons; and yet other lords, equally " concerned in procuring the ſaid commiſſion and grant ſtood, unimpeached.

(3) When they were upon withdrawing, the lord Steward ſaid, he hoped they would not think, that lord had any authority from the houſe of lords, to uſe any ſuch expreſſions towards the commons: which however, little availed to alleviate the reſentment the commons ſhewed on this occaſion.

" all

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" all reaſonable ſatisfaction in that matter;" and obſerved farther, " that this buſineſs had no relation to the trial of the impeach'd lords, and, " therefore, they could not imagine why the commons ſhould make ſatisfaction and reparation againſt the lord Haverſham, a neceſſary condition " for going on with the trials."

The very ſame day, the commons, being now provoked to the higheſt degree, came to the following warm and remarkable reſolution:

Warm reſolution of the commons.

" That the lords had refuſed juſtice to the commons, upon the impeachment againſt the lord " Sommers, by denying a commitee of both houſes " to ſettle the preliminaries, and afterwards proceeding to a pretended trial of the ſaid lord, " which could tend only to protect him from " juſtice, by color of an illegal acquital: againſt " which proceedings the commons did ſolemnly " proteſt, as being repugnant to the rules of juſtice, " and therefore null and void: that the houſe of " lords, by the pretended trial of John, lord Sommers, had indeavored to over-turn the right of " impeachments, lodged in the houſe of commons, " by the ancient conſtitution of this kingdom, for the " ſafety and protection of the commons againſt the " power of great men, and had made an invaſion on " the liberties of the ſubject, by laying a foundation of " impunity, for the greateſt offender: that all the " ill conſequences which might attend the delay of " the ſupplies, given by the commons, for preſerving the public peace, and maintaining the balance of Europe, by ſupporting our allies againſt " the power of France, were to be imputed to thoſe " who, to procure an indemnity for their own enormous crimes, had uſed their utmoſt indeavors to " make a breach between the two houſes.

A meſſage from the lords to the commons.

The ſame day, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them: " that the commons " not appearing to maintain their articles againſt " the lord Sommers, they had acquited him of the " articles of impeachment, and diſmiſſed the ſame: " and that they had appointed the next inſuing " Monday, for the trial of the earl of Orford: " that from the commons ſtill preſſing for a " committee of both houſes, their lordſhips inferred, that they never deſigned to bring any of " their impeachments to a trial: and as to the lord " Haverſham, his anſwer was before the commons, " and the lords reſolved to do juſtice in that matter."

The commons, on the other hand, to ſhew their reſolutions were immoveable, ordered, " that no " member ſhould preſume to appear at the pretended trial of the earl of Orford, on pain of " incuring the utmoſt diſpleaſure of the houſe."

Anſwer of the lords to the reſolution of the commons.

The 23d, the lords reſolved; " that the reſolutions of the commons, of the 20th, contained " moſt unjuſt reflections on the honor and juſtice of " the houſe of peers, and were contrived to cover " their affected and unreaſonable delays in proſecuting the impeached lords, and did manifeſtly " tend to the deſtruction of the judicature of the " lords; to the rendering trials and impeachments impracticable for the future; to the ſubverting the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, and therefore, whatever ill conſequences " might ariſe, from the ſo long defering the ſupplies of this year's ſervice, they were to be attributed to the fatal counſel of the puting off the " meeting of a parliament ſo long, and to the unneceſſary delays of the houſe of commons."

The earl of Orford acquited.

The ſame day, the lords proceeded to acquit the earl of Orford, as they had done the lord Sommers and on the 24th of June, being the laſt day of the ſeſſion, they made the following order.

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The earl of Portland, the lord Haverſham, and the ord Halliſax acquited.

" The houſe of commons not having preſented " their charge which they brought up againſt John, " lord Haverſham, for words ſpoken by him, at " a free conference, the 13th inſtant, the ſaid " charge is hereby diſmiſſed. The earl of Portland being impeached by the houſe of commons " of high crimes and miſdemeanors, the firſt day of " April laſt, the impeachment is hereby diſmiſſed, " there being no articles exhibited againſt him. " The houſe of commons having impeached Charles " lord Hallifax, of high crimes and miſdemeanors " on the 15th day of April laſt; and on the 14th " day of this inſtant June, exhibited articles againſt " him, to which he having anſwered, and there " being farther proſecution the ſaid impeachment and articles are hereby diſmiſſed."

They diſmiſſed, at the ſame time, an impeachment which had been prefered by a former parliament againſt the duke of Leeds.

As I choſe to give an abſtract of the proceedings againſt the impeached lords in one connexion, I muſt now go back to take a view of ſome other tranſactions which happened during this ſeſſion of parliament, among which none made more noiſe, than the following petition or remonſtrance, which was preſented to the houſe.

The Kentiſh petition.

" We the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, grand- " jury, and other free-holders, at the general " quarter-ſeſſions, at Maidſtone, in Kent, being " deeply concerned at the dangerous ſtate of this " kingdom, and of all Europe; and conſidering " that the fate of us, and our poſterity, depends on " the wiſdom of our repreſentatives in parliament, " think ourſelves bound in duty humbly to lay be- " fore this honorable houſe, the conſequence, in this " juncture, of your ſpeedy reſolutions, and moſt " ſincere indeavors, to anſwer the great truſt re- " poſed in you, by your country. And in regard, " from the experience of all ages, it is manifeſt, " no nation can be great or happy, without union, " we hope no pretenſe whatſoever ſhall be able to " create a miſunderſtanding among ourſelves, or the " leaſt diſtruſt of his Majeſty, whoſe great actions " for this nation are written in the hearts of his " ſubjects, and can never, without the blackeſt ingratitude be forgotten: we muſt humbly implore " this honorable houſe to have regard to the voice of " the people, that our religion and ſafety may be " effectually provided for: that your loyal addreſſes " may be turned into bills of ſupply, and that his " moſt ſacred Majeſty (whoſe propitious and unblemiſhed reign over us, we pray God long to " continue) may be inabled, powerfully to aſſiſt " his allies before it be too late.

The petitioners impriſoned.

This petition was preſented to the houſe, the 3d of May, by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Coleppeper, Juſtinian Champney, and William Hamilton, eſqs(1); and being read, theſe gentlemen were called, when at the bar of the houſe, they owned the petition, and that they had ſigned it They were ordered thereupon to withdraw, and the houſe reſolved; " that the ſaid petition was " ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious, tending to " deſtroy the conſtitutions of parliament, and to " ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of this king- " dom:" upon which theſe five gentlemen were ordered into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending that houſe: but he, ſoon after repreſenting that he was apprehenſive of a reſcue, from the mob, they were removed to a cloſer confinement in the Gate-houſe.

(1) This petition was ſubſcribed by twenty-two juſtices of the peace, and near 250 gentlemen.

A memorial called Legion ſent to the ſpeaker.

Some days after, a memorial was ſent to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons (1), full of bitter invectives and menaces, and complaining, among other things; "of their voting the Kentiſh petition inſolent, becauſe the free-holders of England are ſuperior to the commons: of their impriſoning gentlemen who were none of their members, and who, at the command of the people, came to put them in mind of their duty; declaring that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, in caſe their repreſentatives in parliament did not proceed, according to their duty, and the people's intereſt, to inform them of their diſlike, diſown their actions, and direct them as they thought fit; of their proſecuting the crime of bribery in elections in ſome only, to ſerve a party: of their voting the treaty of partition fatal to Europe, becauſe it gave ſo much of the Spaniſh dominions to France, and not concerning themſelves to prevent their taking poſſeſſion of it all. Of their deſerting the Dutch when the French were at their doors, 'till it were almoſt too late to help them. Of addreſſing the King to diſplace his friends, upon bare ſurmiſes, before a legal trial, which was inverting the law, and making execution go before judgment: of their delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, and ſo blaſting the reputation of the perſons, without proving the fact: of the breach of faith in neglecting to pay the nation's debts which were contracted on the ſecurity of their acts. And of their ſuffering ſaucy and indecent reproaches upon his Majeſty's perſon, to be publicly made in their houſe, without ſhewing ſuch reſentment as they ought to do." This memorial, which, tho' printed, no body durſt own, was intirely diſregarded, and taken no notice of by the commons.

Acts paſſed.

The King came to the houſe of peers, the 12th of June, and having ſent for the commons up, gave the royal aſſent; "1. To an act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubjects. 2. An act for preventing the inconveniencies that might happen by privilege of parliament (2). 3. An act to continue the acts therein mentioned, for preventing theft and rapine, upon the Northern borders of England. 4. An act for appointing wardens and aſſay-maſters, for aſſaying wrought-plate in the cities of York, Exeter, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Norwich. 5. An act for continuing a former act, to prevent falſe and double returns of members to ſerve in parliament. 6. An act for the better ſettling and preſerving the library kept in the houſe at Weſtminſter, called Cotton-houſe, in the name and family of the Cotton's, for the benefit of the public." And to ſeveral other private acts.

This done, his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I return you my hearty thanks for the care you have taken to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and I muſt not loſe this occaſion of acquainting you, that I am likewiſe extreamly ſenſible of your repeated aſſurances of ſupporting me in ſuch alliances, as ſhall be moſt proper for the ſecurity of England and Holland. Your ready compliance with my deſires as to the ſuccors for the States-General, is alſo a very great ſatisfaction to me, as well as a great advantage to the common-cauſe; and as I have nothing ſo much at heart, as the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, and the honor and intereſt of England, ſo I make no doubt of maintaining thoſe great ends, by the bleſſing of God, and the continuance of your chearful concurrence.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſeaſon of the year makes it neceſſary to have a ſpeedy receſs, and the poſture of affairs abroad does abſolutely require my preſenſe, for the incouragement of the allies, and for the perfecting of ſuch alliances, as may be moſt effectual for the common intereſt, and therefore, I muſt recommend a diſpatch of the public buſineſs, eſpecially of thoſe matters that are of the greateſt importance."

Addreſs of the commons.

This ſpeech being read in the houſe of commons, they unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, importing: "that they did, with all imaginable chearfulneſs, return their moſt humble thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious ſpeech upon the throne, wherein he was pleaſed to expreſs his royal approbation of their proceedings: and they farther unanimouſly aſſured his Majeſty, that they would be ready, on all occaſions, to aſſiſt in ſupporting him in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit to make, in conjunction with the Emperor and States-General, for the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, the proſperity and peace of England, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France."

The King's anſwer.

To this addreſs, his Majeſty replied; "it would be a great incouragement to his allies to find the ſenſe of the kingdom ſo fully expreſſed on this occaſion, and would contribute moſt effectually to the obtaining the ends they had mentioned."

Differences about the bill for ſtating the public accounts.

As I have given a particular account of the affair of the impeached lords, I muſt not wholly paſs by another tranſaction, which likewiſe occaſioned a difference between the two houſes. The commons having paſſed a bill for appointing commiſſioners to take, ſtate and examine the public accounts, and the lords having made ſome amendments to it, the former would, by no means, allow of them, and drew up reaſons to be offered to their lordſhips, for their diſagreement, importing:

"That the firſt amendment of the lords would prevent the accounting for many millions of mony given for the uſe of the public: that by the ſecond mr. Parkhurſt and mr. Paſchal, commiſſioners of prizes, were exempted from giving an account of the great ſums of mony ariſing therefrom: that they could not agree to a clauſe ſent down by the lords, whereby the commiſſioners were directed to allow a pretended debt to colonel Baldwin Leighton, becauſe the diſpoſition of mony ever belonged to the commons as well as granting it: that they would not allow of the fourth amendment, becauſe mr. Whitacre, ſollicitor to the admiralty, mentioned in the rider, having received 25,000 l. and upwards, of the public mony, unaccounted for, was left out by their lordſhips: and laſtly, that by ſuch amendments of their lordſhips, the ſupplies provided by the commons, for paying the arrears due to

(1) This memorial (as it was intitled) from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of ——— in behalf of themſelves and many thouſands of the good people of England, was ſigned, Legion, and incloſed in a letter wherein they charged and commanded the ſpeaker, in the name of 200,000 Engliſh men, to deliver it to the houſe.

(2) This bill indeared both houſes very much to the people, and went near to attone for the late remiſſneſs of the commons, in ſuccoring the Dutch, and other important affairs. The exemptions of their perſons, eſtates and ſervants, from arreſts, executions and ſuits, was a privilege that had belonged to them above 100 years, indiſputably: but it having been the misfortune of latter times, to ſee men crowd, by indirect means, into the lower houſe, to protect themſelves from the payment of juſt debts, and ſome of them to make ſale of other men's properties to redeem their own fortune, this parliament took off that privilege, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the buſineſs of the nation. Hiſt. of King William III. Vol. 3. p. 488.

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" the army, muſt of neceſſity be ineffectual, 'till " another ſeſſion of parliament.

The King found there would be no other m ns to interrupt theſe fatal diſputes, between both houſes, than to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament: therefore, all other bills being now ready, his Majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, the ſpeaker, on preſenting the mony-bills, made the following ſpeech:

The ſpeaker's ſpeech to his Majeſty.

Sir,

" It is with great joy and ſatisfaction, that I at- " tend your Majeſty at this time, ſince your com- " mons have complied with all your Majeſty was " pleaſed to deſire at their meeting. They have " paſſed the bill of ſucceſſion, which has ſettled " the crown in a Proteſtant line, and continued the " liberty of England, which your Majeſty has " ſettled and preſerved: they have paſſed a bill for " taking away thoſe privileges, which might have " proved burthenſome, and oppreſſive to your ſub- " jects: they have given your Majeſty thoſe ſup- " plies, which are more than ever were given in a " time of peace, to inable your Majeſty, when " you are abroad, to ſupport your allies, procure " either a laſting peace, or to preſerve the liberties " of Europe by a neceſſary war."

His Majeſty then gave his royal aſſent to the following acts, viz. 1. " An act for granting to his " Majeſty an aid for defraying the expenſe of his " navy, guards and gariſons, for one year, and " for other neceſſary occaſions. 2. An act for " granting to his Majeſty ſeveral duties upon low " wines, or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, and con- " tinuing ſeveral additional duties upon coffee, tea, " chocolate, ſpices and pictures, and certain im- " poſitions upon hawkers, pedlers, and petty chap- " men; and the duty of 15 per cent. upon muſlins; " and for improving the duties upon jappaned and " lacquered goods; and for continuing the coinage- " duties, for the ſeveral terms and purpoſes therein " mentioned. 3. An act for appropriating 3,700 l. " weekly, out of certain branches of exciſe, for " public uſes, and for making a proviſion for the " ſervice of his Majeſty's houſhold, and family, " and other his neceſſary occaſions;" and to ſeveral other private acts.

Acts paſſed.

Theſe bills being paſſed, his Majeſty was pleaſed to deliver himſelf to both houſes, in the following ſpeech:

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

" The ſeſſion being now come to a concluſion, I " muſt return you my hearty thanks, for the great " zeal you have expreſſed for the public ſervice; " and your ready compliance with thoſe things " which I recommended to you, at the opening of " the ſeſſion; and I muſt thank you gentlemen of " the houſe of commons in particular, both for " your diſpatches of thoſe neceſſary ſupplies you " have granted for the public occaſions, and for " the incouragement you have given me to enter " into alliances, for the preſervation of the peace of " Europe, and the ſupport of the confederacy; " in which, as it ſhall be my care not to put the " nation to any unneceſſary expenſe, ſo I make no " doubt, that whatſoever ſhall be done, during " your receſs, for the advantage of the common " cauſe, in this matter, will have your approba- " tion, at your meeting again in winter."

Preferments.

Towards the latter end of March, the King appointed the earl of Pembroke, lord preſident of the council, to be firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, in the room of the earl of Bridgwater deceaſed. At the ſame time, mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, was admited into the privy-council, and mr. Thomas Pelham was made one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. The 26th of April, the King appointed ſir George Rooke, to be admiral and commander in chief of his fleet, this ſummer. The 1ſt of June, the King declared the earl of Marlborough, general of the foot, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in Holland. The 18th, his Highneſs, the elector of Hannover, and the duke of Queenſborough, were elected knights of the Garter. The 19th, the earl of Lindſey, lord great chamberlain of England, and the earl of Carliſle, earl marſhal of England (during the minority of the duke of Norfolk, hereditary earl-marſhal) were both ſworn members of the privy-council. The 28th, his Majeſty appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the keeper of the great ſeal of England, the lord preſident of the council, the dukes of Devonſhire and Sommerſet, the earl of Jerſey, lord chamberlain, and the lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, to be lords-juſtices of England, for the adminiſtration of the government, during his abſenſe. The ſame day the duke of Sommerſet was ſworn of his Majeſty's privy-council, and the earl of Marlborough, beſide his other imployments, had the character of his Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Holland, confered on him. Edward Southwell, Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and James Vernon, junior, eſqs, were conſtituted commiſſioners to execute the office of keeper of the privy ſeal, vacant by the death of the earl of Tankerville. Sir Thomas Trevor, the attorney-general, was made lord chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, in the room of ſir George Treby, deceaſed: and Edward Northey, eſq; appointed to be attorny-general. The ſame day, the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of London, waited on the King at Hampton-court, and, in a moſt humble manner, took leave of his Majeſty. The 1ſt of July, the King imbarked at Margate for Holland, and happily landed there the 14th of July, N. S. He received the next morning, the compliments of all the forein miniſters at the Hague, of the ſeveral courts of juſtice, &c. and then going to the aſſembly of the States General, he told that illuſtrious aſſembly:

The King goes to Holland.

His ſpeech to the aſſembly of the States-General.

" That he always came into that country with " joy; but eſpecially in this dangerous conjuncture, " becauſe he foreſaw his preſenſe would be neceſſary " for the ſervice of the ſtate: he hoped to have " paſſed the reſt of his days in repoſe and peace, " and left that ſtate in a quiet flouriſhing condition: " but there had happened ſuch great alterations " in the affairs of Europe, that they knew not what " the Divine Providence would determine concern- " ing them. However, he could aſſure their " High-mightineſſes, that whether things were ac- " commodated amicably, or whether they ſhould " be obliged to take up arms, he perſiſted in the ſame " zeal he ever had for their ſervice and proſperity. " He was overjoyed to find things ſtill quiet, which, " next to the bleſſing of GOD, was to be aſcribed " to their reſolution of puting themſelves in a poſture " of defenſe, and he was perſuaded their confede- " rates would contribute vigorouſly towards it: he " would aſſure them the whole Engliſh nation were " ready to aſſiſt the State, and ſtrongly to contri- " bute towards their defenſe, and to whatever " might tend to the common ſecurity. This was " what their High mightineſſes might depend on; " and he hoped GOD would ſo far bleſs their indea- " vors, that they ſhould attain their ends, either by " a negociation or by force of arms.

Anſwer of the States.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, the preſident of the aſſembly told his Majeſty; " that they could not " omit thanking him for his aſſurances, not only " in his own name, but in the name of the Engliſh " nation, in favor of themſelves, and of the com- " mon cauſe; well knowing how much they might " rely upon a people, whoſe courage had gained " ſo much reputation in the world; and were al-

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" always of opinion, that their intereſts were inſe-
" parable from thoſe of England.

His Majeſty began now viſibly to decline in his health, however, as much as the ſtate of it would allow, he imployed his hours for the public good: to this end, he in perſon reviewed the frontier-gariſons of Holland; and having viſited Bergen-op-zoom, Sluis, Fort-Philippina, and ſeveral other places, he returned to the Hague. The French embaſſador, monſ. d'Avaux, had, in the mean time, deliver'd a letter from the French King to the States, to notify his being recall'd. This letter was accompanied by a memorial, in which he alledged: " That he was in hopes their lordſhips
" would have had that confidence in his maſter's
" affection and deſires of peace, as would have
" diſſipated thoſe vain fears, which the advance-
" ment of his grandſon to the throne of Spain, had
" infuſed into them; and this hope was confirm'd
" by their acknowledging that King, and congra-
" tulating his acceſſion, till the propoſals made by
" their High-mightineſſes, and the King of Eng-
" land's envoy, gave occaſion to judge, that war,
" rather than peace, would be the fruit of that
" ſtrict union, which the conformity of the pro-
" poſals diſcover'd there was between that Prince,
" and their High-mightineſſes. That if he had
" oppoſed, for ſome time, the admiſſion of the
" King of England's envoy into the conferences,
" it was out of his ſincere deſire to remove all
" obſtacles, which the enemies to peace were
" continually laying in the way: that his maſter
" did not believe their lordſhips would eaſily
" have inſiſted upon the pretended ſatisfaction
" to be given to the Emperor, confounding the
" intereſt of other Princes, with their own, and
" ſeting themſelves up for arbitrators, between
" the houſes of France and Auſtria. That the
" treaties between their lordſhips and the King of
" England were too ſtrict, and had too well made
" known their blind ſubmiſſion to the ſentiments
" of that Monarch; and no doubt but after the
" Engliſh envoy had declared, that his maſter
" would never depart from the intereſt of the
" Emperor, their lordſhips had already taken a
" reſolution, to make the ſame declaration, to the
" moſt Chriſtian King's embaſſador: concluding,
" that his Majeſty had taken up arms in the de-
" fenſe of his grandſon only; and if it had been
" his deſign to make new conqueſts, he might have
" done it when his forces, upon the frontiers of
" their republic, afforded him the means to have
" made an advantage of their weakneſs: and
" wiſh'd that their lordſhips, convinced of the
" ſincerity of his Majeſty's intentions, would, in
" time, take ſuch reſolutions, as might be agree-
" able to their true intereſts ".

Monſ. d'Avaux memorial to the States.

The ſubſtance of the anſwer of the States, to this memorial, was a follows:

The anſwer of the States.

" That they could not comprehend, how they
" ſhould obſtruct the conferences, either by the
" intervention of the King of Britain, who was
" one of the parties concern'd in the treaty of par-
" tition, or of any other Potentate, who had any
" intereſt in preſerving the general peace: that they
" had given a convincing proof of their deſiring
" peace by acknowledging the new King of Spain:
" but that they had not thereby owned the juſtice
" or injuſtice of a third party, nor ſeparated their
" intereſt from any that were concerned in the
" general peace; and therefore, the delays and diffi-
" culties raiſed, about admiting the Engliſh envoy,
" were not chargeable upon them, but upon the
" count d'Avaux. That the French King had
" reaſon to think they would inſiſt on ſatisfaction
" to the Emperor, ſince that was the firſt of their
" propoſals, which he himſelf thought juſt and
" neceſſary. That they did not ſet up as umpires
" between France and the houſe of Auſtria; but
" deſired his Majeſty to remember, that he him-
" ſelf, as well as the King of Great-Britain, and the
" States, thought a war would be unavoidable, if,
" upon the death of the late King of Spain, either
" he, or the Emperor, ſhould inſiſt upon the pre-
" tenſions of their families to the ſucceſſion, and it
" was, therefore, they entered into the treaty of
" partition. That their owning the King of Spain
" did not hinder giving a reaſonable ſatisfaction to
" the Emperor. That they had done nothing, which
" could be conſtrued a breach of the treaty, which
" confirmed and ſealed their ſovereignty. That
" their provinces were always free and ſovereign;
" and as their anceſtors ſpent their lives and fortunes
" to aſſert their freedom, ſo they were reſolved
" to do the like. That the States did not blindly
" follow the King of Great Britain's ſentiments, but
" had a great deference, for his advice, becauſe
" they were perſuaded he was inclined to preſerve
" the peace, and convinced he ſought nothing but
" the welfare of their republic. That if the con-
" ferences were ſuſpended, upon that account, they
" ſhould be ſorry for it; but if the French King
" had thought fit to let them continue, and to allow
" ſatisfaction to the Emperor, they had hopes of
" a good concluſion. Laſtly, they alledged the
" reaſons they had to arm, from the jealouſy given
" them by France and Spain; and concluded, that
" if, contrary to their inclinations, they muſt enter
" into a war, they had no cauſe to blame themſelves
" for it, and, therefore, hop'd that God would
" protect them ".

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By this anſwer, the French King might plainly ſee the confederates would not be contented with leſs than his yielding part of the Spaniſh territories, at leaſt, to the Emperor, and granting a barrier to the Dutch; and it is highly probable, tho' Lewis XIV did not think fit to declare himſelf yet, he was determined to hazard a war, rather than do either.

During theſe tranſactions, Prince Eugene of Savoy, at the head of 40,000 Imperialiſts paſs'd the Alps, and penetrated into Italy, in order to recover the Milaneſe, from the French, the Emperor laying claim to it, as a fief of the Empire: and it is not to be doubted, but King William, and the States had promiſed his Imperial Majeſty to ſupport his pretenſions. The brave Prince Eugene had the good fortune to make himſelf maſter of Caſtiglione, in the month of Auguſt; and, the 1ſt of November, he gained an advantage of the French at Cherry: after which, continuing in the field 'till near Chriſtmas, he recover'd almoſt all the Mantuan, from the enemy.

Prince Eugene penetrates into Italy.

Another war was carrying on, at the ſame time, in the north, which, tho' it did not ſo nearly affect us, deſerves our notice here, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to mention it hereafter. A confederacy had been formed by the Kings of Denmark and Poland, the Czar of Muſcovy, the Elector of Brandenburg, and ſome other Princes of Germany, againſt Charles XII, King of Sweden, then not above 18 years of age. This young hero had (as I have already related) by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleet, compel'd the Danes to ſue for peace, and to deſert their allies. After this, he tranſported his troops into Livonia, to relieve Riga, which was inveſted by the Poles, and raiſed the ſiege. He then march'd his army to Narva, which was beſieged by above 80,000 Ruſſians, whom he intirely defeated, with about a tenth part of the number, and in a ſhort time cleared that province both of the Poles and Muſcovites: but to return to our own affairs.

A war in the north.

The conferences at the Hague being intirely broke off, the States continued to augment their troops;

WILL' III. troops; as the French did, on their ſide, in forti-
AN' 1701. fying their lines, from the Scheld, near Antwerp, to the Maeſe, and from Antwerp to Oſtend: and thus I ſhall leave both parties preparing for a war, to give a brief account of what was doing, in the mean time, at ſea.

Maritime affairs.

Tho' it was not believed, at the begining of this year, that a war with France would ſo immediately break out; yet there was a ſuſpicion, that the French had a deſign, to cover a tranſport, ſome time in March, with a ſquadron from Dunkirk, and that they would land forces in this kingdom; orders were, therefore, ſent to rear-admiral Bembow, who commanded in the Downs, to uſe his utmoſt diligence, to fruſtrate any ſuch deſign; and, in the month of February, the flag-officers were diſpatched to the ſeveral ports, to haſten out the ſhips, and to ſend them to the rendezvous in the Downs. But, if the French really had any ſuch intention, they did not think it convenient, at this time, to put it in execution.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel arrived, at Spithead, the fifteenth of April, with ſix and forty Engliſh and ten Dutch ſhips, including ſmall frigats and fire-ſhips, from whence there were ſquadrons ſent to Ireland, for conducting troops from thence to Holland, and cruiſers into the Soundings, and elſewhere, for ſecurity of the trade, while others were imployed for intelligence: for the French, accoring to the beſt advices, were making all imaginable diſpatch in fiting out, and maning their ſhips, at Breſt, and the ports in that bay.

Sir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, went on board the Triumph, in the Downs, the ſecond of July (at which time his Majeſty was convoyed to Holland by vice admiral Hopſon) and arriving at Spithead, the fourth, received directions to follow the King's orders. A few days after, he was joined by rear-admiral Mundy, with two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, and one fifth-rate; and then he formed his line of battle.

This line of battle conſiſted of two ſhips of ninety guns, ſix of eighty, thirteen of ſeventy, eleven of ſixty, and ſixteen of fifty, together eight and forty, beſide ſmall frigats, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, &c. Engliſh: and of the Dutch, one ſhip of ninety-two, one of ninety, two of ſeventy-two, four of ſixty-four, one of fifty-two, and ſix of fifty guns, together fifteen, beſide frigats, and other ſmall craft. The Engliſh flag-officers were, the admiral himſelf; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the blue; ſir Thomas Hopſon, vice-admiral of the red; John Bembow, eſq; vice-admiral of the blue, and ſir John Mundy, rear-admiral of the red. The Dutch flag-officers were, lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waſſenaer.

For want of proviſions and other neceſſaries, the fleet was detained at St. Helens, 'till the middle of Auguſt, when the admiral ſailed, and got his paſſage to Torbay, where he was forced to anchor, the twenty-firſt. Some days after, he ſailed again; but he was no ſooner got clear of the land, than a ſtorm, in which his ſhips got ſome damage in their top-maſts and ſails, obliged him to return to Torbay.

The admiral weigh'd again the twenty-ninth, and reached off of the Fourn-head, near the Iſle of Uſhant, the firſt of September, where he cruiſed, till near the middle of that month, and then, leaving that ſtation, he beat ſeveral days, between the Start and Plymouth, and arrived at St. Helens the twentieth, where he received orders to come with the great ſhips to the Downs, the Dutch being already got to Spithead. WILL' III. AN' 1701.

While the admiral was on his ſtation, he received orders from the lords-juſtices of the kingdom, in the King's abſenſe, to detach ſix third-rates, nine fourth-rates, one fifth-rate, one ſixth-rate, two fire-ſhips, a ſtore-ſhip, and an hoſpital, of the Engliſh, under the command of ſir John Mundy, and ten Dutch ſhips, beſide fire-ſhips and ſmall frigats, commanded by baron Waſſenaer, to ſee the ſquadron bound to the Weſt-Indies well into ſea; which was done accordingly.

Tho' nothing was attempted by the confederate fleet, this ſummer, yet its being at ſea was of great ſervice, as it ſtruck amazement and terror into moſt of our neighbors. Even the Portugueſe, tho' yet in friendſhip with England, were not altogether free from apprehenſions, having reaſon to dread King William's reſentment, for the alliance they had lately made with France and Spain; the latter of which kingdoms, being unarmed, and the coaſts unguarded, might juſtly fear an attempt from our fleet, which they had refuſed the uſe of their harbors, when inſiſted upon, by the Dutch, before they ſet ſail. But matters were not yet ſo ripe; and all the motions of this fleet was but a politic amuſement, to detach a ſtrong ſquadron, without giving any previous ſuſpicion, to the Weſt-Indies: of the ſucceſs of which, I ſhall give an account in the inſuing reign.

Preparations for war.

We left the confederates and the French both imployed in their preparations, as well to ſuſtain, as to begin a war. The fortifications of Nimeguen, which, by the acquiſitions of the French, was now become a frontier town, were carried on with great diligence, and King William went himſelf to view them, as well as to muſter a body of troops that were drawn up on the Mocker-Hyde, near that place. Freſh recruits were daily ſent over from England, and got together from other parts: and to omit nothing that might tend to the ſecurity of the United-provinces, which ſeemed to be in the moſt immediate danger, his Majeſty indeavored to bring over the Elector of Cologne, to the intereſt of the Empire, England and Holland. The earl of Galway was imployed in this important negociation: but tho' he was ſupported by the chapter, he was not able to ſhake that Prince's reſolution, who, at the inſtigation of his brother, the Elector of Bavaria, was already entered into ingagements with France. The war ſeemed now only to be defer'd, 'till each ſide could form their alliances; but it might not probably have broke out ſo ſoon, had not an accident happen'd, which brought matters to a criſis, I mean the death of King James II, who, being ſeized with a vomiting of blood, departed this life, at St. Germains, on the 6th of September, O. S. (1)

Death of K. James II.

Lewis XIV proclaims the Pretender.

The French King took hereupon the impolitic ſtep (as it was generally thought to be, at that time) to declare the young pretended Prince of Wales to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland; by which he drew upon himſelf immediately, that ſwarm of enemies, which, ſoon after, compos'd the grand alliance, and which he ſhould rather have indeavor'd to keep at bay, 'till the duke d'Anjou was fix'd more firmly on the throne of Spain (2).

(1) His corpſe was carried to Paris, and depoſited in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines, in the ſuburbs of St. James's; where he yet lies not intered, but in a hearſe, together with the body of a Princeſs, which his Queen bore him, after his abdication, but who died before him: and were probably not buried, in hopes ſome favorable opportunity might offer for tranſporting them to England.

(2) This proclamation was performed by order of the court of France. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the earl of Mancheſter told him, the Prince of Wales's own court was going about it: but a difficulty, propoſed by the earl of Middleton, put a ſtop to it: he apprehended, that it would look very ſtrange, and might provoke the court of France, if, among his titles, he ſhould be called King of France, and might diſguſt their party in England, if it was omited; ſo that piece of ceremony was not performed.

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It was ſuppoſed, that Lewis XIV had ſolemnly promiſed King James, during King William's laſt indiſpoſition, that in caſe the latter died, he would revive his abſolute title: but King James happening to dy firſt, he reſolved to fulfill, in the ſon, the promiſe he had made to the father, that at leaſt, he might thereby keep up the Jacobite party in England. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty communicated his intentions to his great council, which conſiſted of twenty-three perſons, of whom all but ſeven were againſt this ſtep; alleging, that a Prince of ſuch ſpirit and intereſt, as King William, could not but highly reſent it, as the Engliſh nation infallibly would, eſpecially at this juncture, when they had juſt ſettled the ſucceſſion in a Proteſtant line. The Dauphin, being the laſt who was to ſpeak, roſe up with ſome warmth, and ſaid, "it would be unworthy the crown of France to abandon a Prince of their own blood, and one who was ſo dear to them, as the ſon of King James: that for his part, he was reſolved not only to hazard his life, but all that was dear to him, for his reſtoration:" the King, and all the Princes of the blood, were of the ſame opinion with the Dauphin, whereupon he was publicly proclaimed, as I have ſaid above (1).

The Dauphin's ſpeech on this occaſion.

This haſty and unexpected proceeding of France was ſo reſented by King William, that he immediately ſent an expreſs to the lord Mancheſter, his embaſſador in France, to come directly away, without taking his leave (2); and his lordſhip, having received theſe orders, ſent the following letter to mr. de Torcy, ſecretary of ſtate for forein affairs.

The Engliſh embaſſador in France recalled.

My lord,

"The King my maſter, being informed, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has acknowleged another King of Great-Britain, thinks that his glory and honor permits him no more to have an embaſſador near the King, your maſter, and has ſent me orders to depart immediately; whereof I do myſelf the honor to acquaint you, by this letter; and withall to aſſure you that I am, &c."

His letter to mr. de Torcy.

The French King, who was then at Fontainbleau, tho' he could reaſonably expect no other proceeding on King William's ſide, ſeemed ſurprized at this ſudden reſolution; he aſſembled his council, and was two or three days deliberating, before M. de Torcy ſent the embaſſador any anſwer; but then he received the following:

My lord,

"I have nothing more to add, to what I had the honor to tell you, eight days ago, of the ſincere deſire the King has always had, to preſerve, with the King your maſter, the peace confirmed by the treaty of Ryſwick. I pray you only, as to me in particular, to be perſuaded, that in what place ſoever you be, you will have none that ſhall be with more ſincerity, than I ſhall be, all my life time, &c."(3)

Mr. de Torcy's anſwer.

The lord Mancheſter having, hereupon, obtained his paſs-ports, made haſte to leave that intriguing court, and, before the twenty-third of September, notice was given, by his Majeſty's command, to monſ. Pouſſin, the French ſecretary here, that he ſhould immediately leave the kingdom. Much about the ſame time, that this beggarly Frenchman (as the author of the compleat hiſtory of Europe calls him) departed, there was a ſcandalous paper printed, as it was ſuppoſed, by his orders, intitled, the French King's reaſons for owning the pretended Prince of Wales, for King of England (4).

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The French ſecretary ordered to depart England.

The nation, in the mean time, was highly inraged at this indignity offered by France, and ſhewed their reſentment, in the numerous addreſſes directed, on this occaſion, to the throne, from all parts of the kingdom, full of expreſſions of loyalty and affection.

The indignity offered by France reſented by the nation.

That from the city of London, which ſet the firſt example, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt, and was as follows:

Great Sir,

"We are deeply ſenſible, how much we are in duty bound, highly to reſent that great indignity and affront, offered to your moſt ſacred Majeſty, by the French King, in giving the title of King of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the pretended Prince of Wales, contrary to your Majeſty's moſt juſt and lawful title, and to the ſeveral acts of parliament for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown in the Proteſtant line.

Addreſs of the city of London.

"By this it is apparent, he deſigns, as much as in him in lies, to dethrone your Majeſty, to extirpate the Proteſtant religion out of theſe your Majeſty's kingdoms, and to invade our liberties and properties; for the maintaining whereof, your Majeſty hath ſignalized your zeal, by the often hazarding your precious life.

"We, therefore, your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, do ſincerely, unanimouſly and chearfully, aſſure your Majeſty, that we will, at at all times, and upon all occaſions, exert the utmoſt of our abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our power for the preſervation of your perſon (which God long preſerve) and the defenſe of your juſt rights, in oppoſition to all invaders of your crown and dignity."

This addreſs having been tranſmited to the King to Holland, his Majeſty gave ſpecial directions to the lords-juſtices, to acquaint his loyal city of London, with the great ſatisfaction he had upon receiving it.

The King all this while, beſtowed his application to perfect the alliances he was negociating abroad, and particularly that between the Emperor, England and Holland, which was concluded in September. This treaty was framed in the nature of propoſals upon which France might come in, and accordingly the ſame were communicated to the Spaniſh embaſſador.

Treaty between the Emperor, England and Holland.

(1) The author of the continuation of Rapin, in French, ſays, King James's Queen got Madame de Maintenon on her ſide, and that ſhe prevailed upon the King and the Dauphin to take theſe ſteps; and the ſame author, under the pretext of fairly ſtating the arguments, which have been made uſe of to juſtify the French King's conduct, plainly ſhews his partiality and attachment to that Monarch and his intereſt.

(2) His Majeſty, likewiſe, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to give him an account of this manifeſt violation of that treaty.

(3) By this evaſive anſwer, it is plain, the French King was ſenſible his proceeding would not bear a diſcuſſion: but his mentioning the peace of Ryſwick, and his maſter's inclination to preſerve the peace confirmed by it, is a maſter-piece of aſſurance; for could any thing be more contrary to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſolemn ingagements, at that treaty, than his quickly after promiſing the late King James, on his death-bed, never to abandon the Pretender; but always to acknowlege and entertain him, as a King of England, and declaring, that he hoped to ſee him treated, after the ſame manner, by the whole world.

(4) Beſide the publiſhing of theſe reaſons, which were ſuppreſſed by order of the government, monſ. Pouſſin made himſelf talked of, beyond the ſmallneſs of his character, by being found at ſupper, in a public tavern, with three parliament-men, who were known to be no friends to the court: but whether this was a ſet appointment, to diſcourſe on matters of ſtate, or meerly as a common civility, which mr. Tredenham, one of thoſe members, ſhewed to monſ. Pouſſin on account of the familiarity they had contracted, by lodging in one houſe, I ſhall leave undetermined. Be this as it will, the court gave this meeting a very ſiniſter interpretation; and many of the country-party, were thereupon branded by the name of Pouſſineers, in a paper called the Black Liſt.

But

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But as this treaty, uſually called the grand alliance, becauſe ſeveral other Princes afterwards acceeded to it, was the baſis of the long and bloody war which ſoon after inſued, the reader may probably be deſirous of knowing the tenor of it, which was as follows:

Articles of the grand alliance.

I. "That there ſhall be a ſtrict alliance between "the Emperor, the King of England, and the "States-General.

II. "That as for ſettling the peace and tranquility of Europe, which is their chief aim, they "have thought nothing could conduce more thereunto than to procure ſatisfaction to the Emperor, "for his pretenſions upon Spain, and ſecurity for "England and Holland, for their dominions and "commerce.

III. "That they ſhall imploy their good offices, "for two months together, after the ratification, "in order to obtain that end, in an amicable "way.

IV. "That if they cannot ſucceed therein, "they ſhall aſſiſt each other, with all their forces.

V. "That they ſhall indeavor to conquer the "Spaniſh Netherlands, that they may ſerve as a "barrier, for the ſecuring the States-General; to "conquer the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the "Empire, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, "and the iſlands and places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, which may be advantageous to the navigation and trade of the Engliſh and Dutch.

VI. "That for the better ſecurity of the navigation of the Engliſh and Dutch, it ſhall be lawful "for them to attack and poſſeſs the countries and "towns belonging to Spain in the Indies; and that "they ſhall keep for themſelves the countries and "towns conquered by them.

VII. "That if they are neceſſitated to enter "into a war, they ſhall ſincerely communicate "to each other every thing relating to their intereſts.

VIII. "That none of the parties ſhall make "peace without the conſent of the other, and be"fore they have obtained a convenient ſatisfaction "for the Emperor, and a ſecurity for the dominions "and trade of the Engliſh and Dutch, and pro"cured that the crowns of France and Spain be never "re-united, under the ſame Prince; and in parti"cular, that the French be never maſters of the "Indies ſubmited to Spain, or that they be per"mited to trade into that country, directly or "indirectly; nor before they have obtained, for "the Engliſh and Dutch, thoſe rights, privile"leges and franchiſes for their trade in Spain and the "Mediterranean, which they injoyed under King "Charles II, by virtue of treaties, cuſtoms, or any "other title whatſoever.

IX. "They ſhall agree, at the ſame time, that "the peace ſhall be treated of on the means for ſe"curing the commerce of both nations, and the "barrier.

X. "They ſhall agree about the differences that "may relate to the exerciſe of religion, in the "countries they hope to conquer.

XI. "If the moſt Chriſtian King attacks any of "them, by reaſon of this treaty, they ſhall aſſiſt "each other, with all their forces.

XII. "The defenſive alliance ſhall ſubſiſt be"tween the ſaid parties, after the concluſion of the "peace, for the guarantee of the treaty.

XIII. "All Princes and States, who ſhall be "willing to come into this alliance, ſhall be ad"mited; and the States of the Empire ſhall be "particularly invited to come into the ſame, as "being concerned in the recovery of the Impe"rial fiefs.

XIV. "This treaty, which was ſigned the "7th of December, ſhall be ratified within ſeven "weeks after.

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France prohibits the manufactures of England.

The court of France was, in the mean time, ſo very far from having any thoughts of making advances towards an accommodation, that they prohibited all ſorts of goods and merchandizes of the growth and manufacture of England, Scotland and Ireland, except ſome upon which they laid ſuch exceſſive duties, as were almoſt equal to a prohibition.

The King returns to England.

King William having been detained in Holland, partly by the ill ſtate of his health, and in part by contrary winds, imbarked, at length, the begining of November, landed the 4th of that month, at Margate, and came, the next day, to Kenſington, in a very declining condition (1). Two days after the King's arrival, the parliament was prorogued to the 13th of November: but the 11th of that month, a proclamation was iſſued out for diſſolving it, and ſummoning another, to meet at Weſtminſter, the 30th of December (2). Never were elections attended with more heats and animoſities, than at this time, and in ſeveral places, particularly in the city of London and the borough of Southwark, after they were over, the electors thought fit to give their repreſentatives inſtructions for their conduct, in the inſuing ſeſſion, which run chiefly, that they ſhould vigorouſly aſſiſt his Majeſty, in maintaining his title to the crown, to make good his alliances, and reduce the power of France, recommending, above all things, an union between the two houſes.

A new parliament called:

And meets.

The parliament meeting, according to the writs of ſummons, the 30th of December, the commons were directed to chuſe a ſpeaker. The candidates were Robert Harley, eſq; and ſir Thomas Littleton, the firſt of whom carried it, 216 votes againſt 212. He was preſented and approved, the next day, when his Majeſty addreſſed himſelf to both houſes, in the following memorable words;

My lords and gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I promiſe myſelf you are met together, full of "that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and "the reſentment of the late proceedings of the "French King, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable ad"dreſſes of my people.

"The owning and ſeting up of the pretended "Prince of Wales, for King of England, is not "only the higheſt indignity offered to me, and the "nation, but does ſo nearly concern every man, "who has a regard for the Proteſtant religion, or "the preſent and future quiet and happineſs of his "country, that I need not preſs you to lay that ſe"rioufly to heart, and to conſider what farther "effectual means may be uſed, for ſecuring the "ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line, "and extinguiſhing the hopes of all pretenders, "and their open and ſecret abettors.

"By the French King's placing his grandſon on "the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppreſs "the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual "meaſures be taken. Under this pretenſe, he is be-

(1) He is ſaid to have told the earl of Portland, not long after his arrival in England, "he found himſelf ſo weak, that he "did not expect to live another ſummer:" but, at the ſame time, charged his lordſhip, "to take no notice of what he had ſaid, 'till "he was dead."

(2) The reaſon alleged for this ſtep was, "that his Majeſty might have the ſenſe of the nation, in this extraordinary "conjuncture:" two illuſtrious peers are ſaid to have alleged in council; "that the preſent parliament would neither do his "Majeſty's buſineſs, nor that of the nation." But it is highly probable, that nothing was of greater weight with his Majeſty, at this time, than the conſideration, "that if the differences between the two houſes were not prevented, the ſupplies neceſſary "for the approaching war would be delayed.

"come

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" come the real maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy; he has made it to be intirely depending " on France, and diſpoſes of it, as of his own " dominions, and by that means, he has ſurrounded his neighbors, in ſuch a manner, that tho' " the name of peace be ſaid to continue, yet they " are put to the expenſe and inconveniencies of a " war.

" This muſt affect England in the neareſt and " moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our trade, " which will ſoon become precarious, in all the " valuable branches of it; in reſpect to our peace " and ſafety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould " long continue; and in reſpect to that part, which " England ought to take, in the preſervation of the " liberty of Europe.

" In order to obviate the general calamity, with " which the reſt of Chriſtendom is threatned, by " this exorbitant power of France, I have con- " cluded ſeveral alliances, according to the incou- " ragement given me by both houſes of parliament, " which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and " which I doubt not, you will inable me to make " good.

" There are ſome other treaties ſtill depending, " that ſhall be likewiſe communicated to you, as " ſoon as they are perfected.

" It is fit, I ſhould tell you, that the eyes of " all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters " are at a ſtand, 'till your reſolutions are known, " and therefore no time ought to be loſt.

" You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſ- " ſing, to ſecure to you, and your poſterity, the " quiet injoyment of your religion and liberties, " if you are not wanting to yourſelves, or will " exert the ancient vigor of the Engliſh nation: but " I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not " lay hold on this occaſion, you have no reaſon to " hope for another.

" In order to do your part, it will be neceſſary " to have a great ſtrength at ſea, and to provide " for the ſecurity of our ſhips in harbor, and alſo " that there be ſuch a force at land, as is expected, " in proportion to the forces of our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I recommend theſe matters to you, with that " concern and earneſtneſs, which their importance " requires; at the ſame time, I cannot but preſs " you, to take care of the public credit, which can- " not be preſerved but by keeping ſacred the maxim, " that they ſhall never be looſers, who truſt to a " parliamentary ſecurity.

" It is always with regret when I aſk aids of " my people; but you will obſerve, that I deſire " nothing which relates to any perſonal expenſe of " mine; I am only preſſing you to do all you can, " for your own ſafety and honor, at ſo critical and " dangerous a time, and am willing that what is " given ſhould be wholly appropriated to the pur- " poſes for which it is intended.

" And ſince I am ſpeaking on this head, I think " it proper to put you in mind, that during the " late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly " before the parliament, and alſo gave my aſſent " to ſeveral bills for taking the public accounts, " that my ſubjects might have ſatisfaction how the " mony given for the war was applied; and I am " willing that matter be put in any farther way of " examination, that it may appear whether there " were any miſapplications and miſmanagements, " or whether the debt that remains upon us, has " really ariſen from the ſhortneſs of the ſupplies, or " the deficiencies of the funds.

" I have already told you how neceſſary diſpatch " will be for carrying on that great public buſineſs, " whereon our ſafety, and all that is valuable to us, " depends; I hope what time can be ſpared will " be imployed about thoſe other very deſirable " things, which I have ſo often recommended from " the throne, I mean the forming ſome good bills " for imploying the poor, for incouraging trade, " and the farther ſuppreſſing of vice.

Will'III. An' 1701.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope you are come together determined to " avoid all manner of diſputes and differences; re- " ſolved to act with a general and hearty concur- " rence for promoting the common cauſe, which " alone can make this a happy ſeſſion.

" I ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could befal " England, if I could obſerve you as much in- " clined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal animoſities, " which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed " to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy, as to " any, even the higheſt offenſes commited againſt " me.

" Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes " of our enemies, by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, " and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be " the common father of my people: do you in like " manner lay aſide parties and diviſions; let there " be no other diſtinction heard of among us, for " the future, than of thoſe who are for the Proteſ- " tant religion, and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and " of thoſe who mean a Popiſh Prince, and a French " government.

" I will only add this, if you do, in good earn- " eſt, deſire to ſee England hold the balance of " Europe, and to be indeed, at the head of the " Proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by the preſent " opportunity.

An' 1702.

This excellent ſpeech could not fail of having a very good influence upon thoſe to whom it was addreſſed; even tho' they had been leſs inclined to comply with his Majeſty's deſires, than they appeared to be, by their addreſs of the next day, in which they ſhewed their juſt reſentment of the French King's proceedings, in owning and ſeting up the pretended Prince of Wales, &c.

Addreſs of the commons.

The 5th of January, the commons " returned " their moſt humble and hearty thanks to his Ma- " jeſty, for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and aſſured " him, that they would ſupport and defend his law- " ful and rightful title to the crown of theſe realms, " againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his " open and ſecret adherents, and all other his Maje- " ſty's enemies: that they would inable his Majeſty, " to ſhew his juſt reſentment of the affront and in- " dignity offered him and this nation, by the " French King, in taking upon him to declare the " pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, " Scotland and Ireland: and that they were firmly " and unanimouſly reſolved to maintain and ſupport " the ſucceſſion to the Imperial crown of this realm, " and the dominions thereunto belonging, in the " Proteſtant line, as the ſame was ſettled by two acts " of parliament: and that for the better effecting " the ſame, they would, to the utmoſt of their " power, inable his Majeſty to make good all thoſe " alliances his Majeſty had made, or ſhould " make, purſuant to the addreſſes and advice of his " moſt dutiful and loyal commons of the laſt par- " liament, for the better preſerving the liberties " of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power " of France."

To this addreſs his Majeſty anſwered:

Gentlemen,

The King's anſwer.

" I give you my hearty thanks for this addreſs, " which I look upon as a good omen for the ſeſſion, " and the unanimity with which it paſs'd, adds " greatly to the ſatisfaction I receive from it: ſo " good a ſtep, at your firſt entrance upon buſineſs, " cannot but raiſe the hopes of all who wiſh well " to England and to the common cauſe. I can de- " ſire no more of you, than to proceed as you have " begun,

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" begun, and I depend upon it: for when I con- " ſider, how chearfully and univerſally you con- " cur'd in this addreſs, I cannot doubt but every " one of you will ſincerely indeavor to make it " effectual, in all its parts".

The lords, likewiſe, preſented another addreſs, the next day, to his Majeſty, more particularly on the preſent juncture of affairs. All things going thus to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction, in both houſes of parliament, he was pleaſed to make ſome new advancements and removes. The firſt of January, the earl of Radnor was admited into the privy-council, as was the earl of Burlington a week afterwards. The fourth of the ſame month, the earl of Mancheſter was made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of ſir Charles Hedges. The eighteenth, the earl of Pembroke was declared lord-high-admiral of England and Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth, the duke of Sommerſet was appointed lord-preſident of his Majeſty's privy-council.

Preferments.

Forces for the ſea and land ſervices.

A lord high-admiral being appointed, all poſſible expedition was uſed in equiping a fleet to ſea, and a proclamation was iſſued to incourage ſeamen to enter into the ſervice of the navy-royal: the commons having reſolved, that 40,000 ſeamen ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice of the year; and that the like number of land-forces ſhould be the proportion to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies (1). While both houſes of parliament were thus purſuing the important affairs recommended to them in his Majeſty's ſpeech, with great zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, and were making preparations to ſecond the efforts of the Emperor againſt France, the Germans in Italy were not idle.

The Marſhal de Villeroy ſurpriz'd at Cremona.

It was near Chriſtmas before they went into winter-quarters, and, towards the latter end of January they were in motion again, having form'd a deſign to ſurprize Cremona, the head-quarters of the French, by ſtratagem. Prince Eugene, holding a correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants of that place, they admited a party of his men, at midnight, thro' an ancient aqueduct. Theſe men, being got into the town, fell upon the guards, at one of the gates, threw it open, and made way for a greater body, commanded by the Prince himſelf, to enter. By this means, the French general, monſ. de Villeroy, with ſeveral of his officers, were ſurprized in their beds: but ſome Iriſh regiments, which were in the town, making a reſiſtance beyond what was expected, and a body of Germans, who were to have ſupported Prince Eugene, miſtaking their way, in the night, and not arriving in time, he thought it moſt adviſable to abandon the town, leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off, by the garriſons the enemy had in the neighborhood: however, he carried off the marſhal de Villeroy, and the reſt of his priſoners, and got to his quarters again, with very little loſs.

Act for examining the public accounts.

The tenth of February, King William came to the houſe of lords, and, the commons being preſent, gave the royal aſſent to " an act for reviving " and continuing the act for ſtating and examining " the public accounts".

The affair of the Kentiſh petition revived.

The commons then took into conſideration the conduct of the Kentiſh petitioners, towards the concluſion of the laſt parliament; and there happening to be a controverted election, for the borough of Maidſtone, in that county, between Thomas Bliſſe and Thomas Colepepper, eſqrs (the latter of whom was one of the Kentiſh petitioners) they reſolved, " that the ſaid Thomas Colepepper, eſq; had been " guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous, and indirect prac- " tices, in indeavoring to procure himſelf elected " a burgeſs for that town; and that he had pro- " moted that ſcandalous and ſeditious petition, to " the laſt houſe of commons, generally call'd the " Kentiſh petition, containing groundleſs reflections " on the houſe of commons, by aſperſing the " members with receiving French mony; and " being in the intereſt of France, for which offenſes " he ſhould be commited to Newgate, and the " attorney-general ſhould proſecute him, for the " ſaid crimes.

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The twenty-ſixth they came to the following reſolutions: viz.

Reſolutions of the houſe of commons thereupon.

1. " That to aſſert the houſe of commons " was not the only repreſentative of the commons " of England, tended to the ſubverſion of the " rights and privileges of that houſe, and the " fundamental conſtitution of the government of " this kingdom.

2. " That to aſſert the houſe of commons have " no power of commitment, but of their own " members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitu- " tion of the houſe of commons.

3. " That to print or publiſh any books or " libels, reflecting on the proceedings of the houſe " of commons, or any member thereof, for, or " relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation " of the rights and privileges of the houſe of " commons.

4. " That it is the undoubted right of the people " of England, to petition or addreſs the King, " for the calling, ſiting or diſſolving of parlia- " ments, and for the redreſſing of grievances.

5. " That it is the undoubted right of every " ſubject of England, under any accuſation, either " by impeachment, or otherwiſe, to be brought " to a ſpeedy trial, in order to be acquited or " condemned".

The King falls off his horſe.

In the mean time, his Majeſty, notwithſtanding his infirm ſtate of health, continued his uſual diverſions of hunting, and taking the air on horſeback; and riding out from Kenſington, to hunt near Hampton-court, as he was puting his horſe to the gallop, he unfortunately threw him, and broke his right collar-bone. He was carried into that palace, where the bone was ſet, and the ſame evening returned to Kenſington.

His Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of commons.

Being, on this account, confined to his chamber, his Majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, by mr. ſecretary Vernon; importing:

" That being at preſent hindered, by an un- " happy accident, from coming in perſon to his " parliament, he was pleaſed to ſignify to the houſe " of commons, by meſſage, what he deſign'd to " have ſpoken to both houſes, from the throne; " that his Majeſty, in the firſt year of his reign, " had acquainted the parliament, that commiſ-

(1) Before King William left Holland ſeveral projects of great importance were formed. He had concerted with the Dutch and Pruſſian generals, the proper meaſures for the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, a place which the elector of Bavaria had put into the hands of the French. It was agreed with the elector of Hanover, that he ſhould attack and diſarm the Prince of Wolfembuttel, who had raiſed troops, with French mony, in the heart of the Empire, and ſent for a French general to command them. The King of the Romans, and Prince Lewis of Baden were to beſiege Landau: And the Emperor had ingaged to ſend a powerful ſupply into Italy, to inable the brave Prince Eugene to purſue the ſucceſs he had already had, and to attack the city of Mantua in form, the conqueſt of which place his Majeſty was ſenſible would go a great way towards defeating all the deſigns of the French in thoſe parts. But beſide all theſe grand deſigns, there was another on the anvil, more glorious in the execution, and more extenſive in the conſequences: I mean the project upon Cadiz, which was to be attempted by the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, and the duke of Ormond; the former of which had aſſur'd King William, that the Almirante of Caſtille, and ſeveral other grandees of Spain, with all their dependants, would, upon the taking of that place, immediately declare for the houſe of Auſtria. The ſucceſs of all theſe undertakings the reader will ſee in the ſequel.

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" ſioners were authorized in Scotland, to treat with " ſuch commiſſioners as ſhould be appointed in " England, of proper terms for uniting the two " kingdoms, and, at the ſame time, expreſs'd his " greateſt deſire of ſuch an union. That his Majeſty " was fully ſatisfied, nothing could contribute " more to the preſent and future peace, ſecurity and " happineſs of England and Scotland, than a firm " and intire union between them; and he could " not but hope, that upon a due conſideration of " their preſent circumſtances, there would be found " a general diſpoſition to that union: that his Ma- " jeſty would eſteem it a peculiar felicity, if, du- " ring his reign, ſome happy expedient might be " found for making both kingdoms one, and was " therefore extreamly deſirous, that a treaty might " be ſet on foot, to that purpoſe; and did, in the " moſt earneſt manner, recommend that affair to " the conſideration of the houſe ".

Acts paſs'd.

The firſt of March, the King found himſelf very ill, and therefore, the next day, ſign'd a commiſſion to the lord-keeper, and ſome others, for paſſing " the following bills, viz. 1. " An act for the " attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales, of " high treaſon. 2. An act for the puniſhing of " mutiny and deſertion; and 3. An act for con- " tinuing the Quakers ſolemn affirmation, inſtead " of an oath".

The fourth, the King was taken with a ſhivering fit, after having taken a turn or two in the gallery at Kenſington: this ſhivering turned to a fever, accompanied with a vomiting and looſeneſs; upon which he was apprehended to be in a dangerous way, and ſeveral able phyſicians were on that account ſent for; but notwithſtanding they adminiſtred ſeveral remedies, which gave him great relief, his vomiting and looſeneſs was very violent. On the ſixth and ſeventh, he became ſo weak, that he was forced to have a ſtamp made, in order to

More acts paſs'd

ſet his name to a commiſſion for paſſing the " malt- " tax act; and an act for the farther ſecurity of his " Majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown, " in the Proteſtant line, and to extinguiſh the " hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all " other pretenders, and their open and ſecret " abettors ".

The King's death.

On Sunday, the eighth of March, early in the morning, his Majeſty, finding all the ſigns of his approaching diſſolution, received the holy ſacrament, with great devotion, from the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. The lords of the privy council, with great numbers of the nobility and gentry, attended all the while, in the adjoining apartments, and ſeveral of them were called in, at times, to whom his Majeſty ſpoke a little, and then they withdrew. About eight in the morning, his Majeſty expired, ſiting on his bed, in his night-gown, and in the arms of mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the back-ſtairs, having, ſome time before, given the keys of his cloſet and eſcrutore, to the earl of Albermarle, telling him, he knew what to do with them. As ſoon as his Majeſty had breath'd his laſt, the lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were then in waiting, order'd mr. Ronjat, the ſergeant-ſurgeon, to take from the King's left arm, a black-ribbon, which tied next to his ſkin a gold-ring, with ſome hair of the late Queen Mary, an evident mark how dear her memory was to him (1).

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Thus died the great William Henry, Prince of Orange and King of Great-Britain, with that reſignation, reſolution, and compoſedneſs of mind, that had accompanied all the actions of his life, at the age of fifty-one years, four months and four days, after he had reign'd thirteen years and one month, wanting five days.

His character.

What now remains, to conclude this reign, is to give a character of our great deliverer from Popery and Tyranny: but as this has been already done, by ſo many writers, that it would be difficult to ſay any thing new, without exceeding the bounds of truth or decency, either by being too laviſh in his praiſe, or by depreciating his virtues and exagerating thoſe few faults that have been laid to his charge, I ſhall be contented with giving ſome brief extracts of the character given him by ſeveral authors, and where they differ from one another in opinion, ſet them oppoſite to each other, one in the text, and the other in the notes, and then, to continue the impartiality I hope I have all along ſhewn, ſhall leave the reader to judge for himſelf, without making any reflections, that ſhall favor either of panegyric or invective (2).

The author of the hiſtory and reign of King William III, in three volumes, octavo, after having expatiated on his character, under ſeveral general heads, ſums up the whole, in the following words (3).

" Tho' King William (ſays he) was not altoge- " ther free from faults, yet he may be rank'd " amongſt the greateſt men, and vy with the moſt " celebrated heroes of antiquity. To do him " juſtice, he was a Prince experienced in all the arts " of war, policy, and civil government; fearleſs " in dangers; conſtant in his reſolutions; moderate " in proſperity; unſhaken in adverſity; wiſe in his " councils; bold at the head of his armies; faithful " to his allies; dreadful to his enemies; maſter of

(1) The period of this glorious monarch's life was no doubt ſhortened by the great fatigues he had undergone for thirty years together, which could not but very much impair a conſtitution, at beſt but tender and infirm, and his conſtant application to buſineſs had undoubtedly exhauſted his animal ſpirits. As for the fall his Majeſty had from his horſe, it may have accelerated, but cannot have been the efficient cauſe of his death: for the ſurgeons, who were appointed by the privy-council to open him, declar'd, that they not only found his whole body emaciated, but that the right ſide of his lungs adhered to the pleura, and the left much more: from which upon ſeparation, there iſſued forth a quantity of purulent or frothy ſerum: that the upper lobe, on the left ſide of the lungs, and the part of the pleura next to it, were inflamed to a degree of mortification, and this they look'd upon as the immediate cauſe of his death.

(2) " It is true (ſays Salmon, at the begining of his character of this Prince) the great things King William has done for " this nation, particularly his delivering us from Popery and Slavery, muſt incline every grateful Engliſhman to pay a juſt regard " to his memory: but then the laws of hiſtory will not permit us to conceal all his errors and failings, and to repreſent him " rather as a God, than a mortal man; and ſhould our fondneſs for him incline us to be never ſo partial, poſterity poſſibly " will diſcover our biaſs, and conclude, there is more of fiction than truth in the relation. Vol. XXIV. p. 412.

(3) The ſame author gives the following deſcription of his perſon, and of the qualities of his mind: " as to his perſon (ſays " he) he was of a middle ſize, but ill ſhap'd, and ſomewhat round-ſhoulder'd: his face of a light-brown complexion, and hard- " featured; his noſe aquiline; his eyes exceeding good and piercing; his hands very fine and white; but his conſtitution weak " and infirm from his very youth. He ſate well on horſeback, and that poſture became him beſt, as if he had been princi- " pally formed for the field.

" What nature had denied him, as to the advantages of the body, ſhe had abundantly made up by the perfections of his mind: " He had a quick, ready, and penetrating wit, a ſound judgment, an admirable forecaſt, and a firm compoſed ſoul, amidſt " the greateſt and moſt imminent dangers.

To this Salmon adds: " He ſeems to have had no ear: for tho' he uſually commanded the confederates in perſon, neither trumpets, " hautbois, or any other muſic, was heard at his quarters; a profound ſilence reign'd there; no plays, drinking, revelling, " or even innocent diverſions, were ſeen in the royal apartments; and, except that he dined and ſupped publicly, and rode out, " once or twice a day, when he was in the camp, he was ſeen very little: the reſt of his time he was ſhut up with two or three " ſelect friends, whoſe converſation he moſt delighted in, and, when he did appear in public, ſcarce three words dropp'd from " him in an hour.

the

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" the affections of his people, by his forbearing " temper and clemency. He always aſſerted the " freedom of Europe, and declared himſelf an ene- " my to tyranny, oppreſſion and arbitrary ſway: " he preſerved his own country, and reſcued theſe " three nations, when their religion, laws and li- " berties were in moſt imminent danger, and no " other human help left to ſave them. He per- " fectly united England and Holland, two inve- " terate rivals in trade, and by teaching them to " promote their mutual intereſts, has left an effec- " tual barrier, to check the formidable and over- " grown power of France. He revived the ancient " martial ſpirit of the Engliſh, and retrieved the " honor of the nation, not only in the field (1) " but in the cabinet. He maintained the church of " England, without oppreſſing the Diſſenters, and " was ſo tender of the rights and privileges of his " ſubjects, that he ſometimes yielded from the juſt " prerogatives of the crown. Now (ſays my " author, to conclude) if his enemies ſhould aſk " to what purpoſe the nation has ſpent near ſixty " millions ſterling, to maintain him on the throne? " The anſwer is ready; to purchaſe an Engliſh " Proteſtant Queen, and a ſettlement of the ſuc- " ceſſion in the Proteſtant line: a purchaſe which " no true Engliſh-man, will ever account too " dear.

Biſhop Burnet, among other things, ſays; " King " William's behavior was ſolemn and ſerious, ſel- " dom chearful, and but with a few: he ſpoke " little, and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly " with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his cha- " racter at all times, except in a day of battle; " for then he was all fire, tho' without paſſion. " He was then every where, and looked to every " thing. He had a memory that amazed all about " him; for it never failed him. He was an exact " obſerver of men and things. His ſtrength lay " rather in true diſcerning, and a ſound judgment, " than in imagination or invention. His deſigns " were always great and good: but, it was thought " he truſted too much to that, and that he did not " deſcend enough to the humors of his people. His " reſervedneſs grew upon him; ſo that it diſguſted " moſt of thoſe who ſerved him. He did not like " contradiction, nor to have his actions cenſured: " but he loved to imploy and favor thoſe who had " the art of complacency; yet he did not love flat- " terers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which " his courage was more admired than his conduct: " great errors was often commited by him; but " his heroical courage ſet all things right, as it in- " flamed thoſe who were about him. He was too " laviſh of mony, on ſome occaſions, both in his " buildings and to his favorites; but too ſparing " in rewarding ſervices, or in incouraging thoſe " who brought intelligence. He was too apt to " take ill impreſſions of people, and theſe ſtuck " long with him; but he never carried them to in- " decent revenges. He gave too much way to his " own humor, almoſt in every thing. He knew " all forein affairs well, and underſtood the ſtate " of every court in Europe very particularly. " He inſtructed his own miniſters himſelf; but he did " not apply enough to affairs at home. He tried " how he could govern us, by balancing the two " parties, one againſt another.——— In his de- " portment towards all about him, he ſeemed to " make little diſtinction, between the good and the " bad; and thoſe who ſerved well, or thoſe who " ſerved him ill. He loved the Dutch, and was " much beloved among them: but the ill returns " he met from the Engliſh nation; their jealouſies " of him, and their perverſeneſs towards him, had " too much ſoured his mind, and had, in a great " meaſure, alienated him from them (2); which he " did not take care enough to conceal, tho' he ſaw " the ill effects it had upon his buſineſs. He grew, " in his laſt years, too remiſs and careleſs as to all " affairs; 'till the treacheries of France awakened " him, and the dreadful conjunction of the two " Monarchies (France and Spain) gave ſo loud " an alarm to all Europe. Few men had the " art of concealing and governing paſſion more " than he had: yet few men had ſtronger paſſions: " theſe were however, chiefly felt by his inferior " ſervants, but they were ſoon over, and he after- " wards ſhed his bounty, ſo plentifully upon them, " as might have tempted them to provoke his ſpleen " for their own advantage (3).

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The biſhop, in a ſermon preached before Queen Ann, ſoon after her acceſſion, mentioning King William, ſays; " We have a perſon raiſed up, and " long ſupported by very ſignal providences, in a " courſe of thirty years, to be the great fence, both " of liberty and religion, againſt a deluge of con- " queſt and deſtruction, that was breaking in and " carrying all before it; 'till he, young and unex- " perienced as he was, ſtood in its way, and ſtoped " its fury: he reſcued his country then, when it " was almoſt quite ſwallowed up; and after he " had reſcued and ſettled his own country, he was " called on to ſave us. I hope thoſe two great years " 72 and 88 are not, and cannot be forgoten: we " were at firſt delivered, and have been now for " thirteen years preſerved by him, in ſo unaccount- " able a manner, that, in the progreſs of a long " devouring war, one of the greateſt and longeſt " in any hiſtory, we have lived in profound " peace at home, under a juſt and merciful admi- " niſtration. His long practice in affairs; his " judgment, that was ſo exact, and of ſuch pene- " tration; the great reputation he had gained all " the world over, and the great figure the nation " made in his hands, all others centring in him,

(1) He loved war (ſays the continuator of Rapin, in French) for the ſame reaſon he loved hunting: becauſe he found exerciſe of body, a proper remedy for the weakneſs of his conſtitution; and, at the ſame time, while he was thus imployed, he was freed from the cares of the civil government, which he hated. His inclinations were afterwards ſtrengthened by other reaſons. He looked upon his camp, as a ſure retreat from the daily vexations he met with ſometimes from the jealouſies and perverſeneſs of the Engliſh, and at other times from their inconſtancy and irreſolution.

(2) By way of anſwer to this charge of ingratitude laid by the biſhop on the Engliſh nation, Salmon (Vol 24, of his modern hiſtory, p. 411) aſks the following queſtions: "what did the Engliſh omit to ſhew their reſpect and duty to this great " Prince? Did they not paſs by both his own Princeſs and the Princeſs of Denmark, to ſet the crown upon his head? Did " not they raiſe immenſe ſupplies, ſuch as were never known in former reigns, to ſupport him on the throne? Did they not " ſettle on him the greateſt revenue that ever any King of England injoyed before? Did they not connive at his being governed " by forein counſels, and entertaining forein favorites, and gratifying them with Engliſh poſts and Engliſh treaſure? Did " not the whole nation, as one man, reſent the French King's proclaiming the Pretender, and not only promiſe to maintain " his title with their lives and fortunes, but actually raiſed forces by ſea and land, and immediately entered into all the meaſures " propoſed by this Prince to begin a war againſt France? Does not the King, in almoſt every ſpeech, acknowlege the affection " that his ſubjects had always ſhewn for his perſon and government, and return them his hearty thanks for their confidence in " him, and the great ſupplies they granted? How is it poſſible after all this, to believe, that he thought the Engliſh ungrateful, " or that his mind was alienated from them?

(3) The biſhop farther ſays, " he had no vice, but of one ſort, in which he was very cautious and ſecret;" but as he has not thought fit to give it a name, I have omited it in the character of this Prince.

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" or depending on him, were too viſible to ſee an " inlargement (1).

Salmon, tho' his character of this great Prince, in the whole, is far from being a panegyric, is obliged to own (and ſays the King ought to have the glory of it) " that he ſaved the church of " England from deſtruction. But at the ſame " time, obſerves, that the Epiſcopal church of " Scotland was ruined at the revolution, and that, " in one of his ſpeeches, he recommended the " taking off the penal laws and teſt in England, " that the Diſſenters might have a ſhare in all " places of truſt and profit. He likewiſe, allows, " that King William ſecured our civil rights and " liberties," and adds (I hope with ſincerity, tho' ſome pretend it has the air of a ſneer) " that " this abundantly attones for all the little irregu- " larities and miſtakes in the adminiſtration: even " his large grants (continues my author) to forein " favorites, and his reſiding every ſummer in " Holland, ought not to be remembered with re- " ſentment, when we conſider he ſecured to us " all that was valuable, and ſetled the crown in the " Proteſtant line, by which we, at this day, injoy " ſuch numerous benefits, under the happy domi- " nion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

" I never, continues this author, could learn any " vice he was addicted to. His paſſion for his " favorites was his grand foible. Indeed, if am- " bition be a vice, he ſeems to have had a ſhare " of that (2); when he inſiſted on reigning with- " out his Queen; tho' perhaps even this may be " aſcribed to other cauſes: It is not improbable that " Queen Mary choſe to be purely paſſive in the " revolution: Her great tenderneſs for her father " might not ſuffer her to aſſume the government; " at leaſt, the King and his council might think " the nation more effectually ſecured againſt the " return of King James, by his taking the admi- " niſtration of the government upon him, than by " leaving it in the hands of the Princeſs."

The continuator of Rapin, in French, obſerves; " that King William being naturally haughty, and " fearing to be, or to appear to be govern'd, either " by his miniſters, or his favorites, he affected to " make them ſenſible, that they were not to build " too much upon their own knowlege, nor upon " his affection to them; and it was equally diſa- " greable to him, either to be adviſed or contra- " dicted: that he often acted upon the moſt im- " portant occaſions, from no other motives but " thoſe of his own caprice; and that he was there- " by deprived of many advantageous ſervices, " which he might otherwiſe have expected."

Will' III. An' 1702.

I ſhall only add one paragraph more from the ſame continuator, with reſpect to our Monarch's religion and morality: " He ſhew'd himſelf " (ſays my author) a mortal enemy to vice and " irreligion, which he equally diſcountenanced, " by his own regular behavior, and by his rigorous " proclamations; and it is certain, that thoſe lau- " dable ſtatutes that were made in his reign, for " the advantage of religion, and the incourage- " ment of virtue, were as much owing to his " zeal as to that of his ſubjects. I may add, that " the manner in which King William performed " the exterior duties of Chriſtianity was extremely " edifying. He aſſiſted at divine-ſervice with an " exemplary aſſiduity and devotion: and one of " the occupations he moſt delighted in was reading " the holy ſcriptures. When he ſpoke of ſacred " things, it was in ſuch terms, as, at the ſame " time they denoted a profound veneration, gave " the moſt evident marks of a lively conviction. " This (continues my author) was even one of " the ſources of the intrepidity he ever ſhew'd in " the field: for, in a word, being perſuaded, " that a belief of the abſolute decrees of provi- " dence was an eſſential article of the Chriſtian " faith, he expoſed his perſon with the greater " reſolution to danger, being aſſured he ſhould " eſcape it, if his deſtiny was not fixed for that " moment (3).

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(1) Salmon (Vol. 24. p. 408.) in anſwer to theſe tranſports of rapture (as he calls them) as far as regards the year 1688, and the war that followed it, ſays; " the Dutch were apprehenſive of an alliance between King James II, and the King of " France, which might prove deſtructive to their ſtate. The Prince of Orange had reaſon to believe that Popery, and an arbi- " trary government would be introduced in England; the conſequence of which would probably be the excluſion of himſelf, " and his Princeſs from that crown, to which they were nearly allied: and the Engliſh nation entertaining the ſame ſentiments, " invited him over, to protect their religion and liberties, and procure them a free parliament, that might ſettle them upon " ſuch a foundation, as ſhould preſerve them from Popery and arbitrary power; and as the Prince was ſupported and incou- " raged in this enterprize, by the States, and by the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, and was aſſured, not only of the " affections of the Engliſh, in general, but of the revolt of King James's fleet and army, on his arrival; what was there miracu- " lous, nay what was there to diſcourage a Prince of ordinary ambition and reſolution, to undertake the project? Or indeed, what " inducements were there wanting (if he had any regard for his own glory and intereſt) to incite him to undertake it? He " had a view, no doubt, to the preſervation of Holland; to the delivering England from Popery and Slavery; to the ſecuring " his own ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, and of forming a confederacy againſt France for the preſervation of the " liberties of Europe, of which he had all the reaſon in the world to expect he ſhould be the head; and he had the happineſs " to ſee this glorious enterprize crown'd with ſucceſs: but this was ſo far from being a compenſation for the toils and hazards " he had run to ſave us (in the opinion of our judicious biſhop) that he grew weary of his ungrateful ſubjects, and every now " and then appeared ſo diſguſted, that he was upon the point of abandoning or abdicating three flouriſhing kingdoms, and " leaving us to ourſelves.

" I proceed (continues my author) in the next place, to take a view of the ſurprizing conduct of this Prince, in his wars, " after he mounted the Britiſh throne. At ſea, his fleet was once beaten, and once victorious: in Ireland, at the battle of the " Boyne, he gained a compleat victory, having a great ſuperiority of regular troops, whilſt moſt of King James's forces were " new-raiſed men, little better than militia: he attack'd the French at Steinkirk, in Flanders, anno 1692, and being miſ- " taken in the ground, did not ſucceed. The French, by ſtratagem, induced him to divide his army, anno 1693, and then " fell upon him at Landen, and gained an intire victory: they took the ſtrong towns of Mons, Namur, Charleroy, Aeth, " and others, before his face; and he took Namur from them again: but what was there ſurprizing or miraculous in all this."

(2) The author of his hiſtory (in 3 Vols. 8vo.) ſays; " he was a very ambitious Prince: but his ambition was governed " by prudence, and founded upon juſt and commendable motives: never aiming to make himſelf great, but to make others " happy at the ſame time." However there are thoſe who will not aſcribe ſo much virtue to his ambition; but will rather argue it productive of evil: " for to what elſe (ſay they, among other things) can we attribute his frequent refuſal of the royal aſſent " to bills prepared and laid before him by his parliament."

(3) King William had no iſſue either legitimate or natural.

End of the Twenty-fifth Book.

BOOK XXVI.

Containing the Two Firſt Years of the Reign of Queen ANNE.

ANN, Twenty-ninth Sovereign of ENGLAND, ſince the Conqueſt.

Q. ANN, AN' 1702. Queen Ann's acceſſion.

UPON the deceaſe of King William III, at Kenſington, the 8th of March 1702, about eight o'clock in the morning, both houſes of parliament (which now continued to ſit, notwithſtanding the King's demiſe, by an act made five years before) being immediately aſſembled, on this extraordinary occaſion, a meſſage was ſent by the lords to the commons, to acquaint them with his late Majeſty's death; upon which they unanimouſly voted, "an addreſs to the Queen, condoling with "her, on this ſad ſubject, and congratulating the "happy acceſſion of her Majeſty to the throne." The lords then deſiring a conference with the commons, acquainted them farther, "that it having "pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD to take to himſelf the "late King William III, of glorious memory, "and the Princeſs being the only rightful and "lawful Queen of theſe realms, the lords had "thought fit to acquaint the commons, that or-"ders were given for proclaiming her Majeſty, at "three that afternoon."

The ſame day, the members of the privy-council being aſſembled, waited on her Majeſty in a body, at the royal palace at St. James's, where the Queen made the following ſpeech to them:

My lords,

Her firſt ſpeech to the privy-council.

"I am extremely ſenſible of the general misfor-"tune to theſe kingdoms, in the unſpeakable loſs "of the King, and of the great weight and bur-"den it brings, in particular, upon myſelf, which "nothing could incourage me to undergo, but the "great concern I have for the preſervation of our "religion, and the laws and liberties of my coun-"try: all theſe being as dear to me, as they can "be to any perſon whomſoever, you may depend "upon it, that no pains or diligence ſhall ever be "wanting, on my part, to preſerve and ſupport "them; to maintain the ſucceſſion, in the Pro-"teſtant line, and the government in church and "ſtate, as it is by law eſtabliſhed.

"I think it proper, on this occaſion of my firſt "ſpeaking to you, to declare my own opinion of "the importance of carrying on all the prepara-"tions we are making to oppoſe the great power "of France; and I ſhall loſe no time, in giving "our allies all aſſurances, that nothing ſhall be "wanting, on my part, to purſue the true inte-"reſt of England, together with theirs, for the "ſupport of the common cauſe. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

"In order to attain theſe ends, I ſhall always be "ready to aſk the advice of my council, and of "both houſes of parliament; and deſirous to "countenance and imploy all thoſe who ſhall "heartily concur and join with me in ſupporting "and maintaining the preſent eſtabliſhment and "conſtitution, againſt all enemies and oppoſers "whatſoever" (1).

The privy-council ſworn.

Her Majeſty having made this gracious declaration of her intentions, cauſed all the lords, and others of the late King's privy-council, to take the oaths to her, in the ſame quality. At the ſame time, two proclamations were ordered to be forthwith publiſhed; one to ſignify her Majeſty's pleaſure, "that all perſons being in offices of autho-"rity or government, whether civil or military, "at the demiſe of King William, ſhould ſo con-"tinue till her Majeſty's farther directions;" the other, "for the better obſervance of the act, for "laying duties upon malt." Proclamations iſſued.

The Queen proclaimed.

The ſame afternoon, the Queen was proclaimed, by the heralds, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the loud repeated acclamations of the people; firſt, before the gates of St. James's palace, and afterwards at Charing-croſs, Temple-bar, in Cheapſide near the end of Wood-ſtreet, and at the Royal Exchange (2).

The Queen being thus proclaimed at London, the two ſecretaries of ſtate of Scotland, and ſuch of the privy-council of that kingdom as were in town, attended her Majeſty at St. James's, where having read their claim of right, they tender'd her the coronation-oath, which ſhe took, and afterwards ſent a commiſſion to the earl of Marchmont, lord chancellor of that kingdom, to be her commiſſioner in the general aſſembly of the kirk, which was then ſiting, and then diſpatch'd the following letter to the privy-council there:

The Queen's letter to the privy-council in Scotland.

ANNR.

"RIGHT truſty, &c. we greet you well. "Whereas it has pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD, "this day, to call out of this life, to the fruition "of his eternal glory, his late Majeſty, our

(1) Her Majeſty (ſays biſhop Burnet) pronounced this her firſt ſpeech, as ſhe did all her other, afterwards, with great weight and authority, and with a ſoftneſs of voice, and ſweetneſs in the pronunciation, that added much life to all ſhe ſpoke.

(2) Notwithſtanding there appeared to be an univerſal joy at her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, yet it could not totally ſtifle the apprehenſions ſome were under, at this critical juncture, that the death of King William might be attended with conſequences fatal to Europe, in general, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms, in Particular.

Q. Ann, An' 1702.

" royal and moſt dearly beloved brother, King " William, whereby the undoubted right of the " Imperial crown of the kingdom of Scotland, con- " form to the act of ſettlement, is now devolved " upon us. And having, likewiſe (after hearing " read the petition of rights and grievances) taken " and ſigned the coronation-oath, in preſenſe of " ſeveral of our privy-council, whom we called " together, for that end, at our palace at St. " James's, have thought fit to authorize you to " continue to meet, and, in all things, to act as " our privy-council, of that our ancient kingdom, " in the ſame manner, to all intents and purpoſes, " as you were intruſted by his late Majeſty, of " glorious memory, until we ſhall ſend you a new " commiſſion for that effect, under our royal-hand. " And we do hereby alſo authorize and require " you, without any delay, in the moſt proper " methods, and with the due ſolemnities, to publiſh " the incloſed proclamation in our name, ordain- " ing all our officers of ſtate, counſellors, magi- " ſtrates, and all other officers whatſoever, both " civil and military, to act in all things, conform " to the laſt commiſſion and inſtructions, that they " had from his ſaid late Majeſty, until new com- " miſſions can be prepared, and ſent down, ſign'd " by our royal-hand: and we do, on this occaſion, at " our firſt acceſſion to the crown, give you, and " all our people, full aſſurance of our firm reſolu- " tion, during the whole courſe of our reign, to " protect them in their religion, laws and liberties, " and in the eſtabliſh'd government of the church, " and that we will do every thing in our power, " that may conduce to their happineſs and proſpe- " rity. And as we are reſolved to continue our " favor to you, ſo we expect you will alſo con- " tinue in the ſame zeal, in our ſervice, which you " have evinced in that of our ſaid moſt dear and " royal brother deceaſed; for all which this ſhall be " your warrant. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell".

Given at our court at St. James's, the eighth of March, 1702, and of our reign the firſt year.

By her Majeſty's command,

Seafield.

The ſame orders were ſent to Ireland, where the joy of the people appeared no leſs, on her Majeſty's aſcending the throne, than in England.

Addreſs of the lords.

The houſe of lords attended the Queen, the next day, in a body, with an addreſs: " condoling their " loſs, and moſt heartily congratulating her Ma- " jeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne; aſſuring " her of their zealous and firm reſolutions, to ſup- " port her undoubted right and title, and the ſuc- " ceſſion of the Proteſtant line, againſt all her ene- " mies whatſoever: being ſenſible their great loſs " was no otherwiſe to be repaired, to themſelves " and their confederates, but by a moſt ſincere and " vigorous adherence to her Majeſty and her allies, " in the proſecution of thoſe meaſures already en- " tered into, to reduce the exhorbitant power of " France. And humbly deſiring, that for the " incouragement of her Majeſty's allies, no time " might be loſt in communicating to them, her " Majeſty's reſolutions of adhering firmly to the " alliances already made, which they ſhould never " be wanting, to the utmoſt of their power, to " inable her Majeſty to maintain.

Her Majeſty told them, in anſwer to this addreſs:

The Queen's anſwer.

" That ſhe received theſe aſſurances with great " ſatisfaction, and that her indeavors ſhould always " be very ſincere, to promote the true intereſt of " England, and to ſupport their common cauſe.

In the evening, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, at the head of the houſe, in a body, atttended the Queen with an addreſs, in which, after the uſual compliments of condolance and congratulation, they ſaid: " her Majeſty's zeal for their religion " and eſtabliſhment, gave them a certain proſpect " of future happineſs, moderated their grief, and " ingaged them unanimouſly to aſſure her, that " they would, to the utmoſt, aſſiſt and ſupport her " Majeſty on that throne where God had placed " her, againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and " all her ememies: and ſince nothing could con- " duce more to the honor and ſafety of her Ma- " jeſty and her kingdoms, than maintaining in- " violably ſuch alliances, as had been, or ſhould " be made, for preſerving the liberties of Europe, " and reducing the exorbitant power of France; " they aſſured her Majeſty, that they were firmly " reſolved, to inable her Majeſty to proſecute that " glorious deſign: and that all her Majeſty's ſub- " jects might reſt, in a full aſſurance of happineſs, " under her Majeſty's reign, they would maintain " the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line, " according to the limitation in the ſeveral acts of " ſettlement, and effectually provide for, and make " good, the public credit of the nation. Q. Ann, An' 1702. Addreſs of the commons.

" Her Majeſty returned them thanks, for the " kind aſſurances, they gave her, which could not " be more agreably confirmed to her, than by " their giving diſpatch to all their preparations, " for the public ſervice, and the ſupport of the " allies. (1) The Queen's anſwer.

The ſame day, the arch-biſhop of Canterbury, with the reſt of the biſhops then in town; and the next day, about noon, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, waited upon the Queen, with their addreſſes of condolance and congratulation; and their example was afterwards followed, by all the counties and corporations in her Majeſty's dominions. Addreſs of the biſhops, city, &c.

The eleventh, the Queen went, the firſt time, with the uſual ſolemnity, to the houſe of peers, and the commons attending, her Majeſty addreſs'd her ſelf, to both houſes, in the following ſpeech:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's firſt ſpeech to the parliament.

" I cannot too much lament my own unhappi- " neſs, in ſucceeding to the crown ſo immediately " after the loſs of a King, who was the great ſup- " port, not only of theſe kingdoms, but of all " Europe; and I am extremely ſenſible of the " weight and difficulty it brings upon me: but " the true concern I have for our religion, for the " laws and liberties of England, for the maintain- " ing the ſucceſſion to the crown, in the Proteſtant " line, and the government in church and ſtate, as " by law eſtabliſhed, incourages me in this great " undertaking: which I promiſe myſelf will be " ſucceſsful, by the bleſſing of God, and the con- " tinuance of that fidelity and affection, of which " you have given me ſo full aſſurances.

" The preſent conjuncture of affairs requires " the greateſt application and diſpatch, and I am " very glad to find, in your ſeveral addreſſes, ſo " unanimous a concurence, in the ſame opinion " with me, that too much cannot be done, for the " incouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbi- " tant power of France.

" I cannot but think it very neceſſary, upon this " occaſion, to deſire you to conſider of proper me- " thods towards attaining an union between Eng- " land and Scotland, which has been ſo lately re- " commended to you, as a matter that very

(1) Upon King William's death, the national funds had fallen about 15 per cent. But this good harmony between the Queen and her parliament, together with the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, about public credit, immediately raiſed them, even above their former value.

" nearly

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" nearly concerns the peace and ſecurity of both " kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I need not put you in mind, that the revenue " for defraying the expences of the civil govern- " ment is expired.

" I rely intirely upon your affections, for the " ſupplying it in ſuch manner, as ſhall be moſt " ſuitable for the honor and dignity of the crown.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It ſhall be my conſtant indeavor to make you " the beſt return for that duty and affection you " have expreſs'd to me, by a careful and diligent " adminiſtration, for the good of all my ſubjects. " And as I know my own heart to be intirely " Engliſh, I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there " is not any thing you can expect or deſire from " me, which I ſhall not be ready to do for the " happineſs and proſperity of England, and you " ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious " obſerver of my word. (1)

The twelfth, the commons returned their thanks for the Queen's ſpeech, by ſuch of their members as were of her Majeſty's privy-council: and, the next day, the lords, attended her Majeſty with an addreſs, importing:

Addreſs of the lords.

" That they could not ſufficiently expreſs the " great ſatisfaction they received from her moſt " gracious ſpeech, truſting in GOD it would have " the ſame effect abroad as at home, equally re- " viving the hearts of her allies and ſubjects; uni- " ting all people, and incouraging their utmoſt in- " deavors in the common cauſe. That the ſincere " concern her Majeſty had ſhewn for our religion, " the government in church and ſtate, and the " ſucceſſion to the crown in the Proteſtant line, " the hazards ſhe had expos'd herſelf to, in con- " cert with his late glorious Majeſty, for maintain- " ing the laws and liberties, as well as her moſt " gracious aſſurances, at this time, gave her ſub- " jects ſuch a confidence in her promiſe, ſuch a " dutiful affection to her perſon, ſuch a zeal for " her ſervice, as would oblige them, to make the " utmoſt efforts to ſupport her Majeſty, under the " weight and difficulties of the preſent conjuncture: " the concern (added their lordſhips) your Majeſty " expreſſes for your allies is a farther obligation " laid upon us, who are ſenſible their preſervation " is neceſſary to our own, and who are as deſirous " as ever, to ſupport the character of the crown " of England, in inabling your Majeſty to main- " tain the balance of Europe.

" We cannot make ſuitable returns to your " Majeſty, for your moſt gracious promiſes of a " careful and diligent adminiſtration for the public " good, which we think ourſelves ſufficiently ſe- " cured of, by ſo ſolemn an ingagement, under " your moſt ſacred word. Your Majeſty has been " pleaſed to aſſure us of all we could wiſh, and re- " commend to us what we ought to deſire: and, " we doubt not, your pious intentions will procure " a bleſſing from heaven; and your Majeſty may " be aſſured, that reſolutions ſo becoming a Queen " of England, cannot but make the deepeſt im- " preſſions upon all hearts that are true to the in- " tereſt of their country.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs the Queen was pleaſed to anſwer, " That it was a great ſatisfaction to her to " find, that what ſhe had ſaid had their lordſhips " concurrence and approbation: and ſhe was wil- " ling to repeat to them, that ſhe ſhould always " hold very exactly to the aſſurances ſhe had given " them."

Her Majeſty's earlieſt care was to cultivate the harmony and good intelligence which her glorious predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed with the States-general of the United-provinces; to which end, the third day after his deceaſe, ſhe wrote a letter to them, informing them of this melancholy event, and of her ſentiments in that critical juncture, of which, as it was the fore-runner of an embaſſy thither, I ſhall give the reader a copy. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

High and mighty lords, our dear friends, allies, and confederates.

The Queen's letter to the States-general.

" It is not without a ſenſible grief, that we find " ourſelves obliged to acquaint you with the afflict- " ing news of the death of the moſt high and moſt " mighty Prince William III, King of England, " Scotland, France and Ireland, our moſt dear " brother, of glorious memory. He was ſeized, " on Wedneſday laſt, with a fever, which ſo much " increaſed the following days, that, notwith- " ſtanding all the remedies which were made uſe " of, he expired on Sunday, at eight o'clock in " the morning. This is certainly a very great loſs " to all Europe, and in particular to your State, " whoſe intereſt he always maintained with ſo " much valor, prudence, zeal and conduct: and " as it has pleaſed GOD, that we ſhould ſucceed " him in the throne of theſe kingdoms, we ſhall " alſo ſucceed him in the ſame inclination, to pre- " ſerve a conſtant union and amity with you, and " maintain all the alliances that have been made " with your State, by our ſaid moſt dear brother, and " other our predeceſſors; and likewiſe to concur " with you, in all the meaſures that ſhall be neceſ- " ſary, for the preſervation of the common liberty " of Europe, and for reducing the power of France " within due bounds. This we deſire you fully " to be aſſured of, and that we ſhall always look " upon the intereſts of England, and thoſe of your " State, as inſeparable, and united by ſuch ties as " cannot be broke, without the greateſt prejudice " to both nations. We pray GOD to keep you, " high and mighty lords, our moſt dear friends " and confederates, in his holy protection."

Given at our court at St. James's, March 10, anno domini 1702, and the firſt year of our reign.

Good effect it had in Holland.

This letter was ſent to mr. Stanhope, with new credentials, as her Majeſty's envoy extraordinary to the States-general of the United-provinces, and he immediately delivered both to their high-mightineſſes. The news of the King's death had caſt a great damp on their counſels, and occaſioned many and juſt alarms throughout all the provinces: they therefore made her Majeſty's letter public, to diſſipate the reports which had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, by the emiſſaries of France, that England would not proſecute the meaſures agreed upon between the late King and his confederates, to reduce the exorbitant power of France. This had, in a great meaſure, the deſired effect, in removing thoſe fears which ſome had too haſtily imbibed.

Reſolutions of the States-general.

This letter, likewiſe, made ſo lively an impreſſion on the minds of the States themſelves, and ſo far recovered their drooping ſpirits, that, on the twenty-fifth of March, N. S, the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland went in a body to the aſſembly of the States-General, where having condoled their irreparable loſs, they repreſented; " that in this " dangerous conjuncture, nothing could prove more " effectual, for their preſervation, than a perfect " unity, mutual confidence, and a vigorous reſolu-

(1) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that there were two paſſages in this ſpeech, which were thought not ſo well conſidered: She aſſured them, her heart was intirely Engliſh; this was deemed a reflection on the late King; ſhe alſo added, that they might depend on her word: both theſe expreſſions had been in her father's firſt ſpeech, how little ſoever they were afterwards minded by him.

" tion

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" tion, for the defenſe of their country, and by " adhering firmly to thoſe meaſures already entered " into, and ſuch as ſhould be judged farther expe- " dient for the good of the common cauſe, declaring " withal, that they were ready to perform their " part, and rather to ſacrifice all their blood and " treaſure, than to ſee their State, their liberty and " their religion deſtroyed."

This repreſentation was highly applauded by the States-General, who returned thanks to the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, for their zealous reſolutions in that perilous conjuncture, and aſſured them of their hearty concurence therein, for the ſafety and welfare of the State, and ſtrenuouſly carrying on the common cauſe; and they ordered letters to be ſent to the other Provinces, to invite them to give the ſame aſſurances. The city of Amſterdam, to ſignalize themſelves more particularly on that occaſion, ſignified to the States-general, that they would not only conſent to ſuch reſolutions as ſhould be thought neceſſary, at that time, but would advance mony to thoſe provinces, which could not ſo readily furniſh out their quota's that ſhould be granted. Their high-mightineſſes, ſoon after publiſhed their reſolutions, at large, in print to the ſame effect, and concluded; " that they " were reſolved religiouſly to maintain their treaties " and alliances, entered into with their confederates; " ſtedfaſtly to purſue the contents thereof; vigorouſly " and cordially to put them in execution; to per- " ſevere in the meaſures already taken, and agree to " ſuch other meaſures as ſhould be thought conveni- " ent; and that notice ſhould be given of this their " true meaning and intention to all their allies and " confederates."

The duke of Bedford, and earl of Marlborough, made knights of the garter.

The 13th of March, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Marlborough were elected knights-companions, of the moſt noble order of the Garter: and the next day, the Queen declared the earl of Marlborough, captain-general of all her forces in England, and of thoſe imployed abroad, in conjunction with her allies (1).

The earl made-captain general.

The earl of Marlborough ſent embaſſador and plenipotentiary to Holland.

The Queen, in the mean time, juſtly conſidering of how great importance it would be to the common cauſe, to have all apprehenſions and jealouſies intirely removed, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to Holland, which would leave no farther grounds for them. For this weighty truſt, ſhe, following the example of her great predeceſſor, thought none more proper than the earl of Marlborough, whoſe conſummate genius had already approved him as great a miniſter, as a commander; qualities rarely to be found in one and the ſame perſon. Her Majeſty, therefore ſent the earl to Holland, with the character of embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General.

Arrives at the Hague.

His excellency arrived at the Hague, the 28th of March, N. S. and after having had ſeveral conferences with the grand-penſionary, and other miniſters, on the 31ſt, he was conducted to his public audience of the States-General, with great ſolemnity, and a numerous attendance, where he made the following ſpeech to their high-mightineſſes:

Has a pubilc audience.

His ſpeech to the States General.

High and mighty lords,

" It having pleaſed God, in his divine provi- " dence, to take to himſelf his Majeſty, King " William, of glorious memory, to the great loſs, " of his kingdom, the ſtate of your high and " mighty lordſhips, and of all Europe; the Queen, " my miſtreſs, who, as it has pleaſed the ſame pro- " vidence, ſucceeds on the throne of her anceſtors, " as your high and mighty lordſhips have been in- " formed by her Majeſty's letter, has commanded " me, at the ſame time I expreſs to your lord- " ſhips her Majeſty's great affliction upon this " ſubject, to make known to you the intereſt her " Majeſty takes in that which this great misfortune " occaſions to your lordſhips in particular.

" The firſt of her Majeſty's care was to let your " high and mighty lordſhips underſtand her ſincere " deſire and inclination to entertain, with you, " the ſame union, friendſhip, and ſtrict correſpon- " dence, as has ſubſiſted, during the courſe of the " preceeding reign, as being perſuaded, that nothing " in the world can be more uſeful and beneficial, " for the good of both nations, whoſe intereſts " are the ſame.

" Her Majeſty has, therefore, commanded me " to acquaint your high and mighty lordſhips, that " ſhe is firmly reſolved to contribute all that lies in " her power towards the advancing and increaſing " the ſaid union, friendſhip and correſpondence, " and to make that a conſtant maxim of her " government.

" Her Majeſty has farther ordered me to aſſure " your high and mighty lordſhips, that ſhe will not " only exactly and faithfully obſerve and execute " the treaties and alliances, made between the Kings " her predeceſſors, and your high and mighty " lordſhips, but that ſhe is likewiſe ready to renew " and confirm them: as alſo to concur with you in " all the meaſures, which have been taken by the " late King, of glorious memory, in purſuance of " the ſaid alliances.

" Her Majeſty is likewiſe diſpoſed to enter into " ſuch other ſtricter alliances and ingagements, " which ſhall moſt conduce to the intereſts of both " nations, the preſervation of the liberty of Eu- " rope, and reducing, within juſt bounds, the " exhorbitant power of France.

" In the mean time, her Majeſty is ready, from " this moment, and without any delay, to concur " with your high and mighty lordſhips, and the other " allies, to this end, with all her forces, as well " by ſea as by land.

" And her Majeſty, to ſhew her zeal the more, " has been pleaſed to authorize me, to concert " with your high and mighty lordſhips, the ne- " ceſſary operations.

" Theſe motives obliged her Majeſty to order " me to depart, with all diligence, in order to " come hither, and give your high and mighty " lordſhips all poſſible aſſurances thereof, without " ſtopping at the ordinary formalities.

" And I look upon it as an extraordinary happi- " neſs, that her Majeſty has done me the honor, to " imploy me in this commiſſion, ſince it gives me " the oportunity of expreſſing to your high and " mighty lordſhips, the zeal I have for your ſervice."

To this ſpeech, monſieur Dyckvelt, preſident of the aſſembly, made an anſwer, in the name of the States; " expreſſing their great affliction for " the death of the late King, their congratulation " of her Majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne; their " hearty thanks for the aſſurance of her friendſhip;

The preſident of the States's anſwer.

(1) It has been reported that King William, but a ſhort time before his death, in the moſt earneſt and affectionate manner, recommended the earl of Marlborough to the Princeſs of Denmark, who was to ſucceed him, as the propereſt perſon to command her armies, in the war, which was upon the very point of breaking out, but of which, he plainly foreſaw, death would prevent his having any ſhare in the glory. Some ſay the King recommended him to her Majeſty on his death-bed, as the fiteſt perſon in all her dominions to conduct her armies, and preſide in her councils; as being a man of a cool head, and a warm heart, proper to incounter the genius of France, and ſuppreſs her deſigns of ſwallowing all Europe. How far this recommendation co-operated with her Majeſty's own judgment and choice is not material; but upon her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe caſt an early eye of favor upon him.

and

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" and their own reſolution, readily to concur with " her Majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the com- " mon intereſt:" To which he added; " that his " perſon would be highly acceptable to them, not " only for the Queen's choice of him, and for the " ſake of King William, who firſt inveſted him " with that character, but for his own merit."

Intriegues of France;

The French King, being not a little ſurpriz'd at theſe proceedings of the Queen of Great-Britain, and finding that the death of King William would not have the effect he had vainly imagin'd, put all the means in agitation he could poſſible contrive, to break the growing union between England and Holland (which was the only human means left to put a ſtop to thoſe great and pernicious deſigns he had formed). Among others, the very day the earl of Marlborough had his public audience, the ſieur de Barre, who was left at the Hague, by count d'Avaux, as ſecretary of the embaſſy, to take care of the affairs of France, and had now the title of reſident, preſented a long memorial to the States, to indeavor to draw them off from their in-

Prove of no effect.

gagements with England. This memorial, however, had a contrary effect to what France hop'd from it. The States look'd, with indignation, on the contumelious inſinuations with which this memorial was ſtuff'd, as if they had acted only by the conſtraining influence of the late King, and received, with the like diſdain, the inſulting menaces contained in it, they therefore, returned an anſwer; ſo pertinent and becoming them, as daſh'd all hopes of France, on that ſide. In this memorial, they ſet forth, how exact they had been in obſerving their treaties and alliances, and juſtly retorted on the French, that if they had been really inclin'd to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe, and re-enter into their ancient amity with the republic, they would not have recall'd the count d'Avaux without at leaſt making ſome propoſals towards a peace. French writers, and particularly monſ. de Quincy, attribute this ſtedfaſtneſs of the States-general to the declaration made to them by the earl of Marlborough, in the name of the Queen, and ſay that was the cauſe of their rejecting every propoſal made by their grand Monarch.

The earl of Marlborough returns to England.

The earl of Marlborough ſtaid but few days in Holland, tho' to very good purpoſe; and having ſettled ſeveral important affairs, with the deputies of the States, eſpecially for the opening of the campain, and the intended ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which, by his lordſhip's advice, was to be the firſt ſcene of action, he left the Hague, in order to imbark for England, where he arrived in ſafety, the 5th of April.

The houſe of commons were, all this while, purſuing the affairs recommended to their conſideration, from the throne, with great zeal and unanimity.

Proceedings of the commons.

The 14th of March, they reſolved to grant a ſupply, " for the better ſupport of her Majeſty's " houſhold, and of the honor and dignity of the " crown;" and the 17th they voted farther, " that towards the ſaid ſupply, the ſame revenues " which were payable to the late King, be granted " and continued to her preſent Majeſty, during her " life, from the death of his late Majeſty." The 19th, the commons paſs'd a bill, " for taking and " ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom," and gave leave for a bill to be brought in, " for " inabling her Majeſty to appoint commiſſioners " to treat for an union between the kingdoms of " England and Scotland," and appointed ſir Rowland Gwyn, mr. ſecretary Vernon, and colonel Stanhope to prepare the ſame. The 24th, and following days, the ſpeaker, and many other members, took the oath directed in an act made this ſeſſion, " for the farther ſecurity of his Majeſty's " perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the " Proteſtant line, and for extinguiſhing the hopes " of the pretended Prince of Wales;" according to the alterations lately agreed to by the houſe: but ſome members abſented themſelves from the houſe, as it was believed, on purpoſe to decline it.

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The 29th, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring her Majeſty's pleaſure, that the ſolemnity of her coronation ſhould be performed on the 23d of April, being St. George's day.

The 30th, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons being preſent, gave the royal aſſent to " an act for the bet- " ter ſupport of her Majeſty's houſhold, and of the " honor and dignity of the crown;" and to ſeveral other public and private bills. After which the Queen made a ſpeech to both houſes; " returning " thanks to the commons, in particular, for con- " tinuing to her the ſame revenue they had granted " to the late King; and aſſuring them, that while

Acts paſs'd.

An inſtance of the Queen's generoſity.

" her ſubjects remained under the burden of ſuch " great taxes, ſhe would ſtreighten herſelf, in her " own expences, rather than not contribute all ſhe " could to their eaſe and relief, with a juſt regard " to the ſupport of the honor and dignity of the " crown: and that, tho' the revenue might fall " very ſhort of what it had formerly produc'd, " ſhe would give directions, that 100,000l. be " applied to the public ſervice in this year, out of the " revenue they had ſo unanimouſly given her (1)."

Compliments made by forein miniſters.

The 11th, of April, baron Spanheim, embaſſador extraordinary from the King of Pruſſia, and baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, had private audiences of the Queen, and of his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, to condole the death of the late King, and congratulate her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown; as had, likewiſe, at different times, count Wratiſlaw, envoy extraordinary, and mr. Hoffman, reſident from the Emperor, with ſeveral other forein miniſters.

King William's funeral.

The 12th at night, the funeral obſequies of his deceaſed Majeſty, William III, of glorious memory, were ſolemnized in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter. The proceſſion began from Kenſington, whence the royal corps was carried in an open chariot, attended by a numerous train of the ſervants of the royal family, the judges, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the great officers in their coaches. The pall was ſupported by ſix dukes, his royal higneſs, Prince George, was chief mourner, ſupported by two dukes, and followed by ſixteen of the firſt earls of England, as aſſiſtants, and after them, the gentlemen and grooms of the bed-chamber. During the time of divine ſervice, the body was depoſited in Henry VII's chapel, and afterwards interr'd, with the uſual ſolemnities, in the ſame vault, with King Charles II, and Queen Mary, his royal conſort.

Preferments.

The 14th, the duke of Devon was conſtituted lord-ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Jerſey, lord-chamberlain, the earl of Bradford, treaſurer of the houſhold, ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler, and Peregrine Bertie, eſq; vice-chamberlain. The 17th, ſir Edward Seymour was admited into the privy-council, and, the ſame day, her Majeſty there declared his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, generaliſſimo of all her forces, by ſea and land: and, on the 20th, the duke of Ormond was appointed commander in chief of all her Majeſty's land-forces on board the fleet. The next day,

(1) By this unexpected act of generoſity her Majeſty very much indear'd herſelf to all her people, and both houſes of parliament acknowledg'd it by addreſſes, to which her Majeſty returned moſt gracious anſwers.

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her Majeſty cauſed the name of the lords Sommers and Hallifax, with ſeveral others (1), to be left out of the liſt of her privy-council, and their places to be fill'd up, with the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Abingdon, ſir John Leviſon Gower, and John How, eſq. At the ſame time, the Queen deliver'd the privy-ſeal to the marquis of Normanby (2), and the ſeal of the duchy of Lancaſter, to ſir John Leviſon Gower.

Eaſt and Weſt-Jerſey ſurrender'd to the crown.

The 17th of April, ſir Thomas Lane, and William Dockwra, eſq; with the reſt of the proprietors of the provinces of Eaſt and Weſt New-Jerſey, in America, preſented to her Majeſty in council, an inſtrument under their hands and ſeals, by virtue of which they ſurrendered their rights to the government of thoſe provinces; which her Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that their properties ſhould be intirely preſerved, and the government of thoſe colonies brought under a due regulation, by her Majeſty's taking them under her ſpecial care and direction.

About this time, the Queen wrote a letter to the parliament of Scotland, in anſwer to one they had written to the late King, concerning their trade to Africa and the Indies, and the union with England, in which ſhe told them:

The Queen's letter to the parliament of Scotland.

"That ſhe would maintain the ſovereignty and "independency of that her ancient kingdom, and "be as tender of their rights, as of her kingdom "of England; that ſhe would govern each king-"dom according to their reſpective laws, and in-"deavor to avoid all miſunderſtandings and dif-"ferences between them; to which end ſhe would "indeavor to eſtabliſh an union between them: "that the parliament of England having ſhewn "ſuch an inclination towards an union, ſhe hoped "the parliament of Scotland would not obſtruct "the deſign: that the late King had ordered, that "none of the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould be im-"preſs'd for the Engliſh ſea-ſervice, and ſhe would "continue to protect them in this matter; ſhe "regreted their loſes and diſappointments, in their "trade to Africa and the Indies, and in ſettling a "colony in America, which was now a misfor-"tune to the whole kingdom, and ſhe would "concur in any propoſals for their reparation and "aſſiſtance; and ſhould incourage not only the "trade of that company, but of the whole, and "to the utmoſt of her power promote the welfare "of her people."

The late King's papers inſpected into.

A report having been induſtriouſly ſpread; "that a deſign had been formed (with the know-"ledge and approbation of the late King) to ex-"clude the Queen from ſucceeding to the crown, "(ſome added to impriſon the Queen and to bring "the houſe of Hanover immediately into the ſuc-"ceſſion") the lord-preſident, the lord-ſteward, the lord-chamberlain, the earl of Marlborough, and the earl of Albermarle, were authorized by her Majeſty, to inſpect the late King's papers, it having been ſaid, that ſome writings were in his ſtrong box, which would diſcover the whole ſcheme (3).

But to the honor of their late ſoverein, they ſeverally declared, to the houſe of peers, "that "among the late King's papers, they did not find "any paper or papers, in the leaſt tending to the "prejudice of her Majeſty, her ſucceſſion to "the crown, or to her prejudice in any reſpect "whatſoever, or which might give any ground "or color for ſuch report." Upon which a vote paſs'd in the houſe of lords, "that theſe reports "were groundleſs, falſe, villanous and ſcandalous; "to the diſhonor of the late King's memory, and "highly tending to the diſſervice of her preſent "Majeſty:" and it was order'd, that the matter of fact, and the reſolution of the houſe thereupon, be laid before her Majeſty, with their humble deſire, "that ſhe would be pleas'd to order mr. "Attorney-general to proſecute, with the utmoſt "ſeverity of law, the authors or publiſhers of ſuch "ſcandalous reports:" to which her Majeſty anſwered, that "ſhe was very ready to do any thing "of this kind, and would give directions accor-"dingly."

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Reſolution of the houſe of peers thereupon.

A pamphlet of dr. Drake's cenſured.

Some time after, dr. Drake was charged with inſinuating the ſame thing, in a pamphlet he publiſh'd, intitled; "the hiſtory of the laſt parliament," and was thereupon brought before the houſe of peers, where, after having taken his examination, it was reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet contained in-"ſinuations ſcandalous and dangerous, tending to "alienate the affections of the ſubjects from her "Majeſty, and to diſturb the peace and quiet of "the kingdom:" and they addreſs'd her Majeſty, to give orders to the attorney-general, to proſecute the ſaid dr. Drake, and all others concern'd in thoſe ſcandalous reports.

The 23d, being St. George's day, her Majeſty's coronation was perform'd with great ſplendor and pomp. Of which ſolemnity, as there had not been a coronation of a ſoverein Queen alone, ſince that of Queen Elizabeth, I ſhall give the reader a brief account.

Her Majeſty being come to Weſtminſter-hall, about eleven o'Clock, and having retired into the court of wards, the nobility, and thoſe who formed the firſt part of the proceſſion, being marſhal'd in order, by the heralds, came down into Weſtminſter-hall, where her Majeſty, being ſeated under her ſtate, the ſwords and ſpurs were preſented to her, and laid upon the table at the upper end of the hall.

Then the dean and prebendaries of Weſtminſter, having brought the crown, and other regalia, with the bible, chalice and patten, they were preſented ſeverally to her Majeſty, and quickly after were, together with the ſwords and ſpurs, delivered to the lords appointed to carry them.

The proceſſion, hereupon, began in the following manner; drums and trumpets: ſix clerks in chancery, two a-breaſt; chaplains having dignities; aldermen of London; maſters in chancery; the ſolicitor and attorney-general; the Queen's ancient ſerjeants; gentlemen of the privy-chamber; judges; children of Weſtminſter, and of the Queen's chapel; choir of Weſtminſter, and gentlemen of the chapel; prebendaries of Weſtminſter; maſter of the jewel-houſe, and privy-counſelors not peers, all in their proper habits, as uſual at coronations.

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(1) This was look'd upon as a mark of her Majeſty's inclination to favor the high-church or tory-party, preferably to the low-churchmen or whigs.

(2) It is obſervable, that ſome years before the Queen was married to Prince George, the marquis of Normanby, then earl of Mulgrave, and a nobleman of ſingular accompliſhments, both of mind and perſon, and of a plentiful fortune, aſpired ſo high as to marry the lady Ann: but tho' his addreſſes to her were check'd as ſoon as diſcover'd, yet the Princeſs had ever an eſteem for him. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann. p. 14.

(3) This pretended ſcheme was ſaid to be: "that the Elector of Hanover ſhould be declared King William's immediate "ſucceſſor: that, in order to effect this, the troops of Hanover and Zell were to file off towards the ſea-coaſt of Holland: "that ſoon after the King's return from thence, a ſham-inſurection was to be excited, either in Scotland or Ireland, to give the "King a colorable pretenſe, for inviting over the Hanoverian troops, with their Prince to command them, and that ſeveral "peers, who were privy to this deſign, were to be made lords-lieutenants of counties, in order to influence the elections for "members of a new parliament. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann. p. 18.

Then

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Then two purſuivants of arms; baroneſſes and barons, in crimſon-velvet robes, with their coronets in their hands, two a-breaſt (as all the peers and peereſſes went); biſhops: two purſuivants of arms; viſcounteſſes and viſcounts; two heralds of arms; counteſſes and earls; two heralds of arms; marchioneſſes; heralds of arms; ducheſſes and dukes; two kings of arms with their coronets; the lord privy-ſeal, archbiſhop of York, lord keeper, archbiſhop of Canterbury, two perſons repreſenting the dukes of Acquitain and Normandy, and his royal highneſs, Prince George, his train born.

Next the lords who bore the regalia; viz. the earl of Dorſet, St. Edward's ſtaff; the lord viſcount Longueville, the ſpurs; the earl of Huntingdon, the ſcepter with the croſs; the earls of Pembroke, Derby, and Kent, the three ſwords; then the deputy-garter, king of arms, with his coronet, between the uſher of the black-rod and the lord-mayor of London; the lord great chamberlain ſingle (preceeded by the vice-chamberlain;) the earl of Oxford, with the ſword of ſtate, between the duke of Bedford, high conſtable for that day, and the earl of Carliſle, earl-marſhal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord-high-ſteward, on that occaſion, with the crown, between the duke of Richmond, bearing the ſcepter with the dove, and the duke of Somerſet, lord-preſident, with the orb; the biſhop of Worceſter with the bible, between the biſhop of Sarum, with the patten, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, dean of Weſtminſter, with the chalice.

The Queen, with her royal robes of crimſon velvet, wearing the collar of the order of the garter (as all the knights of the order did) and, on her head, a rich circlet of gold and diamonds, ſupported by the biſhops of Durham and Exeter, under a canopy born by twelve barons of the Cinque-ports, her train born by the ducheſs of Somerſet, aſſiſted by the lady Elizabeth Seymour, the lady Mary Pierpoint, the lady Mary Hyde, and mrs. Bridget Oſborn; and by the earl of Jerſey, lord-chamberlain; the ſerjeants at arms, and gentlemen penſioners, going on each ſide of the regalia and canopy.

Next followed the captain of her Majeſty's guard, between the captain of the yeomen of the guard, and the captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, with the firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and two of her Majeſty's women.

Thus the whole proceſſion march'd on foot (1), upon blue cloath, to Weſtminſter-abby, the houſes, on each ſide, being crouded with vaſt numbers of ſpectators, expreſſing their great joy and ſatisfaction, by loud and repeated acclamations.

Being entered the church, and all duly ſeated and placed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who perform'd this grand ſolemnity, began with the recognition, which ended with a great ſhout, from each ſide of the theatre: then her Majeſty made her firſt oblation, and the lords who bore the regalia preſented them at the altar. The litany was ſung on the eaſt ſide of the theatre, by the biſhops of Litchfield and Lincoln; and, after the epiſtle, goſpel, and Nicene creed, the archbiſhop of York preached on the following text; viz. Iſaiah xlix, 23. "Kings ſhall be thy nurſing fathers, and Queens "thy nurſing mothers.

The ſermon being ended, the Queen repeated and ſigned the declaration or teſt eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, then took the coronation-oath, and, in King Edward's chair, placed in the middle of the area, before the altar, was anointed and preſented with the ſpurs, girt with the ſword, and veſted with her purple robes; and, having received the ring, the orb and ſcepters, was ſolemnly crown'd, about four o'clock, with loud acclamations, the drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and the great guns being diſcharged: whereupon the peers, peereſſes, &c. put on their coronets, and the biſhops their caps. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

Then the holy bible was preſented to her Majeſty, and ſhe vouchſafed to kiſs the biſhops; and, being inthroned, firſt his royal highneſs, Prince George, then the archbiſhops and biſhops, and laſtly the temperal lords, did her homage, and ſeemingly kiſs'd her Majeſty's left cheek, and afterwards touch'd the crown, while the treaſurer of the houſhold threw about the coronation medals.

Her Majeſty then made her ſecond oblation, and received the holy communion, and, after the final prayers, retired into King Edward's chapel, where ſhe was veſted in her robes of purple velvet. The whole proceſſion being hereupon again put in order, her Majeſty returned to Weſtminſter-hall, wearing her crown of ſtate, and the peers and peereſſes, and kings of arms their coronets.

The Queen dined at a table at the upper end of the hall, with his royal highneſs, Prince George, on her left hand, and the nobility, with other perſons of quality, were ſeated at their reſpective tables, which were all ready furniſhed before their coming in. The hot meat, or firſt courſe, for her Majeſty's table, for which ſpace was left, was ſerved up with the proper ceremony, being preceded by the officers, &c. of the board of green-cloth, and by the lord high-ſteward, between the lord-high-conſtable, and earl-marſhal, on horſe-back. Juſt before the ſecond courſe, Charles Dymmock, eſq; her Majeſty's champion, in compleat armor, between the lord high-conſtable and earl marſhal aforementioned, performed the challenge: after which the kings of arms and heralds proclaimed her Majeſty's ſtile in Latin, French and Engliſh. The parliament being then ſiting, the houſe of commons were ſeated in the gallery, on the eaſt ſide of Weſtminſter-hall, and in the north croſs of the abby, and were entertained at dinner, in the exchequer-chamber.

The dinner being ended, and every thing performed, as uſual, on the like occaſions, with great ſplendor and magnifience, her Majeſty returned to St. James's, between eight and nine in the evening. The day concluded with bonfires, illuminations, ringing of bells, and other demonſtrations of a general ſatisfaction and joy.

The Queen forms her miniſtry.

The ceremony of the coronation being over, the Queen, ſoon after, ſet about to form her miniſtry: in the late reign ſhe had not been made acquainted with public affairs; nor did the miniſtry take much care to oblige thoſe who were about her. The earl of Marlborough was the only perſon near her, for whom the court ſhew'd any great regard. Her Majeſty's court, as Princeſs, was then very thin; ſhe lived in a due abſtraction from buſineſs; ſo that ſhe neither gave jealouſy, nor incouraged faction: yet theſe things (ſays biſhop Burnet) had made thoſe impreſſions on her, that had, at firſt, ill effects, which were ſoon obſerved and remedied. I ſhall not enter into a particular detail of all the alterations the Queen made, nor of the motives which may probably have induced her to ſome things; but ſhall confine myſelf to what more immediately concerns the moſt material parts of this hiſtory. Among other changes, the lord Godolphin was made lord-treaſurer, at which he ſhewed an uneaſineſs, and long reſiſted the acceptance of it; but the earl of Marlborough preſs'd it, in ſo poſi-

The lord Godolphin made lord-treaſurer.

(1) Her Majeſty only, not being well enough to walk, was carried in a low open chair.

tive

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tive a manner, that he insisted upon it, he could not go beyond sea, to command the army, unless the treasury was in his hands; by which he might be sure that remittances would be punctually made him.

The Prince of Denmark said to design commanding the army.

I have already said, that the earl of Marlborough was declared captain-general; but the Prince had the title of generalissimo of all the Queen's forces, by sea or land, and soon after was made lord-high-admiral; and the duke of Ormond was appointed to command in chief a land-army, which was to be put on board the fleet. It was for some time, reported, that the Prince would command the armies of the allies, in person; but this soon fell away, and it was said, on the contrary, that the Dutch were not willing to trust their forces to the command of a Prince, who might be above being limited by their instruction, or bound to obey their commands.

The Dutch against it.

The Queen made the earl of Nottingham, and sir Charles Hedges, her principal secretaries of state, in the room of the earl of Manchester and mr. Vernon, the later of whom, however, was made one of the tellers of the Exchequer. This was again interpreted as a mark of her Majesty's inclination to favor the high-church party: but what insued, as plainly evinced she was then, at least, biassed by no party, but was resolved to extend her favor to men of merit in both: for she continued most of the great officers of the houshold, all the judges, except two, and most of the lords-lieutenants of counties; nor did she make any change in the forein ministry. It was generally thought, that the earl of Rochester (1), (who was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland) and his party, were for severe methods, and for a more intire change, to be carried quite thro' all subaltern imployments; but that the earl of Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, were for more moderate proceedings. And hence probably insued that division, which, at this time arose among the courtiers, and the rivalship about the Queen's favor, between the earls of Rochester and Marlborough, the latter of which soon got the ascendant. The earl of Rochester, who was the Queen's maternal uncle, had great expectations of being prime-minister on her Majesty's accession, not only on account of his being so nearly related to her, but as he was a nobleman of great capacity and well versed in affairs of state: but this he could never expect to possess, if the earl of Marlborough was general of the confederate army abroad, and the treasury was put into the hands of the lord Godolphin (whose only son had married the earl's eldest daughter) and if (which was still a greater bar to his expectations) the countess of Marlborough, the Queen's greatest favorite, should still continue to have her ear, and a great influence in admiting or excluding whom she pleased from her presense; it is no wonder, therefore, that we find the earl of Rochester opposing the schemes formed by the earl of Marlborough.

It was natural, on the other hand, for the earl of Marlborough to take such measures as he thought most conducive to his design of dismissing the earl of Rochester from public affairs; and it was, beyond all doubt, for this reason, that he obtain'd an early promise of the Queen, to make the earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer, the very post the earl of Rochester expected, and which is usually confer'd on the prime minister. By this step the earl of Marlborough not only prevented this important post from falling into the hands of his antagonist, but, as he probably foresaw, it so disgusted him, that he retired from court, the very thing he had to wish. A farther advantage the earl of Marlborough had by puting the staff into the earl of Godolphin's hand, was, that he was sure of a friend, who, with the countess, would be able to preserve his interest with the Queen, in his absense, and, what was more than all, he was thereby certain of punctual remitances for the payment of the army under his command, and to promote all his designs for the public good, and the honor and advantage of the nation.

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But to return to other affairs: the second of May, it was moved, in council, to declare war against France and Spain. Some members of that illustrious body represented the inconveniences which would attend it, and moved, that it would be safer for the English, to act in this conjuncture, as auxiliaries only. But the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, and the earls of Marlborough and Pembroke, maintained the contrary strenuously, and shewed, not only that it was beseeming the honor of the nation, to make good the late King's alliances; but that France would never be reduced, within due bounds, unless the English acted as principals in the war; and they at length brought the majority of the board to their opinion; upon which, her Majesty gave order, for drawing up a declaration of war against France and Spain. The management and operations of the war was, likewise, warmly debated the same day: the grand question was; whether we should make our chief effort in Flanders, and our general have the command of the confederate army there; or if we should only furnish the Dutch with our quota of troops, and serve them to defend their country, who were more immediately concerned in it; while we carried on the war by sea, and made descents on the coasts of France and Spain, and in the Spanish West-Indies, as was done in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the nation almost paid the charges of the war by the captures they made, and the plunder they took, in the Spanish-towns in Europe and America.

Debates, in council, about declaring war.

It was observed by the earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and some others, that, in the late war, the Emperor, and several other powers ingaged in the confederacy, had been very deficient in furnishing their quotas of troops, whereby many advantages had been lost. That the deficiences in their troops were afterwards supplied by the English, and the burden of the whole war, in a manner, thrown upon them. The English, like men of honor, but very weak politicians, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country for ages in the quarrel, tho' they were more remotely concerned, in the event of the war, than any of the allies; only it had been represented, that as the King of England was at the head of the confederate army, we must support him, let the deficiences of the rest of the allies be never so great, lest his Majesty's, and the nation's honor should suffer any diminution; and the case would probably be the same again, if an English general should command the confederate army in Flanders: beside, the attacking the French King, on that side, had been, long since, resembled to the taking a bull by the horns: so soon as one town was taken, another fortress, rose up within a mile or two, and it must require a war of many years to penetrate into the heart of his country: that it might be attack'd in any other part with more hopes of succes: that all the Spanish coasts, in Europe and America, lay open to us, and might be insulted and plunder'd by our naval force,

And about the operation of it.

(1) The continuator of Rapin, in French, says, that the first time this nobleman desired to be admited to her Majesty's presence, after her accession to the crown, she answer'd: " I will not see him, 'till he has altered his mind, and renounced his " principles; but if he will comply with that, I promise him a favorable reception. B. 26. p. 449.

with

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with a ſmall land-army on board; and this would oblige the enemy to keep up numerous bodies, to defend countries of ſo vaſt an extent: and there was this farther reaſon for carrying on the war at ſea, rather than land; that the mony would all circulate among us, that was laid out on a ſea-war; whereas that which was ſent to Flanders never returned. Beſide, by the treaty of alliance, all the places we could take, in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, were to fall to the ſhare of the Engliſh; but we were to gain nothing by a war in the Netherlands, how ſucceſsful ſoever we might be. It was farther urged, that, by keeping a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, we might probably interrupt their plate-fleets, or, at leaſt, prevent their coming to Europe, and cut off thoſe treaſures the French King principally relied on, to carry on the war; which would ſoon oblige him to come to our own terms.

The earl of Marlborough, the lord Godolphin, and ſeveral more, urged, on the other hand; that tho' we might haraſs the French and Spaniſh coaſts, put them to a great expence, and make ſome profitable captures, yet this would never bring the war to a concluſion: whereas a victory or two obtained in Flanders, would bring the French King upon his knees at once: that the Dutch were a cautious people, and, if they had the direction of the war, on that ſide, they would probably content themſelves, with taking ſome towns on the frontiers, and ſo ſecure themſelves a barrier againſt France, but would not eaſily be brought to venture a battle, and conſequently we muſt expect a lingring war; whereas, if our general commanded in chief in Flanders, and we furniſh'd them with ſuch forces as would render them abundantly ſuperior to the enemy, they might be brought to conſent to hazard a general battle, and a good peace obtained in a little time. Theſe reaſons had a plauſible appearance, and were not without grounds, on both ſides, as the ſequel, which is the beſt illuſtration that can be given of them, will ſhew: tho' it is hard to determine, even after having ſeen the events, whether the meaſures that were taken, or thoſe which were rejected, were the moſt reaſonable. The former went a great way, and would, infallibly have gain'd the point aimed at, had they not been cut ſhort: but whether the latter might not have obtained the ſame, in leſs time, and at a leſs expence, can only be the ſubject of conjecture.

Her Majeſty was, however, graciouſly pleaſed, notwithſtanding the reſolutions taken in council, to communicate her intention to both houſes of parliament, together with a convention between her Majeſty, the Emperor, and the States-general, concerning the intended meaſures for a war: this convention, which was laid before the commons, the 2d of May, being read, they unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs the Queen, "to return her Majeſty thanks for "communicating to them her intentions of de- "claring war, in conjunction with her allies, againſt "the French King, and his grandſon: and to "aſſure her, that they would, to the utmoſt, ſup- "port and aſſiſt her Majeſty, in carrying on the "war" (1); and the lords likewiſe addreſs'd the Queen on the ſame account.

The war approved by parliament.

The Queen, being thus aſſured of the concurence and ſupport of the commons, cauſed the declaration, which ſhe had before given directions to be drawn up, to be ſolemnly proclaimed, the fourth, before the gate of the royal-palace of St. James, at Chancery-lane-end, and at the Royal-exchange; of which declaration, as it ſhews the motives which induced her Majeſty to enter into this war, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a copy.

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Her Majeſty's declaration of war, againſt France and Spain.

ANN, R.

"WHEREAS it has pleaſed Almighty "God, to call us to the government of "theſe realms, at a time, when our late dear bro- "ther, William III, of glorious memory, had, "in purſuance of repeated advices of the par- "liament of this kingdom, enter'd into ſolemn "treaties of alliance with the Emperor of Ger- "many, the States-general of the United-provinces, "and other Princes and Potentates, for preſerving "the liberty and ballance of Europe, and for re- "ducing the exorbitant power of France; which "treaties are grounded upon the unjuſt uſurpations "and incroachments of the French King, who "had taken, and ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of a great "part of the Spaniſh dominions, exerciſing an ab- "ſolute authority over all that Monarchy, having "ſeized Milan, and the Spaniſh Low-countries, by "his armies, and made himſelf maſter of Cadiz, "of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the "ports in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, by his fleets, "every where deſigning to invade the liberties of "Europe, and to obſtruct the freedom of naviga- "tion and commerce: And it being provided, by "the third and fourth articles of the forementioned "alliance; that if, in the ſpace of two months, "which are ſome time ſince expired, the injuries "complained of were not remedied, the parties "concerned ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other, "with their whole ſtrength: and whereas, inſtead "of giving the ſatisfaction that ought juſtly to be "expected, the French King has not only proceeded "to farther violences, but has added thereunto a "great affront and indignity to us, and our king- "doms, in taking upon him to declare the pretend- "ed Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland "and Ireland, and has alſo influenced Spain, to "concur in the ſame affront and indignity, as well "as in his other oppreſſions; we find ourſelves ob- "liged, for maintaining the public faith, for vin- "dicating the honor of our crown, and for pre- "venting the miſchiefs which all Europe is threat- "ned with, to declare, and we do, hereby, accor- "dingly declare war, againſt France and Spain. "And placing our intire confidence in the help of "Almighty God, in ſo juſt and neceſſary an "undertaking, we will, in conjunction with our "allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame, by ſea and "land, being aſſured of the ready concurence and "aſſiſtance of our ſubjects, in a cauſe they have ſo "openly and ſo heartily eſpouſed. And we do "hereby will and require our lord-high-admiral "of England, our general of our forces, our lieute- "nants of our ſeveral counties, governors of our "forts and gariſons, and all other officers and "ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do and "execute all acts of hoſtility, in proſecution of this "war, againſt France and Spain, their vaſſals and "ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts; willing "and requiring all our ſubjects to take notice of the "ſame, whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold "any correſpondence or communication, with France "or Spain, or their ſubjects. But becauſe there are "remaining in our kingdoms many of the ſubjects "of France and Spain, we do declare our royal in- "tention to be, that all the ſubjects of France or "Spain, who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully to- "wards us, ſhall be ſafe, in their perſons and eſtates.

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of May, 1702, in the firſt year of our reign.

(1) On this occaſion a motion was made for an addreſs: "that no perſon be an officer in England or Ireland, in her Ma- "jeſty's new raiſed forces, but ſuch as were born in England, Scotland or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or of "Engliſh parents, unleſs they were before in half-pay"; this motion being however ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, when the queſtion was put, it paſs'd in the negative.

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The Emperor and the Dutch proclaim war against France and Spain.

The French King's declaration of war.

The Emperor and the States-general publiſh'd their declarations of war, the ſame day: but the French King did not publiſh his till two months after however, I ſhall inſert the latter; here, that the reader may, at once, ſee the allegations on both ſides.

By the King,

" Altho' the treaty concluded at Ryſwick, in " a time when the King, by the ſuperiority of his " forces, was in a condition to have given laws to " the neighboring Princes that were jealous of his " power, was a certain proof of the ſincere deſire " that his Majeſty had, always to give peace to his " ſubjects, and to reſtore peace to Europe: his " Majeſty, nevertheleſs, finds that the Emperor, " without any lawful right to the Spaniſh monarchy, " has put himſelf in a condition, by the augmen- " tation of his troops, by treaties and alliances with " ſeveral Princes, and particularly with England, " and the States-general of the United-provinces, " to trouble the repoſe of Europe, by a new war, " as unjuſt as it is ill-grounded. They have begun " hoſtilites on all ſides, againſt, and contrary to " the treaties ſo ſolemnly ſworn to. All Europe " is witneſs of his Majeſty's moderation. He has " ſeen places attack'd, advantageous poſts ſeiz'd, " convoys ſtopped, and priſoners taken, before any " declaration of war, and at a time when his Ma- " jeſty was indeavoring by his embaſſadors and " envoys to preſerve the peace. All theſe ſteps " being ſo contrary to ſincere dealing, and their " own intereſts, and the manifeſto's and declarations " of war of the Emperor, England, and the States- " general having been publiſhed, his Majeſty finds " himſelf under an indiſpenſable neceſſity, in order " to preſerve his own, and the King, his grandſon's " dominions, to arm on his ſide, and to make " levies ſufficient to oppoſe the undertakings of the " common enemies. And for that end, his Ma- " jeſty, is reſolved to imploy all his forces, by " land and ſea; and, by the help of divine protec- " tion, which he implores, on the juſtice of his cauſe, " to declare war againſt the Emperor, England, " and the States-general of the United-provinces, " and the Princes their allies. His Majeſty orders " and commands all his ſubjects, vaſſals and ſer- " vants, to cruiſe upon the ſubjects of the Emperor, " England and Holland, and on the ſubjects of " their allies; and ſtrictly forbids his ſubjects to " have henceforth any communication, commerce " and intelligence with them, on pain of death: and, " therefore, his Majeſty has revoked, and does revoke " by theſe preſents, all permiſſions, paſſports, " ſafe-guards, and ſafe-conducts, which may have " been granted by him, or his lieutenant-generals, " and other his officers, contrary to theſe preſents; " and has declared, and does declare them to be " void and of no effect and force: forbiding all " perſons whatſoever to have any regard unto them. " His Majeſty orders and commands, the admiral, " marſhals of France, governors and lieutenant- " generals for his Majeſty, in his provinces and " armies, marſhals de camp, colonels, camp-maſters, " captains, chiefs, and leaders of his Majeſty's " ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, French and ſtrangers, " and all his other officers to whom it may pertain, " what is herein contained, to cauſe execute, each " in his office, within their towns and juriſdictions. " For ſuch is his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, that " theſe preſents be publiſhed in all the maritime, and " other towns, and in all ports, havens, and other " places of the kingdom and land, under his obe- " dience, where need ſhall be. To the end that " none may pretend ignorance".

Given at Marly, July 3, 1702.

Sign'd Lewis.

Underneath Chamillard.

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The Princeſs Sophia order'd to be pray'd for.

The 5th of May, the commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty; " returning the " thanks of their houſe, for her great zeal for the " ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant-line, ex- " preſs'd in her Majeſty's late order in council, di- " recting the Princeſs Sophia to be prayed for". And the lords addreſs'd the Queen on the ſame account.

Acts paſs'd.

The 6th her Majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent: " 1. to the land-tax-act " for 4s. in the pound: 2. to an act for making " good deficiences, and preſerving the public " credit: 3. to an act for inabling her Majeſty to " appoint commiſſioners to treat of an union, be- " tween the kingdoms of England and Scotland;" and to ſome other acts.

Proclamations.

War being declared, a proclamation was iſſued, the 15th, " for recalling all Engliſh ſeamen, that were " abroad, and requiring them not enter into forein " ſervice". The ſame day, another proclamation was publiſh'd " for obſerving a general faſt on the " 10th of June, for the ſucceſs of the war".

An addreſs of both houſes of parliament.

The 21ſt, both houſes joined in an addreſs to the Queen, in which they repreſented; " that nothing " would more contribute to the effectual carrying " on the war, and reducing her enemies to the " greateſt ſtreights, than an intire prohibition of all " correſpondence with France and Spain, on the " part of the allies; and therefore, they humbly " adviſed her Majeſty, to ingage the Emperor, " the States-general, and her other allies, to join " with her, in prohibiting all intercourſe, between " the ſubjects of her Majeſty and her allies, and the " ſubjects of France and Spain: and alſo to con- " cert ſuch methods with the States-general, as " might moſt effectually ſecure the trade of her " ſubjects and her allies". To all which, her Majeſty readily promiſed to comply: adding, that ſhe was too much concerned for the public welfare, to omit any neceſſary precautions for the protection of our trade. But notwithſtanding this matter was, afterwards, ſtrenuouſly urg'd by the earl of Marlborough, the Dutch were too ſelf-intereſted to ingage in a total prohibition of commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain.

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

Addreſs of the lords about privateers.

The lords having, on the 23d, made ſome amendments to a bill paſſed by the commons, for the incouragement of privateers, to which amendments, the commons had refuſed their concurrence, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which, they returned her Majeſty their humble thanks, for her gracious anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes, particularly for the aſſurance, that ſhe would not omit any neceſſary precautions for the protection of trade. And they beg'd leave to repreſent to her Majeſty, that the ſea-preparations of her Majeſty's enemies being ſuch, as ſeemed not to be intended for incountering and fighting her royal navy, but rather for making a piratical war, to the interruption of the commerce of the ſubjects of her Majeſty, and her allies; it was, in their opinion, highly requiſite for the public ſervice, that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to give all poſſible incouragement to her ſubjects, to arm, and ſet out private men of war.

And whereas (continued they) by the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, between his Majeſty, of glorious memory, the Emperor, and the States-general, your Majeſty is at liberty to take and ſeize lands and cities belonging to the Spaniſh dominions, in the Indies, and retain the ſame as your own; to the end your Majeſty, and your ſubjects may have a real and effectual advantage of the ſaid article, and that perſons may be incouraged to become adventurers, in order to the taking and gaining cities, ports, countries or places in the Indies, from your Majeſty's enemies; We humbly offer

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our advice to your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to grant commissions or charters, under the great-seal of England, with such powers, privileges and advantages, and under such limitations and restrictions, as your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, shall think needful and convenient; to all persons, bodies politic or corporate, who shall make applications to your Majesty, and are willing to be adventurers in making such acquisitions in the Indies, or shall contribute there to, or by aiding or assisting therein, subject nevertheless, to such terms and conditions, as your Majesty shall judge most expedient for the good of your kingdoms.

The Queen's answer.

To this address her Majesty answered; she would take all the care in it she could.

Acts pass'd.

The 25th, the Queen went in state to the house of peers, and, the commons being sent for up, her Majesty gave the royal assent, 1. "to an act for preventing frauds in the duties upon salt, and for better payment of debentures at the custom-house: 2. an act to declare the alterations in the oath appointed to be taken, by the act intitled, an act for the farther security of his Majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abetors, and for declaring the association to be determined: 3. an act for continuing the present sheriffs, in England and Wales, until the first day of Hilary-term, unless her Majesty should think fit to determine them sooner: 4. an act for importing into England thrown silk, of the growth of Italy, from the port of Leghorn, in Italy: 5. an act for raising the militia, in 1702: 6. an act for continuing the imprisonment of several conspirators against the late King's life: 7. an act for relief of poor prisoners for debt: 8. an act to oblige the Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children: 9. an act for the relief of the masters of the hoys and other vessels, carrying corn, and other inland provisions, "within the port of London: 10. an act for making more effectual the provision out of the forfeited estates, in Ireland, for the building of churches, and augmenting small vicarages in Ireland: and 11. an act for the relief of Protestant purchasers of the forfeited estates in Ireland:" after which her Majesty made the following speech to both houses:

The Queen's speech to both houses.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot conclude this session, without repeating my hearty thanks to you all for your great care of the public, and the many marks you have given of your duty and affection to me.

"And I must thank you, gentlemen of the house of commons, in particular, both for the supplies you have given to support me, in this necessary war, and the provisions you have made for the debts contracted in the former: your great justice in making good those deficiencies will be a lasting honor and credit to the nation: I wish the difficulties they have brought upon us may be a warning to prevent such inconveniencies for the future.

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"I must recommend to you all, in your several countries, the preservation of the public peace, and a due execution of the laws.

"I shall always wish, that no difference of opinion, among those that are equally affected to my service; may be the occasion of heats and animosities among themselves; I shall be very careful to preserve and maintain the act of toleration, and to set the minds of all my people at quiet: my own principles must always keep me intirely firm to the interest and religion of the church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the truest zeal to support it."

The parliament prorogued.

Then the lord-keeper, by her Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 7th day of July next insuing.

Preferments.

Having thus finish'd my account of the proceedings of this session of parliament, it will be necessary, before I proceed to the affairs of more distant parts, to mention some domestic occurences. About the middle of May, the Queen was pleased to appoint sir George Rooke, vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the navy and seas of this kingdom; and, on the 21st of the same month, her Majesty declared, in council, that she had constituted his royal highness, Prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of all other her dominions, beyond the seas (1): and on the 23d, Prince George apoointed sir George Rooke, sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, esq; admiral of the blue squadron, and Richard Hill, esq; to be his council, as lord high-admiral (2). The 21st, George, earl of Northampton, was sworn of the privy-council; and, on the 27th, the earl of Abingdon was constituted constable of the Tower, and lieutenant general Churchill, lieutenant of the same.

The 2d of June, the Queen appointed Simon Harcourt, esq; to be her solicitor-general, and confer'd the honor of knighthood both on him, and on Edward Northey, esq. attorney-general, having the day before, renew'd the commission for the management of the customs. The 5th her Majesty returned from Windsor, whether she had retired for a few days, and then applied herself to appoint the lords-lieutenants, the commissioners of trade, for prizes, stamp and salt-duties, and generals of her land-forces; to give audience to several forein ministers, and to dispose of many places and imployments: among the rest, the earl of Marlborough was made master of the ordnance; the honorable John Granville, esq; lieutenant-general; William Bridges, esq; master surveyor, and Christopher Musgrave, esq; clerk of the same; and Edward Southwell, esq; was appointed her Majesty's principal secretary of state, in Ireland, on the resignation of that office by sir Robert Southwell. To conclude my account of preferments, I shall

(1) Towards the conclusion of the foregoing reign I took notice, that his late Majesty had revoked the letters-patent, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and had appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, a nobleman, who had before, at the begining, and towards the conclusion of the last war, presided at the board of admiralty, when it was in commission, in which, as well as in several other honorable posts, he gave many remarkable instances of his zeal for the public service. This noble lord, tho' he was not easily brought to accept of this high post, foreseing the heavy load it would draw upon him, no sooner entered upon the important trust, than he diligently applied himself to the execution of it, and had the good fortune to give a general satisfaction. Upon the Queen's accession to the throne, he resolved to command the fleet in person, and took great pains to put things in such order that it might be early ready. A land-army was design'd to go with the fleet, the command of which was given to the duke of Ormond, as I observed above: but upon new measures, the earl of Pembroke was first sent to, not to go to sea in person, and, soon after, he was dismiss'd from his post, with the offer of a large pension, which he very generously refused, tho' the state of his affairs and family seemed to require it. Lediard's naval history, vol. 3. p. 740.

(2) The legality of this council was very much questioned: for it was a new court, which could not be authorized to act but by an act of parliament: yet the respect paid the Queen prevented any public inquiry being made concerning it, and so the objections to it never went farther, than a secret murmer. Lediard's naval history, vol. 2. p. 740.

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only add, that, on the 14th the Prince of Denmark was conſtituted conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports; by virtue of which poſt his royal highneſs appointed Charles, earl of Winchelſea, lieutenant of Dover-Caſtle.

Other domeſtic occurrences.

The 20th of May, William Fuller, who had ſo often abuſed the patience both of the lords and commons, on pretenſe of making ſome notable diſcoveries concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, was brought to his trial, at the King's-bench-bar, upon an information, for contriving and publiſhing ſeveral ſcandalous libels, eſpecially one falſe, ſcandalous, and defamatory libel, intitled, "Original letters of the late King James, "&c," of which he was found guilty, and condemn'd to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be afterwards ſent to the houſe of correction, there to be whip'd, and kept to hard labor, till the 24th of October following; to pay a fine of 1000 marks, and to remain in priſon till paid: which ſentenſe was executed upon him accordingly.

The firſt of June, the Queen out of a juſt regard to the laws of nations, iſſued out her royal proclamation, ordering all ſhips, ſtopped before the declaration of war, to be diſcharged, and cauſed another proclamation to be publiſh'd, for the incouragement of her ſhips of war and privateers.

Affairs of Scotland.

I have already taken notice, that the Queen, on her acceſſion, ſent a letter to the privy-council of Scotland, to continue to act as her council of that kingdom, till farther orders: and that her Majeſty, not long after, thought fit to ſend them another letter, in anſwer to one the late King had received from them a little before his death. I proceed now to give a farther brief account of the affairs of that kingdom.

Debates about the exiſtence of the parliament.

At the begining of this reign, warm debates aroſe in Scotland, concerning the parliament then in being, which conſiſted of the ſame body of men who aſſembled at the revolution: for tho', by their ancient conſtitution, they ſhould have had a parliament every year, there was none but this called during the whole preceding reign. Duke Hamilton was now at the head of a very conſiderable party, who were of opinion, that this parliament was actually diſſolved by the late King's demiſe, and applied themſelves to her Majeſty, to call a new one: but the duke of Queenſborough, and his party, were for continuing the preſent parliament, repreſenting that the calling another, at this juncture, might occaſion tumults in the kingdom: nor could it be called time enough for her Majeſty's ſervice, which required immediate ſupplies of them, and mony for the war; and this party, tho' ſome doubted their real ſuperiority, carried their point.

The parliament aſſembles.

The duke of Queenſborough was, hereupon, conſtituted her Majeſty's high commiſſioner, and ordered to aſſemble the parliament of Scotland, the 9th of June: when, being accordingly aſſembled, duke Hamilton deſired to be heard, before the Queen's commiſſion was read. This being granted, he ſaid, in behalf of himſelf, and the other members who adhered to him; Duke Hamilton's ſpeech.

"that they were all "heartily glad at her Majeſty's happy acceſſion to "the throne of that kingdom, not meerly on ac-"count that it was her undoubted right by deſcent, "but likewiſe becauſe of the many perſonal virtues, "and royal qualities, her Majeſty was indowed "with, which gave them grounds to hope, that "they ſhould injoy, under her auſpicious reign, all "the bleſſings that could attend a nation, which "had a gracious and loving ſoverein, united "with a dutiful and obedient people. That they "were reſolved to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes, "in defenſe of her Majeſty's right, againſt all her "enemies whomſoever: but that, at the ſame time, "as they acknowledged their ſubmiſſion to her "Majeſty's authority, they thought themſelves "bound in duty, by virtue of the obedience they "owed to the ſtanding laws of the nation, and be-"cauſe of the regard they ought to have for the "rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects, to "declare their opinion, as to the legality of that "meeting: that they did not think themſelves "warranted by law, to ſit and act any longer as a "parliament; and that, by ſo doing, they ſhould "incur the hazard of their lives and fortunes, if "ever their proceedings ſhould come to be que-"ſtion'd by a ſubſequent parliament."

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His grace then read a paper, containing the following words:

His proteſt.

"Foraſmuch as, by the fundamental laws and "conſtitution of this kingdom, all parliaments do "diſſolve, by the death of the King or Queen, "except ſo far as innovated, by the ſeventeenth act, "in the ſixth ſeſſion of King William's parliament, "impowering the parliament laſt in being, at his "Majeſty's death, to meet and act what ſhould be "needful, for the defenſe of the true Proteſtant "religion, as now by law eſtabliſh'd, and main-"taining the ſucceſſion to the crown, as ſettled by "the claim of right, and for preſerving and ſe-"curing the peace, and ſafety of the kingdom; and "now ſeeing that the ſaid ends are fully ſatisfied, "by her Majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne, where-"by the religion and peace of the kingdom is ſe-"cured; we conceive ourſelves not warranted by "this law to meet, ſit, or act; therefore do diſſent "from all that ſhall be done, and thereupon take "inſtruments." The duke, having taken inſtruments accordingly, went out of the houſe, with the clerk-regiſter, and ſeventy-nine other members, who likewiſe took inſtruments, but without giving in the paper the duke had read.

He withdraws with ſeventy-nine members.

Notwithſtanding this, the duke of Queenſborough's commiſſion was read, and her Majeſty's letter to the parliament was preſented by the lord-commiſſioner, importing: "that it would have "been a great ſatisfaction to her, at her acceſſion, "to have met them in perſon, but the multiplicity "of weighty affairs deprived her of that oppor-"tunity. However, ſhe gave them full aſſurance, "that ſhe was firmly reſolved to maintain and "protect them, in the full poſſeſſion of their re-"ligion, laws and liberties, and of the Preſby-"terian government of the kirk: that ſhe had "been obliged, in purſuance of an expreſs article "of treaty, enter'd into by the late King and her "allies, to declare war againſt France and Spain, "wherein ſhe expected their hearty concurence "and aſſiſtance, not doubting but they were af-"fected with the ſame ſenſe of the wrongs and "indignities offered by the enemy, and other juſt "cauſes of the war, as appeared in the many "loyal addreſſes of her ſubjects on that occaſion; "and recommended their providing competent "ſupplies for the forces it would be neceſſary to "have on foot." She alſo recommended to them, "the entring on a treaty of union with England," concluding with the uſual popular topics of "in-"couraging piety and virtue, ſuppreſſing vice and "immorality, advancing trade, and providing for "the poor."

The Queen's letter.

The lord high commiſſioner's ſpeech.

The Queen's letter being read, the high commiſſioner made a ſpeech; wherein, "he bewailed "their great loſs, in the death of King William, "but congratulated them, on her Majeſty's hap-"py acceſſion to the throne; ſaid it was a great "bleſſing, that they had a Queen of ſuch prin-"ciples, of the royal blood, and line of Scotland, "a Princeſs, who had been amongſt them, (when "the duke of York, her father, reſided there) "and had a particular regard for them, and, having "inlarg'd upon the articles mention'd in her

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" Majeſty's letter, concluded with recommending an " union, between the two kingdoms, there appear- " ing a greater diſpoſition in the Engliſh, towards " an union, than he had obſerved in any preceed- " ing time:" the ſame heads were, likewiſe, in- forced by a ſpeech of the earl of Marchmont's the lord-chancellor.

Acts paſſed.

This aſſembly having, in the firſt place, voted themſelves (and afterwards confirm'd their vote by an act) to be, a free and legal parliament, and declared, that purſuant to their ancient laws, it was high treaſon to impugn their authority, were about paſſing an act for ſecuring the true Proteſtant reli- gion, and Preſbyterian kirk-government; but this latter occaſion'd great debates, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches; among which ſir Alexander Bruce made one, in favor of epiſcopacy, wherein, among other things, he aſſerted, that " Preſbytery, was incon- " ſiſtent with Monarchy," which gave great of- fence, and for which he was expell'd the houſe; and notwithſtanding all the oppoſition thoſe of the Epiſ- copal communion could make, the act paſs'd, as did, likewiſe, a third, for recognizing her Majeſty's authority, and a fourth impowering commiſſioners to treat of an union with England.

The parliament's anſwer to the Queen's letter.

The parliament then wrote a dutiful anſwer to the Queen's letter, and, among other things, told her Majeſty, " they ſhould be wanting to themſelves, " if they did not provide ſupplies for their defenſe; " aſſured her, that they would promote the union " of the two kingdoms, and acquainted her with " the ſteps that had been taken by duke Hamilton, " and his adherents."

The Queen's ſecond letter.

The duke, and his party, had, in the mean time, prepar'd an addreſs to the Queen, to juſtify their withdrawing themſelves; but her Majeſty, not only refuſed to receive it, but, in a ſecond letter to the parliament, ſhewed her diſapprobation thereof, and declared, for their better incouragement, " that " they might proceed vigorouſly in their work, " for the defenſe of the true Proteſtant religion, " the maintaining of the ſucceſſion to the crown, " and for the preſerving and ſecuring the peace " and ſafety of the kingdom."

The Scots refuſe to ſettle the Hanover ſucceſſion.

However, it being propos'd, to ſettle the ſucceſ- ſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover, as had been done in England, a majority appeared againſt it at this time (being probably willing to ſee firſt what terms the Engliſh would afford them on a treaty of union) and the debates running very high, the lord high-commiſſioner thought fit to adjourn them, on the 30th of June, having firſt commended their chearfulneſs and unanimity in diſpatching the buſineſs they had gone thro' (1). As ſoon as the parliament was adjourned, the leading men of the different parties haſtened to London, to make their ſeveral repreſentations of things to the Queen, and her Engliſh miniſters.

The parliament adjourned.

Commiſſioners to treat of an union.

The Queen being impower'd by acts of parlia- ment of both kingdoms, to nominate commiſſioners, for treating about an union, between England and Scotland, appointed, accordingly, twenty-three of the moſt able and conſiderable men of the kingdom for England, and twenty for Scotland, with a ſecre- tary for each.

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Their proceedings.

Their firſt meeting was on the 22d of October, at the Cockpit; where, after the reading o fboth commiſſions, ſir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England, made a ſpeech to the aſſembly, on the part of England, which was an- ſwered by the duke of Queenſborough, on the part of Scotland: in which they both profeſs'd their ſincere intentions to advance this great deſign.

There not being a quorum of the Scotiſh com- miſſioners arrived in town, their meeting was ad- journed, by a letter from the Queen. At their next meeting, which was on or about the 20th of November, ſome previous objections were made by the lord-keeper, againſt the validity of the Scotiſh commiſſion, notwithſtanding which they fully adjuſt- ed the preliminaries, of which, one of the moſt con- ſiderable was; " that nothing agreed on among " themſelves ſhould be binding, except it be ra- " tified by her Majeſty, and the reſpective parlia- " ments of both nations; and that except all the " heads propoſed for the treaty were agreed to, " no particular thing agreed on ſhould be bind- " ing."

The lord-keeper then propoſed, on the part of the Engliſh, " that the two kingdoms ſhould be inſe- " parably united into one Monarchy, under her Ma- " jeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame " limitations, according to the acts of ſettlement:" and the duke of Queenſborough propoſed, on the part of the Scots; " that both nations ſhould be " united in one Monarchy, and one parliament, " with a mutual communication of trade and pri- " vileges." The propoſal of the Engliſh was eaſily agreed to, and the Queen, to make things go on with more eaſe and unanimity, was pleaſed, on the 14th of December, to make the following ſpeech to the commiſſioners of both nations:

The Queen's ſpeech to the commiſſioners.

My lords,

" I am ſo fully perſuaded, that the union of " my two kingdoms will prove the happineſs of " both, and render this iſland more formidable " than it has been in ages paſt; that I wiſh this " treaty may be brought to a good and ſpeedy " concluſion. I am come to know what progreſs " you have made in it, and I do aſſure you, no- " thing ſhall be wanting on my part, to bring it " to perfection."

After reading the procedures the Queen retired.

The lords-commiſſioners for Scotland had, five days before, deliver'd in ſix propoſals; upon which, the lords-commiſſioners for England deliver'd to the former, on the 16th of December, ſome conſide- rations, to be a ſubject-matter of debate: but as the progreſs of the treaty was thereupon ſtopp'd, I ſhall not detain the reader with a repetition of either: for the Scotiſh commiſſioners having, at the ſame time, deliver'd in their propoſals, for preſerving the rights and privileges of their com- pany trading to Africa, and the Indies, that put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of the treaty, at this time (2).

The progreſs of the treaty ſtopp'd.

(1) It may (ſays a Scotiſh writer) be thought ſtrange, that this act for ſettling the ſucceſſion did not paſs currently in ſuch a made-up meeting, and when ſuch eminently zealous revolutioners were at the helm of affairs, and acted without controul. I pre- ſume (adds he) the reaſons were; Firſt, the commiſſioners had no inſtructions therein. Second, the uncertainty how affairs would go in England, the Queen being but newly come to the crown, and not well fix'd in the throne; and they foreſaw they might expect little thanks, if ſhe afterwards ſhould favor the intereſt of the diſtreſſed royal family. And I have reaſon to believe, that the Queen and her Engliſh miniſtry, were then inclined to keep the ſucceſſion open, as a check and awe upon the Whigs, and family of Hanover: and laſtly (as they pretended afterwards in England) that parliament's title to act being controverted, and having ſo little authority in the nation, it was not thought fit to venture upon a matter of ſo great impor- tance. Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 16.

(2) It may ſeem ſtrange, that there was no mention made, all this while, about religion, the main point that divided the two nations, and the rock on which the project of uniting them had formerly ſplit: but the commiſſioners, like wiſe negociators, were willing to feel one anothers pulſes, in ſmall matters, before they touch'd the grand difficulty. The Scotiſh epiſcopal clergy were not ſo cautious; for taking this to be a favorable juncture, to get into their livings again, they preſented addreſſes to the Queen, which, however, proved of no ſervice to them.

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I return now to the warlike tranſactions of this ſummer, by ſea and land; but firſt of thoſe by land: it was not determined by the arguments of either ſide, in council (of which I have given the reader an account above) whether the war at land or at ſea ſhould be the moſt attended: tho' it ſoon after appeared, that the earl of Marlborough's prevailing intereſt carried it for the former; yet was not the latter wholly neglected this ſummer, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

As the earl of Marlborough was, however, detained ſome weeks in England, in concerting the neceſſary meaſures with the miniſtry, before he could croſs the ſea, to take upon him the command of the confederate army, I ſhall be obliged to give a brief account what was doing abroad, in the mean time, that the reader may thereby form a more accurate idea of the ſtate of the campain, when his lordſhip arrived at the army.

Defection of ſome of the German Princes.

The French King being ſenſible what a formidable alliance was making againſt him, left no ſtone unturn'd to draw over ſome of the German Princes to his intereſt; and, in this attempt, he ſucceeded not only with the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, but with the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rudolph and Anthony, who held the regency together, to raiſe forces in the Empire, in his favor. The duke of Zell was, hereupon, directed, by the Emperor, to make an incurſion into their country, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to abandon the intereſt of France.

This had its deſired effect; for after the duke of Zell had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds, in the ſaid Principality, and block'd up the capital of Wolfenbuttle it ſelf, Rudolph reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the obſtinacy of his brother, to come to an accommodation; and, whether terrified by the impending danger, or deſirous of having the regency ſolely in his own hands, ſet a treaty on foot. This treaty ended in an agreement, between the Elector of Hanover, and the duke of Zell, on one ſide, and Rudolph of Wolfenbuttle, on the other, that Anthony ſhould be excluded the regency, which Rudolph, upon quiting all his ingagements with France, ſhould take into his own hands; and that the Elector and duke ſhould take into their ſervice 1000 horſe, and 2400 foot, of the Wolfenbuttle troops, which were raiſed with French money, and ſhould thereupon withdraw their forces out of that principality.

State of affairs before the earl of Marlborough headed the confederate army.

All Germany was now united, in favor of the Emperor, excepting the electors of Bavaria and Cologn, the latter of whom had put Liege, and all the places he had on the Rhine, excepting Bonn, (which afterwards followed) into the hands of the French. Among theſe was the ſtrong town of Keyſerſwaert, which, while in the hands of the enemy, expoſed not only the circle of Weſtphalia, but the dominions of the States-general: for their places on the Wahl, not being in the beſt condition of defence, were laid open to the excurſions of that gariſon.

Diſadvantages under which the confederates begun the war.

It may not be improper to remark here, under what diſadvantages the confederates begun this war; as it inhances the glory of thoſe heroes, who, not withſtanding ſo many difficulties, carried it on with great ſucceſs and zeal benefit In the former war, not only Spain, but the united force of the whole Empire, and, for a conſiderable time, the duke of Savoy, acted in concert with England and Holland, againſt the common enemy. On the contrary, now a Prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſat on the Spaniſh throne, a French army had over-run the ſtate of Milan, and, to this army, the duke of Savoy (who was allied to France, by the double marriage of his two daughters) had join'd his forces. Of the nine principal members of the Empire, two, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn had declar'd for France, and the latter, as I have ſaid above, had admited French forces into all his fortified towns, under the ſpecious name of troops of the circle of Burgundy. A third, the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, was at war with Sweden and the diſaffected Poles, for his tottering crown, and could not, therefore, ſend his full proportion of troops againſt France. The Emperor had ſent his veteran forces, under the command of Prince Eugene, to keep the French at a bay in Italy; and all the Spaniſh towns, on the frontiers of Holland, were gariſon'd with French troops: but, notwithſtanding all theſe viſible diſadvantages, by the wiſe and ſteady counſels of England; the prudent management of her Majeſty's treaſury; the juſt meaſures concerted by the earl of Marlborough, with forein powers; the valor and reſolution of the confederate troops, and the experience and good conduct of their commanders, it was ſoon concluded, by all who were judges of theſe matters, that the allies would, in the end, be an over-match for France.

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Diviſion and diſpoſition of the confederate army.

Towards the latter end of April, the Dutch formed three armies: one commanded by the Prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, which undertook the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert (1), in the name of the Elector-palatine, for the Emperor; under whom the Dutch ſerved as auxiliaries, they having not yet declared war againſt France and Spain. Another army was formed under the earl of Athlone, which lay in the duchy of Cleves, to cover that ſiege: and a third, conſiſting of 10,000 men, under the command of general Cohorn, which broke into Flanders, forced and demoliſh'd the lines, between the two forts of St. Donat and Iſabella, which the enemy had been many months raiſing, with great labor and expence, and laid the greateſt part of the Chatelenie of Bruges under contribution: 'tho he was afterwards obliged, upon the approach of a ſuperior French army, under the marquis de Bedmar, and the count de la Motte, to retire under the walls of Sluys, having firſt laid the country under water, and forced the Spaniards to retire towards Ghent (2).

Motions of the French army.

In the mean time, the marſhall de Bouflers drew his army together, and, having laid up great magazines, in Ruremond and Venlo, paſs'd the Maeſe, with his whole army. The duke of Burgundy (the preſent King of France's father) being

(1) Keyſerſwaert is a little town, ſituate on the north banks of the Rhine, about two leagues below Duſſeldorp, belonging, to the elector of Cologn. It is an oblong of one ſtreet only, defended, on the land-ſide, by three baſtions, and four ravelins, and, towards the Rhine, by two baſtions. The extremity or point of an iſland, below the place, may either be of advantage or prejudice to it, according to the uſe that is made of it. The French poſſeſs'd themſelves of this place by cardinal Furſtemburg, in 1688, but the Elector of Brandenburg retook it, in 1689, and deliver'd it to the Elector of Cologn, who received a French gariſon into it, in 1701. The iſland I mention'd was firſt poſſeſs'd by the French and fortified, but was taken afterwards by the Pruſſians. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. 1. p. 159.

(2) The marquis de Quincy gives a particular relation of a deſign general Cohorn had form'd of ſurpriſing the caſtle of Namur, by means of a gentleman in the neighborhood, whom he had brought over to his purpoſe, and who having a relation, an officer, in the place, by means of him, and two of the burghers, who ingaged in the deſign, an agreement was made with a Spaniſh captain of the gariſon, who, in conſideration of 10,000 piſtols, a conſiderable part of which he actually receiv'd, and the command of a regiment, promis'd him, undertook to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the Dutch troops; but after having got as much mony as he could, he betray'd the deſign to the governor, which put an end to the attempt. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand tome. III. p. 539.

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come poſt to the army, to make his firſt campain, as commander in chief, tho' under the direction of the marſhal de Bouflers, put the Dutch under apprehenſions that ſo great a Prince would undertake ſomething worthy of himſelf, and believing the deſign might be upon Maeſticht, they threw 12,000 men into that place. This, with the want of the auxiliary-troops from Germany, who did not come ſo ſoon as was expected, and of a good part of the Engliſh forces, which were ſtopp'd by contrary winds, ſo weaken'd their army, that the earl of Athlone did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to enter into action with the marſhal de Bouflers. He, therefore incamp'd at Clarenbeck, between Nimeguen and Cleve, to watch his motions; while the marſhal lay incamp'd at Santen, near Cleve. While they lay here, there was an action between 1000 horſe of the Dutch, and 600 French horſe, the latter of which were totally defeated.

A French party defeated.

Siege of Keyſerſwaert.

All this while, the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert went on but ſlowly. The trenches were open'd the 18th of April, with little loſs; and, the 20th, the beſiegers did great execution, by the vaſt number of bombs, which they threw into the town; but the enemy made a vigorous ſally, and tho' they were twice repuls'd, with great bravery, the Dutch, not being ſuccor'd in time, and being inferior to the enemy, in number, were forced to quit their poſt, and make a retreating fight; 'till, at length, the cavalry coming up, the enemy were, in their turn, conſtrain'd to retire, with great precipitation. The 21ſt and 22d, the enemy made two ſallies more; but with much the ſame ſucceſs: and, in the latter, were purſued to the counterſcarp. I ſhall not continue to give the farther circumſtances of this ſiege; but only, in general, obſerve, that tho' the beſiegers propoſed, at firſt, to be maſters of the place, in three weeks, they were miſtaken in their calculation, the gariſon having made a vigorous defence, for about two months: and it had like to have proved but a bad beginning of a new war, and the firſt campain; however, at length, the place being reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, and the out-works batter'd, with forty-eight large cannon, and thirty mortars, the confederates reſolved, on the 9th of June, N. S. to make a general attack on the counterſcarp and ravelin, which they executed with unparallel'd bravery. The conflict was very bloody and obſtinate, for two hours together; during which time, nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoak, and many brave officers loſt their lives, on both ſides. The beſieged, in the end, were obliged to give ground, and leave the aſſailants maſters of both, and they lodged themſelves accordingly. Among the officers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this occaſion, none behaved with more remarkable conduct and bravery, than the Prince of Naſſau-Saarbrug, who commanded, and who perform'd prodigies of bravery, giving his orders, with great contempt of danger, and wonderful preſenſe of mind: and the earl of Huntington, who gave no leſs proofs of his valor, tho' but a volunteer, was dangerouſly wounded: nor did they alone diſtinguiſh themſelves; for all the other officers, and even the common ſoldiers, behaved, in this action, beyond expectation. This advantage coſt the confederates, however, very dear; for they had above 2500 men killed or wounded in the action; but it, likewiſe, ſo much weaken'd the gariſon, that they were forced to capitulate, the 15th. They obtain'd honorable terms, and march'd out the 17th, after a ſiege of two months: and the place was razed according to agreement (1).

The counterſcarp taken by ſtorm;

And the town by capitulation.

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Count Tallard, who, with a ſeparate body, had hitherto been of great ſervice to the beſieged, now joined the grand army, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, which by the calling in of all their other detachments, was greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates, under the earl of Athlone. They had, for ſometime before, boaſted of a grand deſign they had in view, and they, therefore, thought this the propereſt time to put it in execution, which they did, in the following manner.

The duke of Burgundy's army having been reinforced, as I have obſerved above, by ſeveral detachments, and particularly by the troops of the French King's houſhold, the marſhal de Bouflers decamp'd from Santen, the 10th of June, N. S. about eight o'clock in the morning, without ſound of trumpet, or beat of drum, and directed his march thro' the plains of Gock, ſeeming to incline towards the Mocker-heyde, cloſe by Nimeguen, as if his deſign was to get between the confederate army, under the command of the earl of Athlone, and Nimeguen, and by that means to cut them off from their proviſions, ammunition and forage, which would have very much expoſed that city, as well as ſeveral other neighboring towns.

A bold attempt of the marſhal de Bouflers.

Diſpoſition of the confederate army thereupon.

The earl of Athlone, having timely notice of the enemy's march, and rightly judging what their deſign was, called a council of the general officers, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the confederates ſhould begin their march, about eight the ſame evening, in the following order. The baggage was ſent away to Nimeguen, leaving Cranenburg, on the right; and four battalions were detached to Grave; the firſt line marched in one column, between the woods, at the head of the confederate camp, at Cranenburg; in which woods, the French had, by that time, poſted a numerous body of foot and dragoons; while the ſecond line march'd between the firſt line and Cranenburg, leaving the town on the right hand. The Prince of Wirtemburg was detach'd, with a great body of horſe, upon the left of the confederate's march; and colonel Frederick Hamilton, with three batalions of Engliſh, under the lord Cutts, was likewiſe detach'd, to ſecure the Prince's retreat, and to take care of the highway of Norgina, by which the enemy might otherwiſe, have eaſily fallen on the confederates, in their march, which two detachments both rejoined the earl, upon his entrance into the Mocker-heyde. About day-break, the earl made a halt, and receiving farther intelligence of the ſtrength of the enemy, it was reſolved, that the cavalry ſhould be drawn up, in order of battle, to cover the march of the infantry, which, at the ſame time, was directed to keep along the riſing grounds, making halts, and puting themſelves in battle-array, from time to time, as the generals who led them, ſhould think fit, and keeping always in ſight of the horſe, that they might be ready to ſupport them, if they ſhould be attack'd. About eleven, in the morning, the foot had gained the narrow paſſes, and lined the hedges; and the French horſe advancing, in great numbers, with the troops of the houſhold, at their head, preſs'd hard upon the earl, who was at the head of the horſe, and behav'd with great reſolution. However, he made his retreat in good order, paſſing thro' the lane, along which the foot were poſted, and keep-

(1) If we will believe F. Daniel, the marquis de Quincy, and other French writers, this place coſt the Allies more men, than they might probably have loſt in a pitch'd battle, the number of the ſlain amounting, according to them, to 7 or 8000 men. It is certain the beſiegers loſt a great many men, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the place; but I never found that the number a mounted to half what the French hiſtorians would make us believe.

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ing, at the ſame time, as broad a front, as the ground would permit. In the mean time, a conſiderable body of horſe was ordered to the riſing ground on the right-hand; whereupon, the troops of the French King's houſhold, charging ſome of the Dutch ſquadrons, juſt as they were wheeling, in purſuance of their orders, puſh'd them upon the foot, and put two or three battalions into confuſion; but, by the conduct of the general officers, no farther miſchief inſued, and the enemy were ſoon repulſed. On the other ſide, there happened a rude encounter, between ſome of the ſquadrons of the French houſhold, and ſome Daniſh horſe, and ſome of the earl's carabineers, who ſo vigorouſly maintained their ground, that the French were beaten back, tho' with equal loſs; and the French themſelves were oblig'd to own, that they could not enough admire the courage of theſe troops. By this time, the confederates were got under the cannon of Nimeguen, which, ſoon after, began to play upon the enemy; and the burghers of that city ſignaliz'd themſelves, on this occaſion, in an extraordinary manner; for tho' they had not a gunner in the town, they manag'd their artillery with a ſurprizing ſucceſs.

The deſign fruſtrated.

The Engliſh, who had the honor to cloſe the retreat, maintained their poſt, in excellent order, being aſſiſted by the Prince of Wirtemberg, who put a ſtop to the troops of the houſhold, which were advanced very near them, and preparing to charge them, towards the end of their march. Twenty battalions of foot were thereupon poſted in the out-works of Nimeguen, and the whole army was under arms, all that night, as the enemy was likewiſe.

The next morning, a great body of French horſe and foot advanced towards the allies, as if they intended to attack them; but this they did only to cover the march of their own army, which filed off towards Cleves, venting their rage at their diſappointment, upon the defenſeleſs country, which they rifled and laid waſte; deſtroying the park, and all the delicious walks and avenues to that charming place. And if we will give credit to the marquis de Quincy, the French made a booty, upon this occaſion, of the value of above 500,000 crowns, and near 20,000 oxen. Thus was the important city of Nimeguen (which, if taken, would have offered the French an opportunity to penetrate into the very heart of the United Provinces) almoſt miraculouſly preſerved, being but in an indifferent condition, and the enemy miſſing but half an hour of arriving in the outworks, before the earl of Athlone. The deſign was well laid, and, as we ſee, wanted very little of being as well executed. It muſt have had fatal eeffects had it ſucceeded; for the French would either have got into Nimeguen, or have forced the earl of Athlone to fight at a great diſadvantage; but the earl ſo carefully watched their motions, that he got before them; tho', by this means, as we have ſeen, he was obliged to abandon Cleves, to the fury of the enemy. The burghers, ſeeing their imminent danger, did wonders, upon this occaſion, it being they themſelves, who, at the firſt approach of the enemy, broke open the doors of the arſenal, and bringing out the cannon, bullets and ammunition, haul'd the ſame, without horſes, and planted them on the ramparts and outworks; ſo that, in a little time, they fired upon the enemy with 160 pieces. Q. Ann, An' 1702.

I have not found any certain account, what was the loſs, on either ſide, in this action. If we will believe the marquis de Quincy, the French loſt, at moſt, but 150 men, and fifty horſes, and the allies, at leaſt, eleven or twelve hundred, but, all circumſtances conſidered, this computation is too extravagant to gain credit.

Prudent conduct of the earl of Athlone.

The prudent conduct of the earl of Athlone, on this occaſion, raiſed his credit, as much as it ſunk that of Bouflers, who, tho' he had a ſuperior army, animated by the preſenſe of ſo great a Prince; yet was able to do nothing. Whatever he undertook was unſucceſsful, and his parties, which ingaged with thoſe of the earl of Athlone's army, were almoſt always beaten.

The earl of Marlborough arrives at the Hague.

Thus was the ſtate of the campain, in theſe parts, before the earl of Marlborough left England, from whence he departed, the 12th of May. Upon his arrival, with the character of embaſſador, as well as captain-general, he had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, in which he gave them all imaginable aſſurances of her Majeſty's affection, and reſolution to ſupport them, in all emergencies. On the other hand, the States, to ſhew their gratitude to her Majeſty, and the particular confidence they placed in the earl, declared him generaliſſimo of all their forces, and gave orders to all their generals and other officers, to obey him (1).

Is declared generaliſſimo of the Dutch forces.

Takes the command of the army.

Having regulated every thing that was neceſſary with the deputies of the States, his lordſhip left the Hague, the 30th of June, N. S. and came to the army at Nimeguen the 2d of July. He formed his camp at Duckemberg, conſiſting of 76 battalions of foot, and 120 ſquadrons of horſe, making together about 60,000 men. The 8th, he call'd a council of war, of all the general officers, to concert the farther occupations of the campain; and finding his force, if not ſuperior, in number, to that of the duke of Burgundy, yet juſtly ſo in other advantages; he therefore, march'd his army, the 16th, over the Maeſe, and incamp'd at Over-Aſſelt, near Grave, within two miles and a half of the enemy, who lay intrench'd between Goch and Gennep. (2)

Purſues the French.

The 26th the confederate army repaſs'd the Maeſe, and march'd in purſuit of the enemy; in their way, the lord Cuts, with a detachment under his command, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Gravenbroeck, after a ſhort reſiſtance, and obliged the French garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The French retreat before him.

The 2d of Auguſt, they advanced to Petit Brugel, following the French (who retreated as they advanced) ſo cloſe, that they were obliged, to abandon the Spaniſh Guelderland, which was thereby left to the diſcretion of the confederates. The earl of Marlborough was for hazarding a deciſive battle; for which end, the whole army was ordered to their arms, the next morning early. But the Dutch would not conſent to it. (3)

(1) Biſhop Burnet ſays; The earl of Athlone was ſet on by the other Dutch generals, to inſiſt on his quality of velt-marſhal, and as ſuch to ſhare the command, with the earl of Marlborough, by turns: the States, however, obliged him to yield up his pretenſions, and the earl of Marlborough behaved in ſo courteous and obliging a manner to him, as made amends for the diſappointment he met with, in loſing his ſhare of the command. Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p 324.

(2) Upon this occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid to the field-deputies of the States-general, that the French ſhould be no longer their bad neighbours, and that he would oblige them to march farther off from that country, with a witneſs: whether our hero did give the deputies this aſſurance, I ſhall not pretend to determine, and the leſs, becauſe it ſeems, in ſome meaſure to exceed the bounds of his accuſtomed modeſty; but that he perform'd what is there inſinuated we ſhall ſoon ſee. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 169.

(3) It was believed by thoſe who thought themſelves judges, that if the earl of Marlborough's advice had been followed, matters might have been brought, at once, to a happy deciſion; and the more, as it afterwards appeared, that not above half of the French army was got to their camp, greatly fatigued by an almoſt contiuual march of two days and two nights, and in the greateſt conſternation. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 171.

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Farther motions of the confederate army.

From Petit-Brugel, the army march'd, in order to demoliſh the walls of Peer and Bray, in the biſhopric of Liege, two ſmall towns, which had been of great ſervice to the enemy, in ſecuring their convoys. The 12th, the confederate army incamp'd at Everbeck; and, on the 22d, at Holchteren, where they found the French, ſeemingly preparing to receive them, being very advantageouſly poſted, and having received diverſe re-inforcements, making about 18 or 20,000 men: ſo that they were now in a condition, if courage had not been wanting, to venture an ingagement. The earl of Marlborough rang'd his troops in order of battle, and, in that manner, continued his march. The duke of Burgundy, and the French generals, ranged their army, likewiſe, in order of battle; tho' they very well knew there could be no action; the two armies being ſeparated by marſhes and defilees, in ſuch manner, that it was impoſſible for either to attack the other, without a very great hazard.

In this poſture, both armies remained two days, cannonading each other, and expecting which would begin the attack: but at length the French, not willing to run the riſk of a battle, tho' they were ſo well ſecured, decamp'd ſilently in the night, and took poſt at Berringhen. Brigadier Roſs, with ſome ſquadrons, fell in with their rear, and charged them, in their flight, for upwards of a league (1), but without any conſiderable advantage, with ſuch precipitation they fled before him: a great number of the enemy's troops took, however, this occaſion to deſert (2).

Father ſucceſs of the confederate army.

The earl of Marlborough continued the purſuit, taking, in his way, ſeveral places which made little or no reſiſtance: but finding, at length, that the French were not to be brought to an ingagement, on equal terms, and the deputies of the States-general, who followed the army, having repreſented to him, that it was much more for the advantage of Holland to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the places they yet held in the Spaniſh Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maeſe was interrupted, and the important town of Maeſtricht in a manner block'd up; he therefore diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of Venlo: and, in the mean time, general Schultz, with a ſmall detachment, took the town and caſtle of Wert, which capitulated, after a ſhort reſiſtance.

Siege of Venlo.

The 29th, the town of Venlo (3) was inveſted by monſ. Opdam, with a detachment of Engliſh and Dutch, commanded, under him, by the lord Cuts, on one ſide of the Maeſe, by fort St. Michael; and by the margrave of Brandenburg, the late King of Pruſſia's brother, with his Pruſſian Majeſty's forces, commanded, under him, by the baron de Heyde, on the other. General Cohorn had the direction of the attacks, and the Prince of Naſſau Saarburg had the command of the ſiege. Upon this the duke of Burgundy returned to Paris, not to be an eye witneſs of the taking of that place (4). Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

The troops imployed in this ſiege, at both attacks, conſiſted of 32 battalions, and 36 ſquadrons, with 64 cannons, 24 mortars and hawbitzers, and a great number of Cohorn-mortars. The town and fort were commanded by the count de Varo, major-general L'Abadie, and two brigadiers, having under their command ſix battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, with 38 cannon, and 12 mortars mounted, and great ſtore of ammunition.

The trenches open'd.

The 7th of September, N. S. the trenches were opened on both ſides the Maeſe, without any loſs, the confederates having caſt up ſuch high works, as almoſt covered them, before they were perceived by the enemy. The eighth, the beſiegers were re-inforced, by a body of Munſter troops, conſiſting of 2000 foot, and 500 horſe, and the following days, the attacks were carried on with great vigor: but the moſt memorable action, which happened, during this ſiege, was performed by the lord Cutts, in the following manner:

Fort St. Michael attack'd by the lord Cuts and the Engliſh.

On the eighteenth, his lordſhip was commanded to attack fort St. Michael, between the baſtion, which is next the plain, and the ravelin, which lies on the north-ſide of it, having under his command brigadier-general Hamilton, with the royal-regiment of Ireland, and general Hukelom's regiment, and a lieutenant-colonel, with 172 grenadiers, and 100 fuſileers (ſome accounts ſay 200 of the former and 150 of the latter) moſt Engliſh, under a lieutenant-colonel; as alſo 300 workmen, with a competent number of ingineers, under colonel Blood. His lordſhip's orders were to make a lodgment, from the point of the ravelin to the baſtion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther, if he found it practicable; and, at the ſame time, the Prince of Anhalt, with the ſame number of troops, was to make an attack, between the baſtion and the ravelin, on the north-ſide, with the like diſcretionary orders, either to lodge himſelf, or to advance as he ſhould ſee occaſion. The ſignal for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a barrel of powder, and the diſcharge of all the batteries of the beſiegers, both cannon and mortars, was accordingly made, a little before ſix in the evening.

Prudent management of the lord Cuts.

The lord Cuts, who, at firſt, had no thoughts of taking the main fort, gave orders, on his attack, to the officers who led the grenadiers, firſt to clear the covered-way of the enemy; and, if they ſaw it practicable, when that was done, to attack the ravelin, ſword in hand, aſſuring them, in the

(1) The French to do ſome honor at leaſt to the duke of Burgundy, for this his firſt campain, pretended it was the allies, who declined the battle. "The enemy (ſays monſ. de Quincy) continued in order of battle, during the whole time the two "armies cannonaded one another, and if they had but advanced never ſo little towards us, an ingagement would have inſued; "but they would not come out of their advantageous camp. The duke of Burgundy took a view of their ſituation, the next "morning, at break of day: but he found it impoſſible to attack them. The enemy having, however, made a motion "the 24th, we were in hopes then we ſhould have been able to have attack'd them: but having intelligence, by ſeveral ways, "that they had, on their left, a moraſs that was unpaſſable, and a water on the right; ſo that it would have been very diffi-"cult to come at them; it was determin'd to retreat, in order to ſecure a convoy, which was expected to join the army."

The continuator of Rapin in French, who blames the duke of Burgundy for neglecting an advantage, which (according to him) he might have taken of the confederates in this ſituation, lays the whole fault upon the marſhal de Bouflers, who upon returning from recognizing the confederate cavalry, reported that it was impoſſible to attack them, and thereby put a ſtop to the count de Tallard, and the duke of Berwick, who were upon the point of begining the attack: but (adds he) had the duke of Burgundy poſſeſſed the ſoul of the great Condé, he would never have ſubmited to ſuch remonſtrances. B. 26. p. 466.

(2) The Dutch who were in the deepeſt conſternation, but a few weeks before, on the retreat of their army, under the cannon of Nimeguen (before the earl of Marlborough arrived) had now the pleaſure to ſee the enemy flee in their turn; and thus were the United-Provinces preſerved, by the earl's prudence and vigilance, while the duke of Burgundy, who, as I have ſaid above, came to the army to be taught how to fight, learned nothing from the marſhal de Bouflers, but how to avoid an ingagement.

(3) Venlo is a very ſtrong town in the Low-countries, in the territory of Ruremond, in Spaniſh-Guelderland. It ſtands on the river Maeſe, near the biſhopric of Juliers, ten miles ſouth-weſt of Gueldres, and eleven north of Ruremond.

(4) The French, however pretend, that the reaſon of the duke of Burgundy's leaving the camp was, becauſe he had been oblig'd to make detachments, to re-inforce all the gariſons of the Spaniſh-Netherlands, the biſhoprick of Liege, and electorate of Cologne, which had ſo weakned his army, that there were no more laurels to be gather'd this campain. But it would be very difficult to ſay where he gather'd any before.

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hearing of all the grenadiers, that as ſoon as he ſaw fifty of the latter, upon the top of the ravelin, he would ſacrifice himſelf, and his troops, rather than not ſuſtain them; and that, therefore, they might go on with undauntedneſs, if they found it poſſible to paſs; his lordſhip heightening their courage and alacrity, by promiſing rewards, in her Majeſty's name, to all who ſhould ſignalize themſelves. His lordſhip's orders were executed, with inexpreſſible vigor and chearfulneſs, and, as ſoon as the grenadiers, whom his lordſhip, with diſtinguiſh'd intrepidity, and admirable preſenſe of mind, ſuſtained with freſh numbers, had cleared the counterſcarp with their fire, and avoided a mine, which was unſucceſsfully ſprung by the enemy, they boldly attack'd the ravelin, ſword in hand, incouraging and aſſiſting one another upon the aſſurance of being ſeconded.

His bravery.

The lord Cuts, perceiving this, according to his promiſe, march'd, with all his forces, ingaged the enemy, and was ſoon maſter of the ravelin. The French then made a great fire upon the Engliſh, from the rampart of the fort, upon which the lord Cuts ſent orders to the officers, who were at the head of the grenadiers, to throw in their grenadoes, and attack the fort, ſword in hand, if it were poſſible to find a paſſage; which they did, by charging and following the enemy ſo cloſe, that they had not time to break the bridge, tho' it was hotly diſputed by fire and puſh of pike, eſpecially by the enemy's grenadiers, from the flank of one of their baſtions. But the bravery of the Engliſh grenadiers ſurmounted all difficulties, by following the example of their officers, and ſome brave Engliſh and other volunteers of diſtinction (1).

Bravery of the earl of Huntington.

The earl of Huntington, in particular, call'd to the ſoldiers, who had got over the palliſadoes, to help him over likewiſe and promiſed them all the mony he had about him, which he accordingly gave them very generouſly, and led them on with much bravery and ſucceſs. The enemy continued to defend themſelves, till the Engliſh poured in ſo faſt upon them, that they were no longer able to reſiſt.

The fort taken.

The lord Cuts perceiving this, check'd the fury of the ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Engliſh took about 200 priſoners, of whom 30 were officers, with a brigadier-general, and the governor; but all the reſt, that were in the fort, to the number of 600, were killed or drowned in indeavoring to eſcape, except twelve (the French ſay eighty) who paſs'd the Maeſe, in ſmall boats (2).

When the lord Cuts found himſelf intirely in poſſeſſion of the forts, having left 400 men in the outworks, he poſted a guard, at the great port, towards the town, and a ſmall guard at each ſally-port; ſeized the magazines, ſent out a hundred grenadiers to diſcover, on the ſide of the Maeſe, if any of the enemy were there; drew up the reſt of his troops upon the rampart, towards the town; turned the enemy's cannon upon themſelves; made a diſcharge, to give notice to the camp, that all was well, and continued under arms all night. In the magazine of the fort, and round the rampart were found 30 fine braſs cannon, ſix mortars, and a large quantity of powder, ball, corn, meal, brandy, and other proviſions (3). Q. Ann, An' 1702.

Never was more bravery ſhewn than on this occaſion, by all, both officers and ſoldiers, of the reſpective nations under his lordſhip's command, but eſpecially the Engliſh. Among the reſt, the Prince of Hanover, a voluntier at this ſiege, paſs'd the night before the attack in the trenches, with the lord Cuts, behaved himſelf with a great deal of gallantry, and ſtood moſt of the night with his lordſhip in the fort. Colonel Blood, who acted as firſt ingineer under general Cohorn, and was to have made the lodgment, when he ſaw that the lord Cuts had quited that deſign, to puſh on farther, as we have ſeen, ſhew'd the part of a brave officer, charging with the men, ſword in hand, and killing an officer of the enemy's grenadiers, who made a vigorous oppoſition with his party; and monſ. de la Martinerie, a French Proteſtant ingineer, lately ſent from England by his royal highneſs, was alſo very ſerviceable in this action, as well by his bravery as his ſkill. For it was partly thro' his advice, that the lord Cuts reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the fort; rightly conjecturing, that if the enemy made a vigorous reſiſtance at the ravelin, and were beaten off, as, indeed, they were, they would be ſo fatigued as not to be able to hold out long in the fort; and it happened ſo accordingly. This was a bold and glorious action, chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the lord Cuts, who himſelf behaved in ſo gallant a manner, as juſtly deſerved, a general applauſe.

Bravery of the late duke of York.

And of colonel Blood.

Bravery and ſkill of monſ. de la Martinere.

While theſe glorious actions were performing, on the ſide of the lord Cuts's attack, the Prince of Anhalt behaved himſelf with a gallantry ſuitable to his birth; and his troops, incouraged by his example, attack'd the enemy with all imaginable vigor, and carried the ravelin on their ſide, ſword in hand; but the French having broke the bridge between that ravelin and the fort, tho' ſome of the Pruſſians leap'd into the ditch and ſwam over, it was impoſſible for the reſt of their troops to paſs.

Gallant conduct of the Prince of Anhalt.

The beſiegers imployed the four following days in firing furiouſly from their batteries upon the wall of the town, in order to widen the breaches; and all other neceſſary preparations were made for a general aſſault, to which the ſoldiers ſhew'd an eager deſire. The twenty-third, the confederates, having received advice of the ſurrender of Landau, expreſs'd their joy for the news, in order of battle, with the triple diſcharge of all their cannon and ſmall arms. This the beſieged, as it was reported, took to be a ſignal for the approaching ſtorm on the town; becauſe the attack of fort St. Michael, which had very much intimidated the gariſon, began in the ſame manner. They, therefore, immediately beat a parly, and ſurrender'd the place, on the twenty-fifth (4). Purſuant to the capitulation, they were conducted to Antwerp, with their arms and baggage; but without any cannon or mortars, as they at firſt inſiſted on, and which the Prince of

Venlo ſurrenders.

(1) Among others were the late duke of York, the earl of Huntington, the lord Lorn (now duke of Argile,) the lord Mark Ker, the Prince d'Avergne; ſir Richard Temple, baronet, (now lord viſcount Cobham) colonel Webb, and mr. Dalrimple.

(2) The French, to depreciate the honor gain'd by the allies, and more particularly by the Engliſh, in this action, pretend, that being ſenſible of the weakneſs of the gariſon of the fort, orders had been given them, that morning, to abandon the cover'd-way and the half-moons; to cut off the draw-bridges, and to make what fire they could from the body of the place; that they were juſt about executing theſe orders, when the allies attack'd the cover'd way of the fort; and that the whole gariſon conſiſted only of men, juſt come out of the hoſpitals of Ruremond and Venlo, not perfectly recover'd. De Quincy, Hiſt. Mil. de Louis le gr. Tome, III. p. 566.

(3) Of the Engliſh, in this action, two captains were wounded, two lieutenants and one enſign killed, and three wounded; one ſerjeant killed, and three wounded; one hundred and thirty men kill'd, and a hundred and thirty two wounded; and the lord Cuts's aid de camp, captain Bolas, with mr. Eley, an Engliſh volunteer, killed on the ſpot. The loſs of the Dutch was no leſs than that of the Engliſh.

(4) French writers themſelves allow, that the great motions they obſerv'd in the camp of the beſiegers, the 23d in the evening, which they apprehended was in order to a general aſſault, determin'd them to beat a parly, and deſire to capitulate.

Naſſau-

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Naſſau-Saarbruck would, upon no account allow them. During this ſiege, which laſted four weeks, the beſieged are computed to have loſt as many men, and more commiſſion'd officers, than the beſiegers.

Ruremond,

The earl of Marlborough was no ſooner informed of the ſurrender of Venlo, than his active genius put him upon making the beſt of the remainder of the ſeaſon, and puſhing on to new conqueſts. He, therefore, ordered thoſe Engliſh, Dutch and Pruſſian forces, which had taken Venlo, to inveſt Ruremond (or Roermond) another town of Spaniſh Guelderland (1), of equal, or more conſiderable importance, tho' not ſo well fortified as Venlo. The town was inveſted, the twenty-ninth of September, N. S. and the confederates, as ſoon as the trenches were open'd, attacking it with a more than common vigor, or rather fury, the gariſon, conſiſting of four battalions of foot, commanded by the Prince de Hoorn, found it was to no purpoſe to attempt a long reſiſtance. They, therefore, beat a parly, the ſixth of October, and, the next day, ſurrender'd the town upon articles, the gariſon being conducted to Louvain.

And Stevenſwaert, beſieged and taken.

During this ſhort ſiege, Stevenſwaert, a ſmall but very ſtrong town, or rather fortreſs, ſeated on a little iſland in the middle of the Maeſe, about five miles to the ſouth of Ruremond, defended by a colonel, with 400 men, being likewiſe vigorouſly attack'd, by general Schultz, with a detachment, and taken by capitulation, the navigation of the Maeſe was thereby opened, and made free, between Maeſtricht and Holland: and all this while, the marſhal de Bouflers ſate ſtill, without making any motion for the relief of theſe important places, or even ſo much as to aim at offering the allies any diverſion.

The ſiege of Liege reſolved upon.

With theſe conſiderable conqueſts, the deputies of the States would very willingly have ſate down contented; but the earl of Marlborough, wiſely foreſeing how valuable a conqueſt the fine and noble city of Liege would be, and how highly it would redound to the reputation of the confederate arms, and, beſide, the great importance of it, as he might put a great part of his army, in winter-quarters there, reſolved to attempt it, and thereby put a glorious end to the campain (2).

The marſhal de Bouflers retreats with precipitation.

The marſhal de Bouflers, who ſoon ſuſpected the earl's deſign, being rouſed from his lethargy, thought it now high time to do ſomething for the ſecurity of that important place. He therefore viſited the moſt conſiderable poſts between that city and Maeſtricht, making a ſhew as if his deſign was to incamp thereabouts. He likewiſe, went twice, with the duke of Maine, and ſeveral ingineers, to view the fortifications of the citadel. However, he was no ſooner informed of the march of the confederate army towards Liege, than he retreated to Tongren, with great precipitation, and intrench'd himſelf there: but ſoon after, not thinking himſelf ſafe enough even there, he decamp'd and march'd towards Brabant.

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Farther motions of the two armies.

During theſe marches, ſeveral inſtances occur'd to ſhew the ſuperior conduct of the earl of Marlborough to that of the marſhal de Bouflers, how much better intelligence he had, and how active he was in circumventing all the marſhal's deſign (3).

The confederates come before Liege.

Nor was the earl's vigilance leſs conſpicious, in the extraordinary march he made from his camp at Soutendale to Liege, before which place he ſate down with his army, the 12th of October N. S. (4). The 13th, the whole army decamp'd, and advanced a little nearer the city. At their approach, they found the ſuburb of St. Walburg ſet on fire by the French gariſon; and the governor, with eight battalions, retired into the great citadel, having put the remainder of his troops, in the ſmaller citadel call'd the Chartreuſe. The chapter and magiſtracy had, the evening before, ſent commiſſioners to the earl of Marlborough, deſiring to treat, and their requeſt being readily granted, this day, three of the chapter, and as many of the magiſtracy, came out again, and the articles being agreed on, they were ſigned by the earl, by the deputies of the States-general, and by the commiſſioners from the chapter and magiſtracy. In purſuance to theſe articles, one of the gates of the city was delivered up to the confederates, the ſame night, at ten o'clock; and, on the fourteenth, they took poſſeſſion of the whole town, with three Engliſh regiments of horſe, and as many battalions of foot, under the command of the lord Cuts.

The city ſurrenders.

The great citadel beſieged.

The eighteenth of October, N. S. in the evening, the trenches were opened before the great citadel, by four Engliſh battalions, on the right, commanded by lieutenant-general Sommersfelt, and the like number of Dutch on the left, commanded by lieutenant-general Fagel. The very ſame evening, the allies attacked an intrenchment of the enemy's, which occaſioned a great fire on both ſides; but at length the French were beaten off, and, having attempted to regain that poſt, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

The 20th, at ſun-riſing, the batteries of the beſiegers being all erected and compleat, and mounted with forty-four cannon and twelve mortars, they began to play againſt the citadel with great fury, and thereby blew up a magazine of the enemy's, with upwards of 1000 loaded bombs and grenadoes, and ſeveral barrels of powder.

The 21ſt, the beſiegers continued to cannonade the citadel more furiouſly than the day before, and diſmounted all the enemy's batteries, two pieces of cannon and two mortars excepted.

The ſame evening, the confederates throwing

(1) This place is generally reckoned the ſecond city of Guelderland, and ſtands on the Maeſe, at the confluence of that river, and the Roer; eleven miles ſouth of Venlo, and twenty-one ſouth of Guelders. It has ſeveral ſtately monaſteries, among which that of the Carthuſians is the moſt conſiderable.

(2) This place, which is number'd among the great cities of Europe, has, within the town and ſuburbs, above one hundred churches, eight of which are collegiate, and thirty-two parochial, and is beſide very rich and populous: and has a famous univerſity, indow'd with large eccleſiaſtical revenues. It is ſeated in a pleaſant vally, ſurrounded with hills, the river Maeſe entering it, in two branches, accompanied with ſeveral ſmaller ſtreams, which form a great number of delightful iſlands. On the brow of a hill, that hangs over it, is a citadel of great ſtrength, which commands it: and it has beſide another ſmaller citadel call'd the Chartreuſe. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. 1. p. 185.

(3) Of this, among others, we have the following memorable inſtance: the earl having notice where the marſhal deſign'd to be, one day, at noon, marched ſo early, and was ſo poſted, that Bouflers, with his army, came within ſhot of the confederate troops, before he knew where he was, and might probably have been intirely cut off, if the too cautious Dutch could have been prevailed upon to venture a battle: but that being prevented, the marſhal ſtole out of the trap, by favor of the dark night. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. 1. p. 186.

(4) The duke decamp'd, with the grand army, about one in the morning, and march'd, in two columns, towards that important place. He croſs'd the Jecker, a little above Maeſtricht, leaving the Maeſe to the left. About four, in the afternoon, he came within cannon ſhot of the citadel; and, about ſun-ſetting, both columns joining, the camp was form'd along the hill, near it, on the north-ſide; by which means, the city, citadel and lower-fort, were, in a manner, all block'd up. The governor, and commander in chief, was lieutenant-general Violaine, who had twelve battalions of foot under his command, and had, in the two citadels, near 50 pieces of cannon and mortars mounted, with great ſtore of ammunition, and all other neceſſaries. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. 1. p. 187.

ſome

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ſome bombs into the place, ſet another of the enemy's magazines on fire, in which were 6000 grenadoes ready filled, and a great quantity of powder. The attack was carried on that night with great ſucceſs; and, the next day, two more magazines were ſet on fire by their bombs. The ſame evening, their ſmall mortars for grenadoes (an invention aſcribed to monſ. Cohorn, and called by his name) being ready, all the batteries began to play, with great order, diſpatch and ſucceſs.

The 23d, a conſiderable breach being made, and four other magazines of the enemy's being blown up, it was reſolved to attack the counterſcarp that evening: accordingly, four battalions of 500 grenadiers, on the right, commanded by lieutenant-general Sommersfelt, and a like number, on the left, under the command of lieutenant-general Fagel, were appointed for the attack.

The counterſcarp ſtormed.

About four in the afternoon, the ſignal being given, the confederates advanced, with great intrepidity, towards the enemy: ſuch ſtrict order was likewiſe obſerved, that not a muſket was fired, tho' the French more than enough provoked them, by a continual fire from the town. Being advanced to a convenient nearneſs, they attacked the counterſcarp with ſo much fury, that the French could not defend their poſt, but ſoon abandon'd it. The allies, in the mean time, inſtead of lodging themſelves upon it, got into the covered-way, paſſed the ditch, mounted the breach at once, and took the place by dint of ſword.

In the heat of action, the lord Cuts, who was in the city with ten battalions, detached 1200 men to the aſſiſtance of the aſſailants; theſe ruſh'd ſuddenly and unexpectedly into the citadel, on that ſide next the city, which contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the attack; for the enemy were ſo ſurprized and daunted to find themſelves fallen upon in this manner, on every ſide, that they quited the breach much ſooner than there was otherwiſe reaſon to expect they would have done.

Monſ. de Violaine, the governor, (who, but five days before, upon a ſummons ſent him to ſurrender, returned the earl of Marlborough this haughty anſwer, "that it would be time enough to think of "that ſix weeks after") was ſo ſurprized at this vigorous attack and unexpected boldneſs, that he immediately beat a parly; but the victorious allies, being already in the place, would hear nothing of it, and had killed all they met, if the French had not thrown down their arms and beg'd quarter, which was readily granted (1).

The citadel being thus taken, after an obſtinate fight of about three quarters of an hour, the victory of the confederates was, ſoon after, compleated, by the ſurrender of the Chartreuſe, which they deſigned to have attack'd two days ſooner, had not the ſtormy weather, which happened the 26th and 27th, damaged their bridge of boats.

The Chartreuſe ſurrenders.

On the 29th, about ten in the morning, their mortars began to play, which having ſet the greateſt part of the building in flames, and about two in the afternoon, the cannon of the beſiegers having begun to play, and batter the place, the gariſon immediately deſired to capitulate. Hoſtages being, hereupon, exchanged, it was agreed, that one of the gates ſhould be delivered to the confederates, in the morning, and that the gariſon, which inſiſted to go directly to Namur, ſhould march out, the 31ſt, in the evening, with their arms, colors flying, drums beating, and two ſmall pieces of cannon, and be conducted by Tongres, Vogelſanck, and Herenthal, to Antwerp.

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The 3d of November, N. S. the confederate army ſeparated near Liege, and thereby put an end to a campain, glorious beyond expectation, in which a great number of places were taken, with an inconſiderable loſs, and in which the earl of Marlborough laid the ground-work, to the great ſucceſs and reputation he afterwards gained during this war (2).

The confederate army ſeparates.

This campain, however happy, was ſucceeded by an accident, which had almoſt, at once, loſt the honor and advantage of it. The day the army ſeparated, the earl of Marlborough went to Maeſtricht, where he imbarked, the very ſame evening, on the Maeſe, for Holland. He had a detachment of twenty-five ſoldiers, commanded by a lientenant, in the boat with him, to ſerve as a convoy. The next morning, he joined monſ. Cohorn, and they continued their paſſage together, having a company of ſixty men, in a larger boat before them. A troop of horſe, of ſixty men, was likewiſe ordered to ride along the banks of the river. The great boat, in which general Cohorn was, happen'd to out ſail the other in the night, and the troopers on ſhoar, at the ſame time, miſtook their way. The French had yet the town of Guelder in their hands; and a party of thirty-five men from thence, were lurking on the banks of the river, near three leagues below Venlo, waiting for an adventure. It was now between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the company being all aſleep, theſe men ſeized the rope by which the boat was towed, and hauled it to the ſhoar: they then made an immediate diſcharge of their ſmall arms, and threw ſeveral grenadoes into the boat, by which ſome ſoldiers were wounded: this done, they enter'd and ſeiz'd the boat, and thoſe who were in it, before they could recover themſelves to make oppoſition.

The earl of Marlborough taken by a French party.

The earl's brother had taken a paſſport, which not being made uſe of, it remained in the hands of his ſecretary, and which now ſerved the earl. The date indeed was expired; but the calm and wonderful preſenſe of mind with which he produced it, together with the hurry they were in, favored by the night, happily prevented that from being diſcovered. They therefore only rifled the boat, ſearched the trunks and baggage, emptied them of what plate and other things of value they found, and took preſents from thoſe whom they believed were protected by their paſſes; and then, after having detained them ſeveral hours, and taken

But gets out of their hands again.

(1) At the concluſion of this glorious action, a ſmall miſtake happen'd, which was fatal to ſome of the victors, who, firing ſome ſmall arms after they were in poſſeſſion of the place, gave occaſion to thoſe who were in the batteries to believe, that the enemy had rallied again, on the farther ſide of the citadel; upon which they poured in a whole ſhower of bombs, at random, which falling among friends and foes, did ſome damage before the miſtake was diſcovered.

The troops, and more particularly the Engliſh, all behaved with great bravery, and, beſide an immortal honor, got a very conſiderable booty, in gold and ſilver, notes upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege (which were as good as mony) and plate. The loſs of the Engliſh (beſide mr. Wentworth, brother to the lord Raby, who went as volunteer) was one lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains, and ſix ſubalterns ſlain, twenty-four officers wounded, 143 private ſoldiers killed, and 360 wounded. The enemy was computed to have had double that number kill'd and wounded, and beſide the loſs of thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of arms and amunition, the governor and the duke of Charoſt, with the remainder of eight battalions, that were in the citadel, were made priſoners at diſcretion. Lediard's Life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 191.

(2) When the earl took the command of the army, he found it flying before the enemy; and hardly thought ſecure, tho' under the cannon of a conſiderable fortreſs: but no ſooner had he taken that command, than the pale-faced goddeſs, Fear, took up her abode with the enemy. They were as aſſiduous to avoid a battle, as he to ſeek it. They even neglected advantages they might have taken, and ſuffered him to undertake and execute juſt what he himſelf would. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 195.

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their guard of foot-priſoners, they let them go, and ſo happily eſcaped the danger.

The governor of Venlo having early notice of his excellency's being taken, but not being informed of the circumſtances which followed, preſumed he was carried priſoner to Guelder; he therefore, with his whole gariſon, marched immediately to inveſt that place. This news coming likewiſe to the Hague, in the ſame imperfect manner, put the States under no ſmall conſternation. They immediately aſſembled, and reſolved to ſend orders to all their forces, to march immediately to Guelder, to threaten the gariſon with the utmoſt extremities, unleſs they ſhould deliver the priſoners, and never to leave the place till either they had taken it, or the general were ſet free. But, before theſe orders could be diſpatch'd, the earl of Marlborough came to the Hague, where he was received with inexpreſſible joy, not only by the States, but by the inhabitants, who began to look upon him as their guardian-angel, and upon that occaſion, ſo crouded the ſtreets, to give his excellency a hearty welcome, that it was not without great difficulty, he could get thro' them to his lodgings, to ſuch a degree was he beloved, and of ſo high eſteem was the name of Marlborough, with people of every condition.

Conſternation of the Dutch on this occaſion;

Removed by his arrival at the Hague.

The grand penſionary Heinſius, when he complimented him, in the name of the States, on his happy eſcape; ſaid, "that his captivity had well-nigh "inſlaved not only their provinces, but put it in "the power of France, to have extended her uncon-"troulable dominion over all Europe, by detaining "his perſon, whom they could not but look upon "as deſtined by providence, to be its inſtrument, in aſcertaining the liberty of the better part "of the Chriſtian world". To which his excellency made the following modeſt anſwer; "that "he ſhould always take pride in being ſerviceable "to the common cauſe, and their High-mighti-"neſſes in particular; but he thought what had "been applied to him, in juſtice belonged to the "Queen, his miſtreſs, who, by GOD's aſſiſtance, "might be the inſtrument of the divine will; but "as for his part, it was glory ſufficient for him, "to be her Majeſty's agent."

The grand penſionary's compliment to the earl.

His modeſt anſwer.

Prince Lewis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army, in Germany, finding himſelf ſuperior to the enemy, laid ſiege to Landau, the ninth of June: but the place being ſtrong (1), and defended by a numerous gariſon, held out 'till the begining of September; when the Prince having informed the King of the Romans, that the town was upon the point of ſurrendring, his Majeſty came into the Imperial army, and was preſent when the gariſon beat a parly, the 10th of that month, and conſequently had the honor of the conqueſt.

Affairs of the Empire.

Landau taken by the Imperialiſts.

To counterbalance this advantage, a few days before that place ſurrendered, the Elector of Bavaria, who had been a long time ſuſpected by the allies of being in the intereſt of France, ſurpriſed and took Ulm, a large and ſtrong Imperial city, the capital of the circle of Suabia (2); declared openly againſt the confederates, threatned the circles of Suabia and Franconia, in caſe they did not obſerve an exact neutrality, and, by his actions and declarations, ſtruck terror and amazement throughout the whole Empire. It appear'd alſo by ſome intercepted letters, that the Bavarians intended to penetrate into the Briſgow, with 10,000 men, and to have poſted themſelves on the Rhine, near Hunninghen, in order to join the French. However, by the diligence and valor of Prince Lewis of Baden, and the other Imperial generals, eſpecially at the bloody and unequal battle of Friedlingen, where the French were routed (3), all the indeavors of the French and Bavarians, to join each each other, were fruſtrated for this winter, and the former obliged to paſs the Rhine.

The elector of Bavaria ſeizes Ulm.

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The diet of the Empire was ſo incens'd at the treachery of the Elector of Bavaria, in ſeizing Ulm, that, after a warm debate thereupon, it was reſolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war againſt the French King, and the duke d'Anjou, which was done accordingly; and a memorial was order'd to be drawn up, requeſting his Imperial Majeſty, to proceed againſt the Elector, according to the conſtitutions of the Empire. The miniſters of the Elector of Bavaria and Cologn were, hereupon, forbid appearing any more in the general diet; notwithſtanding which, the Elector of Bavaria proteſted againſt theſe proceedings of the general diet, and particularly againſt their declaration of war (4); but no regard was had to this proteſt: and for the Empire's declaration of war, it was publiſh'd and notified to the cardinal of Lamberg, the Emperor's commiſſioner, on the 30th of September, N. S. by the direction of the Elector of Mentz, in the name of the diet of Ratiſbon (5).

The Empire declares war againſt the French King, and the duke d'Anjou.

And now, the Empire having declared war againſt France, the diet came to a reſolution to maintain an army of 120,000 men; but how miſerably they fell ſhort of their quota, almoſt every year, the ſequel will too evidently ſhew.

The quota of the Empire.

Before I quit Germany, I muſt take notice, that towards the latter end of the year, count Tallard took the ſtrong caſtle of Traerbach, upon the river Moſel, after a ſtout reſiſtance; and, on the other ſide, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel took Zinch, Lintz, Brizich and Audernach, all ſmall places which the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of upon the Rhine. Thus ſtood matters, at this time, in Germany.

The duke of Bavaria's declaring for France, ſo extreamly imbaraſs'd the Emperor, that he could not ſend the re-inforcements into Italy, which he had promiſed Prince Eugene, tho' he ſtood in great need of them: for King Philip of Spain, having firſt viſited his kingdom of Naples, afterwards joined the duke de Vendôme, in Lombardy. How-

Affairs of Italy.

(1) Landau is a ſmall but ſtrong city of Germany, in the lower circle and palatinate of the Rhine, once Imperial, but ſubject to the French after the treaty of Munſter. It ſtands on the river Queich, about eight miles ſouth of Neuſtadt, about thirteen weſt of Philipſburg, and about ſixteen ſouth-weſt of Spiers.

(2) This city, which is rich and populous, as well as large and ſtrong, is adorned with many ſtately edifices, and particularly with a cathedral reckoned the fineſt in Germany. It ſtands on the rivers Danube and Iller, near forty miles weſt of Augſburg, about fifty almoſt ſouth-weſt of Stutgard, and near ſixty almoſt north-eaſt of Conſtance.

(3) According to the account publiſh'd by the Imperialiſts, which they grounded upon the Prince of Baden's having gain'd his point, to prevent the conjunction of the Elector with the French. But monſ. de Villars, likewiſe, laid claim to the victory, becauſe he took Friedlingen the next day; and he was afterwards rewarded for it with a marſhal's ſtaff.

(4) The elector alledged, "that an offenſive war, like this, ought to be reſolved upon by common conſent, and not by "plurality of voices". To which it was anſwered, "that the King of France had attack'd the Empire, by invading, not "only in his own name, but in the name of the duke d'Anjou, his grandſon, ſeveral fiefs of the Empire in Italy, the archbiſhop-"rick of Cologn, and the dioceſe of Liege, as alſo by diſturbing the trade of the Rhine, and commiting ſeveral other hoſti-"lities which rendered this war defenſive, and not offenſive, on the ſide of the Empire. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 29.

(5) The occaſion of this defection of the electors of Bavaria and Cologn has been very differently reported: but the continuator of Rapin, in French, gives us one ſo very ſingular, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. He not only ſuppoſes it to proceed from a diſcontent at the crown of Spain's being loſt to their family, by the death of the Prince of Bavaria; but inſinuates, as if they thought there was ſomething myſterious in that Prince's premature death, and imagined foul play in the caſe, to make way for the houſe of Auſtria; and that they thereupon conceived ſuch a prejudice againſt the Imperial family. Book 26. p. 477.

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ever, Prince Eugene was not diſcouraged from attacking them, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of 40,000 of the enemy, againſt 25,000 of his troops. This he did the 15th of Auguſt, and, according to the German account, obtain'd the victory: but as the French gave out, that their army was victorious, and ſung Te Deum for it, as well as the Germans, I ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, give both their accounts.

The account given by the Imperialiſts of the battle of Luzara.

The battle of Luzara.

Upon ſeveral advices which we received, that the enemy advanced towards us, with their whole army, Prince Eugene ordered the trumpets to ſound to horſe, the 15th in the morning, and about ten o'clock he ordered the whole army to march towards Luzara.

Never were men ſeen to march with ſuch a zealous alacrity: both officers and ſoldiers, over-joyed, advanced with ſo much ſpeed, that our right wing ingaged before four in the afternoon, with the enemy's left, which they met near the Po. We fired ſo thick upon them, with our cannon, that we forced the enemy's army to make a halt, which gave our left wing time to advance, and range themſelves in order of battle.

About ſix o'clock, our right wing fell on, with an undaunted and wonderful courage, and was received very briſkly by the enemy. Both the one and the other fought with an extraordinary obſtinacy, neither of the parties being willing to loſe a foot of ground; 'till our left wing being ingaged, we overthrew the King's gens d'arms, and the Iriſh regiments, which ſo increaſed the courage of our men, that they forced the enemy to retreat 700 paces, leaving the field of battle, and their dead, in our poſſeſſion; tho' they were much ſuperior to us in number, and advantageouſly poſted. Their firing, which was extreamly thick and violent, laſted about two hours: but, at length, night parted the two armies, and put an end to the combat. Ours remained maſters of the field of battle, and poſted themſelves upon it, and the enemy retreated ſeveral hundreds of paces.

We may judge, by the enemy's loſs, which, as all the deſerters acknowledge, amounts to 10,000 men, with what courage both the armies fought. Our loſs is about 3000 killed and wounded. We lament extreamly the loſs of the Prince of Commerci, who, in the firſt onſet, was ſhot thro' the body, and fell down dead: the marquis Davia, who was abroad, with a party, returned in the heat of the combat, and took his opportunity ſo well, that he fell upon the enemy's baggage, on the other ſide of the army, and carried off, to Guaſtalla, as many horſes, mules, oxen and waggons, as poſſibly he could.

The account given by the French of the battle of Luzara.

French account of this battle.

The 15th of this month, about one o'clock in the morning, the army decamp'd from Teſta, without beating a march, or ſounding to horſe. The King of Spain was in the right wing, the count de Theſſe led the left, which made the van-guard, and the duke de Vendôme march'd before, with twenty-four companies of grenadiers, and two regiments of dragoons. He march'd with ſo much ſpeed, that by eight o'clock in the morning he arrived at Luzara, which the enemy had re-inforced the night before, for the ſecurity of their magazines. He ſummoned the commander to ſurrender, but he returned his anſwer in muſket-ſhot, by one of which the count de Seſane, was wounded in the arm; by which the duke de Vendôme judged, that the enemy was not far off, and, therefore, reſolved to incamp in that place. About noon, being ranging his men as they arrived, they ſaw the enemy drawn up in battle-array, with their cannon in front, and marching againſt our left wing, which extended it ſelf as far as the Po, in that part where they had a deſign to have built a bridge of communication. The duke de Vendôme ordered the brigades of Piemont, the marines, the regiment of Perche, and the brigades of Grancy and Sault, to advance; and the ſieur Albergotti, who was intruſted to poſt them, ordered they ſhould intrench themſelves forthwith, by the favor of a ſmall wood, and a mound upon the banks of the river Po: but the ground not permiting a ſecond line, the ſieur de Beſons drew up the regiments of cavalry of colonel-general de Montperoux, d'Uſez, du Borge, d'Anjou, Cavaillac, the dragoons of Savoy, and ſome other regiments, behind the ſaid infantry, to ſupport it. The dragoons of Senectaire, and a ſquadron of dragoons of Spain, were placed near the brigade of Piemont. The duke de Vendôme ſent cannon, which were placed on the mound, between the right and the left wing. In the mean time, the marquis de Crequi, lieutenant-general for the day, ranged the right wing in battle-array, according to the orders of the King of Spain, and the duke de Vendôme, who were in continual motion, commanding every where. About five o'clock, the enemy's whole army being arrived, their infantry in two lines, ſuſtained by their cavalry, march'd againſt our left wing, who tarried for them, without diſcharging one ſhot, 'till they came half as far as a fuſee would carry. The nature of the ground was ſuch, that, advancing, they laid their flank open to the regiment of Piemont, and the marine brigade, who fired continually on them, with ſo much vigor, that they were repulſed, leaving the ground covered with the ſlain. Within half an hour, they returned to the charge, and were ſtill repulſed. Then they brought on freſh troops, and charged the third time with the ſame ſucceſs. At length, the fourth time, they forc'd the Iriſh, and the regiments of Perche and Sault, to give a little ground; but the count de Beſons cauſing the regiments of the colonel-general Montperoux and of Bourbon, to march againſt the enemy, and which he led on ſeveral times to the charge, put a ſtop to their career. The regiment of Piemont preſerved their poſt, notwithſtanding the efforts of the enemy, who demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, to recover the dead body of ſome perſon of quality, whoſe name we knew not. At the ſame time, almoſt, the fight began in our right wing, where the enemy were received with no leſs vigor and intrepidity, tho' all the troops, that were to have compoſed it were not yet arrived. The marquis de Crequi was mortally wounded, in the firſt charge, and died yeſterday, lamented by the whole army. The count d'Eſtrades, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, took a ſtandard from the enemy. The dragoons of the Dauphin, of Lautruch, and Languedoc gained two pieces of cannon. The battle continued, in this manner, 'till an hour before night, with ſuch an extraordinary firing of the ſmall ſhot, that the oldeſt officers in the army acknowledged they had never ſeen the like. At length, the enemy retired to the banks of the Zero, where they incamp'd: they had between 5 and 6000 men, or more, killed or wounded, on this occaſion, and ſeveral of their principal officers, which is confirm'd by the report of all their deſerters. In the confederate army, there were about 2500 kill'd or wounded, with ſeveral other officers of quality. The marquis de Montandre, colonel of the marine regiment, the count de Ronel, a reformed colonel, the ſieur de Vandeville, and the ſieur d'Arenes, brother to the major-general, were ſlain. The duke de Leſdiguiers, the marquis de Mongon, de Grancy, de Montperoux, de Liguerac, and the lieutenant-colonel of Piemont were wounded, and the count de Theſſe received a contuſion. All the

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the general officers ſignalized themſelves, by their conduct and by their reſolution. The King of Spain, being willing to incourage the ſoldiers, by his preſenſe, expoſed himſelf, ſeveral times, to the fire of the cannon and ſmall ſhot, and remained all this day and yeſterday, almoſt forty hours together, without ſleeping, or hardly eating. The duke de Vendôme, who was preſent every where, performed all the duties of a general, being always in the greateſt danger. It was thought, the enemy's deſign was to ſave their magazines in Luzara, to make themſelves maſters of a particular part of the river, where, by the conveniency of an iſland, a bridge might be made, by the French, to preſerve their communication with the army of the Prince de Vaudemont, and to make the beſt of the advantage which the ground afforded them, covered with trees, and inter-cut with ditches, cauſe-ways and hedges. But the conduct of the duke de Vendôme, and the valor of the ſoldiers, broke all their meaſures. We are now at work, without interruption, upon cutting off the bridges, that preſerve their communication with Berſello. Yeſterday the gariſon of Luzara, conſiſting of 400 foot, and 150 horſe; ſurrender'd at diſcretion, &c.

Notwithſtanding both ſides, we ſee, boaſted of the victory; the Germans, as they ſay, becauſe they remained upon the field of battle, the French having retreated ſome hundred paces; and the French becauſe they made themſelves maſters of Luzara, the next day, being intrench'd between that place and Prince Eugene's army: neither of them thought fit to renew the ingagement, but contented themſelves with the honor they had gained: and the truth ſeems to be, that night put an end to the battle, and the French thought fit to retreat under favor of it. Prince Eugence certainly did far more than could be expected from him, all circumſtances conſidered; for he was ſtrangely neglected by the court of Vienna; and the French and Spaniards, notwithſtanding this battle, continuing much more numerous, diſlodged the Imperialiſts, afterwards, from ſeveral ſmall places; with which the campain in Italy ended. I come now to maritime affairs, which were, this year, pretty conſiderable.

Maritime affairs.

Towards the concluſion of the foregoing book, I gave the reader an account, that ſir George Rooke had detach'd ſir John Munden, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, to ſee the ſquadron, bound to the Weſt-Indies, well into ſea. This Weſt-India-ſquadron was commanded by vice-admiral Bembow, and conſiſted of two third and eight fourth-rates. He left ſir George Rooke off of Scilly, the ſecond of September 1701, and, on the twenty-eighth, made St. Maries, one of the Azores, or Weſtern-iſlands, where, calling the flag-officers and captains on board, he communicated his inſtructions to them.

Vice-admiral Bembow's expedition to the Weſt-Indies.

Not to follow the vice-admiral, in his voyage to ſeveral parts of the Weſt-indies, where no action of note happened, I ſhall only briefly obſerve; that ſir John Munden, with his ſquadron, left him, the tenth of October, and made the beſt of his way for England; that towards the latter end of January 1702, he was joined, at Jamaica, by one fourth, one fifth, and one ſixth-rate, a bomb-veſſel, a hulk, a fire-ſhip, and three veſſels with naval ordnance-ſtores, to which two fire-ſhips were added, by the governor and council of Jamaica; that in May he was joined by rear-admiral Whetſton; and that ſeveral of his detach'd ſhips, and ſquadrons, took a good number of prizes from the enemy. Having premiſed this, I come now to the only memorable action which happened during this expedition, I mean the vice-admiral's ingagement with monſ. du Caſſe's ſquadron.

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The eleventh of July, the vice-admiral ſet ſail from Port-royal, with two third-rates, ſix fourth-rates, one fire-ſhip, a bomb-veſſel, a tender and a ſloop, deſigning to join the rear-admiral, who was ſent out before, on the cruiſe: but geting advice, by the Colcheſter and Pendennis, that monſ. du Caſſe was expected at Logane, he made for that port; where arriving, the twenty-ſeventh, he ſaw ſeveral ſhips at anchor near the town, and one, which was under ſail, was taken by his boat. He purſued a man of war, of fifty-guns, but with thirty only mounted, which ran a ſhore and blew up. The next morning, three other French ſhips were taken, which, together with a ſloop, were ſent to Port-royal, with the Colcheſter: a fourth, of ſixteen guns was ſunk, and a ſhip of eighteen guns being haul'd under a fort, which had twelve guns mounted, the boats were ſent in, and had not only the good fortune to burn her down to the ground, but brought off ſeveral other ſhips, laden with wine, brandy and other merchandizes.

He goes in purſuit of monſ. du Caſſe's ſquadron.

He arrived, not long after, in a bay of cape Donna Maria, on the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, where he was informed, that monſ. du Caſſe was gone to Carthagena, and was bound from thence to Puerto Bello. He reſolved, therefore, to ſail to that coaſt, with two third-rates, and four fourth-rates; rear-admiral Whetſtone (who had taken a French man of war of eighteen guns, and two ſloops) being returned to Jamaica, with inſtructions, for the ſafety of that iſland. The tenth of Auguſt, he ſet ſail, and ſtretching over towards Santa-martha, on the nineteenth, in the afternoon, he diſcovered ten ſail, near that place, ſteering weſtward along ſhoar, under their top-ſails: four of them were from ſixty to ſeventy guns, one a great Dutch-built ſhip, of about thirty or forty, another full of ſoldiers, three ſmall veſſels, and a ſloop. The vice-admiral coming up with them, about four the ingagement began. He had diſpoſed his line of battle in the following manner, viz. the Defiance, Pendennis, Windſor, Breda, Greenwich, Ruby, and Falmouth; but two of theſe ſhips, the Defiance and Windſor, did not ſtand above two or three broad-ſides, before they looſ'd out of gun-ſhot; ſo that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay on the admiral, and gall'd him very much; nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance, with the diligence they ought to have done. The fight laſted, however, till dark, and tho' the firing then ceaſed, the vice-admiral kept them company all night (1). The next morning, at break of day, he was near the French ſhips, but none of his ſquadron, excepting the Ruby, were with him; the reſt being three, four, or five miles a-ſtern, notwithſtanding which the French did not fire a gun at the vice-admiral, tho' he was within their reach. At two in the afternoon, the French drew into a line; tho', at the ſame time, they made what ſail they could to avoid fighting. However, the vice-admiral and the Ruby kept them company, all night, plying their chaſe-guns.

The enemy's ſquadron diſcovered.

The ingagement begins.

Cowardice or treachery of ſome captains.

Thus the vice-admiral continued purſuing, and, at times, ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, for four days more; but was never duly ſeconded by ſeveral of the ſhips of his ſquadron.

The French purſued.

(1) The admiral believing, that if he led himſelf, on all tacks (perceiving the French would decline fighting if they could) that thoſe captains, for ſhame, would not fail to follow a good example, he ordered the following line of battle: The Breda, of ſeventy-guns, vice-admiral Bembow and captain Fogg; Defiance, of ſixty-four, captain Richard Kirby; Windſor, of ſixty, captain John Conſtable; Greenwich, of fifty-four, captain Cooper Wade; Ruby, of forty-eight, captain George Walton: Pendennis, of forty-eight, captain Thomas Hudſon: and the Falmouth, of forty-eight, captain Samuel Vincent.

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The twenty-third, about noon, the admiral took from them a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anngally, which they had taken off of Liſbon; and the Ruby being diſabled he ordered her to Port-royal. About eight at night, the whole ſquadron was up with the vice-admiral, and the enemy not two miles off. There was now a proſpect of doing ſomething, and the vice-admiral made the beſt of his way after them; but his whole ſquadron, except the Falmouth, fell a-ſtern again. At two in the morning, the twenty-fourth, the vice-admiral came up with the enemy's ſternmoſt ſhip, and fired his broadſide, which was returned by the French ſhip, very briſkly; and, about three, the vice-admiral's right leg was broken to pieces by a chain-ſhot. He was carried down; but ſoon after ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck; and the fight was continued till day-light, when one of the enemy's-ſhips, of ſeventy guns, was diſcerned to be very much diſabled; her main-yard being down, and ſhot to pieces; her fore-top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizzen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides bored to pieces, with our double-headed ſhot. In this fight not a ſhip ſtood by the admiral but the Falmouth, the Ruby being ſent away, as I have ſaid above. And when day appeared, the French bearing towards our ſquadron, with a ſtrong eaſterly wind, the cowardly or treacherous captains behaved as ſhamefully, ſuffering the French to tow off their diſabled ſhip, when the vice-admiral, who was within half gun-ſhot of her, might, with a little of their aſſiſtance, eaſily have carried her off.

The vice-admiral's leg broke.

Shameful behavior of ſome captains.

The vice-admiral, being very uneaſy at theſe ſhameful proceedings, ordered the captains on board: but finding he had no reaſon to hope any better behavior from them (1), he thought it high time to return to Jamaica, where he ſoon after joined the reſt of his ſquadron, with rear-admiral Whetſtone.

The vice-admiral returns to Jamaica.

The 20th of September, the York and the Norwich arrived at Jamaica, with a ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; and the neceſſary preparations being made, the captains, who had failed ſo ſcandalouſly in the performance of their duty, were brought to their trials, on the 6th of October, at a court-marſhal, in which, rear-admiral Whetſtone preſided; and, after ſeveral days ſpent in examining witneſſes, and hearing what they could alledge, in their juſtification, ſentence was pronounced againſt them, according to their deſerts (2).

The captains tried before a court-martial.

And condemned.

The fourth of November, the vice-admiral died, upon which the command of the ſquadron devolved on rear-admiral Whetſtone, who having made what diſpatch he could, in refiting the ſhips, left part of them at Jamaica, for the ſecurity of the iſland, and with the remainder cruiſed on the north and ſouth ſides of Hiſpaniola; where we ſhall leave him, to take a view of tranſactions nearer home.

In the month of April, information was given to the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, that about 2000 men were raiſed in Spain, and deſign'd for the Weſt-indies, with the duke of Albuquerque who was going vice-roy to Mexico, and that it was determined, he ſhould be at the Groyne, on or about the 8th of May, N. S. where the ſoldiers were to imbark, when the French ſhips, deſign'd for that purpoſe, arrived. The intercepting of thoſe ſhips and troops being deemed an important piece of ſervice, the earl of Pembroke (purſuant to a reſolution of the cabinet-council) ſent orders to ſir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, on the 5th of May, to take eight third-rate ſhips, at Spithead, together with two fire-ſhips, and to man them immediately out of other ſhips there and at Portſmouth, that they might be fit for ſervice. This done, he was ordered, with the firſt fair wind, to repair to ſuch a ſtation off of the Groyne, where he might receive intelligence of the enemy.

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Sir John Munden's attempt to deſtroy ſome French ſhips at the Groyne.

The 12th of May, ſir John got clear of the land, with eight third-rates, a fourth-rate, called the Saliſbury, and two ſmall frigats, and then he firſt communicated to the ſeveral captains, the ſervice they were going upon. He no ſooner made the land of Galicia, than he ſent the Saliſbury and Dolphin into the ſhoar, for intelligence, and the next day he came to the appointed rendezvous, about fifteen leagues, N. W. from Cape-Prior, from whence, according to a reſolution taken with the captains, they ſtood ſo near in, that they might plainly ſee the Groyne, which was about four in the afternoon, and then ſtood off again for the rendezvous.

The Dolphin and Saliſbury not coming back, as ſoon as was expected, a council of war was held, the 18th.

The 25th, at night, the vice-admiral ſent in a ſmack, with the Saliſbury and the Dolphin, who, the next morning, brought off a Spaniſh boat, together with a French bark, and ſeveral priſoners, from whom they got intelligence, that there were thirteen French men of war bound from Rochel to the Groyne.

Intelligence of the enemy.

Upon this advice, ſir John carried a preſs'd ſail, to get to the windward, in order to intercept them, before they could harbor themſelves; and, on the 27th, he communicated his deſign to the captains, that they might prepare for battle. The next morning early, he diſcovered fourteen ſail, between Cape-Prior and Cape-Ortegal, to which he immediately gave chaſe; but they were too nimble for him, and got into the Groyne, before he could poſſibly come up to attack them; upon which, he called the captains together, who having taken all circumſtances into conſideration, and finding it impracticable to attack the French ſhips, in the harbor of the Groyne; and, beſide, their water being near ſpent, and the ſhips having received damage by bad weather, it was reſolved, the 29th of June, to repair into port, to refit, eſpecially, as the nine ſhips of the line of battle wanted three fifths of the number of men, they ſhould have had, according to the then eſtabliſhment.

They are purſued in vain.

The ſquadron returns to England.

(1) The captain of the Defiance, in a very odd manner, indeavored to diſſuade him from renewing the ingagement, ſince he had (as he alledged) tried the enemy's ſtrength with ſo little ſucceſs, for ſix days together; and moſt of the other captains gave it as their opinion, that it was not adviſeable to continue the fight, tho' they were then, on the enemy's broad-ſides, with the faireſt opportunity of ſucceſs that had yet offered. And beſide, our ſtrength was then one ſhip of ſeventy-guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, one of fifty-four, and two of forty-eight, with their maſts, yards, and every thing elſe, in as good a condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ſhip. Nor was there any want of ammunition: whereas the enemy had no more than four ſhips of force, from ſixty to ſeventy-guns, one of which was diſabled, and in tow. Lediard's Nav. Hiſt. Vol. 2. p. 745.

(2) Kirby and Wade, captains of the Defiance and Greenwich, were ſentenced to be ſhot to death, which was executed, at their return, on board the Briſtol man of war, at Plymouth, without their being ſuffered to land: captain Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered, and ſentenced to be impriſoned, during her Majeſty's pleaſure: captain Hudſon of the Pendennis, died ſome days before he was to have been brought on his trial: and the vice-admiral's own captain, Fogg, with captain Vincent, of the Falmouth, were ſuſpended: but the ſuſpenſion was ſoon taken off, by orders from the lord high-admiral. Annals of Queen Ann.

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A great clamor on that account.

The return of this ſquadron, without having effected any thing, occaſion'd a great clamor; for tho' the rear-admiral, and all the captains in his ſquadron, did unanimouſly conclude, that at leaſt twelve of the fourteen ſhips, which they chaſed into the Groyne, were men of war; yet it was afterwards known, that there were no more than eight ſhips of force, and the reſt tranſports for the ſoldiers. It was, therefore, thought neceſſary to have this matter thoroughly examined into, by a court marſhal. Accordingly his royal highneſs (who was now entered on the office of lord high admiral) iſſued his orders for that purpoſe, to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the white, who ſummoning a court at Spithead, the 13th of July, they came to ſeveral reſolutions (1), after having taken the articles exhibited againſt ſir John Munden under examination, in the preſence of nineteen captains; by which reſolutions ſir John was fully acquitted.

The affair examined by a court-martial.

Sir John acquited.

I come now to the principal maritime tranſactions of this year, the unſucceſsful expedition to Cadiz, which, however, was followed by the more ſucceſsful attack of the Spaniſh gallions at Vigo.

The expedition to Cadiz.

No ſooner was war declared againſt France and Spain, than all poſſible diligence was uſed to fit out a formidable fleet: and as it was known, that the French were preparing for hoſtilities, it was reſolved, if poſſible, to be beforehand with them, and to ſend a conſiderable ſquadron on an expedition to Cadiz, in conjunction with the Dutch. The conduct of this expedition was deſign'd for the earl of Pembroke (as lord high-admiral,) had not his royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, been appointed to that office, as I have ſaid above, but it was now commited to ſir George Rooke (2), who, beſide the command of the fleet, was appointed vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets, and ſeas of this kingdom; and the duke of Ormond, as I have ſaid before, general of the land-forces, which conſiſted according to ſome, of 7000 Engliſh and 5000 Dutch, all very well appointed: tho' ſome accounts make them but 10,000 in all (3).

Sir George Rook admiral;

The 30th of May, the admiral, on board the Royal-Sovereign, having the union-flag on the maintop maſt-head, came to Spithead, together with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, on board the Queen, and the great ſhips that lay at the Nore. At the ſame time, rear-admiral Fairborn arrived there from Ireland, with a ſquadron of men of war, having on board four regiments of foot, being part of the land-forces abovementioned.

Arrives with the great ſhips at Spithead.

The firſt of June, the duke of Ormond, with admiral Churchill and ſir Henry Bellaſis, arrived at Portſmouth; where his royal highneſs the Prince came the next day, and the day following, reviev'd the forces which lay incamp'd in the Iſle of Wight. The 4th he took a view of the whole fleet, and honor'd ſir George Rooke, with his preſenſe at dinner, on board the Royal-Sovereign. The 19th, the fleet weigh'd from Spithead, and came to an anchor, at St. Helens. The 22d, rear-admiral Fairborn and rear-admiral Graydon were detach'd, with thirty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, firſt to look into the Groyne, and if they ſaw any ſquadron of French ſhips there to block them up; but if they found none, to cruize off of Cape Finiſterre, at ten or twelve leagues diſtance north-weſt; but the body of the fleet did not reach the Start, till the 21ſt of July (4).

The fleet proceeds to ſea.

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The next day, they got off of the Deadman, from whence continuing their courſe croſs the bay of Biſcay, with little wind, northerly, they reached the ſtation for joining rear-admiral Fairborn, on the 30th. The laſt of July, the Lime-frigate was ſent to the Groyne in queſt of admiral Fairborn, and returned the 3d of Auguſt, with advice, that neither he, nor any of the French fleet, were in the Groyne, he having been driven from Cape Finiſterre, by contrary winds, and was working up to it again. Sir George hereupon made a ſignal for all the flag and land general-officers, to come on board him to a council, in which it was agreed, to bear away towards Liſbon, to meet him.

Arrives on the coaſt of Portugal.

About one, in the afternoon, they bore away, and, about two, the Plymouth came into the fleet, with advice, that admiral Fairborn, with his ſquadron, was about nine leagnes, S. W. from thence, and that captain Norris, in the Orford, had taken three French prizes, and the Dutch two. The 7th, the admiral made the ſignal for all the cruiſers to come in, and ſent off the Lime-frigate for intelligence. The next morning, the Orford came into the fleet, from admiral Fairborn, as the admiral himſelf did, with his ſquadron, about noon, after having been reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. Soon after, the whole fleet made the rock of Liſbon, towards which place ſir George ſent the Kent and Pembroke frigats. On the 9th they return'd, and the admiral and general having received all the advice they could from mr. Methuen, her Majeſty's envoy at Liſbon, and the Prince of Heſſe, concerning the ſtate of Cadiz, a council of war, of land and ſea-officers was held, the 11th, in which it was determined to put, that night, a detachment of grenadiers, on board two or three frigats, to be ſet on ſhoar near Rota, on a diſcovery. The 12th, in the morning, ſir George made his ſignal to draw up in a line of battle, and ſteer'd away for Cadiz, which, by noon, he had about ſix leagues diſtant. About five, the ſame afternoon, the fleet anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues from Cadiz, Rota bearing N. by E. and Cadiz, E. N. E. (5). The French men of war, and the

Several French prizes taken.

Admiral Fairborn's ſquadron joins the fleet.

The fleet arrives at Cadiz.

(1) Biſhop Burnet (having before ſuppoſed him faulty) ſays, they acquited him, indeed, ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying that if they had condemned him the puniſhment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſenſe; ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him, for a defect of that which nature had not given him. Thoſe who recommended him to the imployment (continues the biſhop, who had before ſaid it was ſir George Rooke) ſeemed to be more in fault. This acquital raiſed ſuch an outcry, that the Queen ordered him to be broke. Hiſtory of his own times,

(2) Biſhop Burnet, who ſeems to have been no very great friend of ſir George's, ſays, he ſpoke ſo coldly of the deſign he went upon, before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as poſſible. To divert the deſign (ſays the biſhop) ſir George himſelf was to go upon, he wrote up, from St. Helen's, that the Dutch fleet was victual'd only to the middle of September; ſo they being then in July, no great deſign could be undertaken, when ſo large a part of the fleet was ſo ill provided. When the Dutch admiral heard of this, he ſent to their embaſſador, to complain to the Queen, of this miſ-information; for he was victual'd till the middle of December. Hiſt. of his own times.

(3) By a particular liſt, which the reader will find in the appendix to the firſt volume of the annals of Queen Ann, it appears that the Engliſh were, including officers, nine thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixty-three; and the Dutch three thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-four, excluſive of officers; and therefore together, thirteen thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, without the Dutch officers.

(4) They were, for ſome time (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſtopp'd by contrary winds, accidents, and pretenſes, many of which were thought to be ſtrained and ſought for. Hiſt. of his own times,

(5) Biſhop Burnet ſays, ſir George Rooke had laid no diſpoſition beforehand how to proceed upon his coming thither: that ſome days were loſt on pretenſe of ſeeking for intelligence; that it was certain our court had a falſe account of the ſtate the place was in, both with relation to the gariſon and fortifications: and that the gariſon was much ſtronger, and the fortifications were in better caſe than was repreſented: however, by the account given ſir George by mr. Methuen from Liſbon, the deſign might very probably have ſucceeded, had the attempt been immediately made, in the firſt ſurprize, upon the arrival of the confederate-fleet. Hiſt. of his own times

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gallies, which lay in the bay, retired within the Puntals: and if we may believe biſhop Burnet, it had been an eaſy matter, to have followed them, in the ſurprize, and to have taken or burnt them; "which (adds my author) Fairborn offered to "execute; but Rooke and the reſt of this crea-"tures, did not approve of it.

The 13th, an hour before day, the duke of Ormond ſent ſir Thomas Smith, quarter-maſter-general, with ſeveral ingineers, and officers to view the backſide of the iſland of Leon, to ſound the ſhoar, and to find out the moſt convenient place to make a deſcent, between the iſland of St. Pedro, and the town of Cadiz: and ſir Thomas brought his grace the report; that there was one large and two ſmaller bays, very proper to make a deſcent (1).

A council of war, of the flag and general-officers, was hereupon held, in which his grace the duke of Ormond, was of opinion, to land immediately in the iſland of Leon, the better to take advantage of the fright and diſorder into which the ſudden arrival of the confederate fleet had caſt the city of Cadiz. In this council of war (ſays biſhop Burnet) in which their inſtructions were read, it was propoſed to conſider, how they ſhould put them in execution. O Haro, one of the general-officers, made a long ſpeech againſt landing: he ſhewed how deſperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the ſtate of the place, from the repreſentation made of it in England. The greater number agreed with him, and all that the duke of Ormond could ſay, to the contrary, was of no effect. Rook (continues the biſhop) ſeemed to be of the ſame mind with the duke, but all his dependents were of another opinion, ſo this was thought to be a piece of craft in him. In concluſion, the council of war came to a reſolution, not to make a deſcent on the iſland of Cadiz; and without any regard had to the report made by ſir Thomas Smith, they adhered to this reſolution, nor were there any orders given for bombarding the town. The ſea was, for the moſt part, very high while they lay there, but it was ſo calm for one day, that the ingineers believed they could have done much miſchief, had they had orders for it: and, indeed (ſays Burnet) it appeared very evidently, that they intended to do nothing but rob St. Mary's. A landing on the continent was, as I have ſaid, reſolved on; and, the ſame afternoon a boat was ſent to Cadiz, from the admiral, with a flag of truce, and ſome declarations. The duke of Ormond wrote a letter, at the ſame time, to the governor of that place, with whom he had been acquainted in the late wars in Flanders, to invite him to ſurrender, whoſe anſwer, however, gave no great proſpect of it. At five, the fleet weigh'd and came to an anchor in ten fathom water, Rota bearing N. by E. and St. Sebaſtians, S. E. by S. about three miles off ſhoar. That evening, ſir George Rooke made a ſignal for a general-council of war; and, on the 15th, the forces began to land.

Objections made againſt landing.

Reſolved not to land on the iſle of Cadiz;

But on the continent.

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The Spaniards oppoſed the landing of our troops, with a body of horſe: but the lieutenant-general, who commanded them, being kill'd in the action, ſome of them were taken priſoners, and the reſt put to flight (2). The landing proved, however, very difficult, the wind being high, and the ſea beating on the ſhoar with ſuch violence that thirty boats were overſet, and ſeveral men drown'd, while others were oblig'd to ſwim on ſhoar, or wade up to the neck. The Dutch likewiſe received ſome damage from their fort, St. Katherine's; but the Lenox, one of the third-rate men of war, commanded by captain Jumper, bringing her broad-ſide to bear, ſoon obliged them to retire. Our ſmall frigats, in the mean time, driving them from their batteries on the left, the Dutch poſſeſs'd themſelves of the cannon mounted upon them.

The 16th, the forces marched towards Rota, which ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the general taking his quarters, in the caſtle, the army incamped before the place.

The town of Rota taken.

While theſe things were doing on ſhoar, a council of war of flag-officers was held on board the Liberty, to conſult how the bombardment of Cadiz might be moſt effectually put in execution. The field-pieces, with four mortars, and proper ammunition, as alſo the dragoons and train-horſes being put on ſhoar, between the 17th and the 19th, the next day, the army marched to port St. Mary's, which they found deſerted by the inhabitants, but full of riches (3); with which the ſoldiers made very free, and had their ſwing of plunder for ſeveral days; the plenty of wine found there, having, as it was ſaid, in juſtification of the officers, render'd them ungovernable (4).

Port St. Mary's plun-der'd.

The 22d, a party was ſent back, under the command of colonel Pierce, from port St. Mary's to St. Katherine's fort, which ſurrender'd after ſome oppoſition. No farther action happen'd, but a fruit-

St. Katherine's fort taken.

(1) While this was doing (ſays biſhop Burnet) the officers, by the taking of ſome boats, came to know, that thoſe of Cadiz had ſent over the beſt of their goods, and other effects, to the port of St. Mary's, an open town, over againſt it, on the continent of Spain; ſo that here was good plunder to be had eaſily; whereas the landing on the iſle of Cadiz, was like to prove dangerous, and, as ſome made them believe, impracticable. Hiſt. of his own times.

(2) A grenadier of the Engliſh-guard who killed the Spaniſh-general, being afterwards admited to the duke of Ormond's preſenſe, offer'd his grace the ring, which the Spaniard wore on his finger: but he not only returned it to the ſoldier, and bid him keep it; but, pulling ſome pieces of gold out of his pocket, gave them him as a farther incouragement. Life of Queen Ann, Vol. I. p. 105.

(3) Both officers and ſoldiers (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſet themſelves with great courage againſt this tempting but harmleſs enemy. Some of the general officers ſet a very ill example to all the reſt; chiefly O. Haro and Bellaſis. The duke of Ormond tried to hinder it; but did not exert his authority. Hiſt. of his own times.

The firſt night was ſpent by the half famiſh'd and thirſty ſoldiers in the cellars of rich wines they had found out. The next day, their licentiouſneſs being heighten'd by the fumes of their liquor, they proceeded to riſle and pillage the houſes, in a moſt outrageous manner, not contenting themſelves to take moveables, but breaking and ſpoiling what they could not carry away. And as this booty would have been of no uſe to them, unleſs they could ſecure it on board the fleet, they called the ſeamen to their aſſiſtance, who from ſeconds ſoon became principals, and pilfered whatever they could lay hands on, with more eagerneſs, than the others. Nor did the plundering ſtop here. For the officers of the army themſelves thought it prudence, to ſhare the ſweetneſs and profit of a miſdemeanor, which they could not hinder: nay, ſome went ſo far as to think themſelves intitled by their eminent ſtations, to ingroſs the greater part of the booty. For which purpoſe, they ſet guards on the avenues, and ſtop'd all the meaner ſort, that were carrying goods to the fleet, with which they ſtored their own magazines, and afterwards retailed them for ready mony. Some churches fared no better than private houſes, being deſpoiled of their moſt precious ornaments. Inſomuch that the damage done the enemy was computed at three millions ſterling. The duke of Ormond (who had ſtrictly forbid plundering) ſo highly reſented the breach of his commands, that ſir Henry Bellaſis, and ſir Charles O Haro were afterwards put under arreſt for it. Annals of Queen Ann.

(4) It has been farther ſaid in extenuation of the irregularities commited there, that the duke of Ormond having ſent a letter to the governor of port St. Mary's, he returned a rude and unbecoming anſwer, in a paper unſealed, and no name ſubſcribed to it, in theſe words: Nos otros eſpanoles, no mudamos de religion, ni de Rey. (We Spaniards never change either our religion or our King.) Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 751.

Ieſs

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leſs attempt of baron Spar's on the Matagorda, an inconſiderable fort over againſt the Puntals (1); ſo the forces being all re-imbark'd, it was reſolved, in a general council, of ſea and land-officers, that the fleet ſhould take the firſt opportunity of returning for England (2). From which reſolution none diſſented but the duke of Ormond and baron Spar.

The deſign abandon'd.

The fleet ſails.

The 18th of September, the admiral made a ſignal to weigh, having a fine land-breeze: but (if we may give credit to biſhop Burnet) ſome of the ſhips-crews were ſo imployed, in bringing on board and beſtowing the plunder, that they did not take the neceſſary care to furniſh themſelves with freſh water (3). The wind ſlackening, the fleet did not ſail till the 19th, having, the ſame day, ſent a flag of truce to Port St. Mary's, with all the French and Spaniſh priſoners, which were unredeemed, to the number of 230, for which the Spaniards returned thirty-two men, which they had of the confederates. They plied ſome days, with an eaſy and variable wind, during which time, two letters were ſent from mr. Methuen, his Majeſty's envoy at Liſbon, one to the duke of Ormond, the other to ſir George Rooke, by which he aſſured them, that the King of Portugal would willingly aſſiſt in any thing that ſhould be deſired, not only in that port, but in any other ports of his dominions. A general council was thereupon called, the 22d, but it was reſolved to adhere to their former reſolution (4). The 23d, the diſpoſition was made for the ſquadron to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, which being compleated, on the 24th, the admiral made his ſignal for them to depart. This ſquadron conſiſted of ſix men of war, and twelve tranſports, having four regiments on board, and was commanded by captain Walker, in the Burford.

A ſquadron detach'd to the Weſt-Indies.

The ſame day, being off of Cape St. Vincent, the Engliſh flag-officers took into conſideration ſeveral clauſes in her Majeſty's inſtructions (5), relating to the wintering of ſeveral of the great ſhips abroad; but it was concluded not to be adviſeable for ſeveral reaſons.

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Intelligence of the Spaniſh plate-fleet.

Sir George Rook, with the fleet, being on their paſſage to England, ſent, the 21ſt of September, the Eagle, the Sterling-caſtle, and the Pembroke, with ſome tranſports, to water in Lagos-bay. They arrived there, the next day, and the land-officers, who were on board the Pembroke, going immediately on ſhoar, they got intelligence, that the Spaniſh plate-fleet, with a good convoy of Frenchmen of war, had put in at Vigo, a port in Gallicia (6). This intelligence being made known to captain Hardy (afterwards ſir Thomas, and a flag-officer, commander of the Pembroke) he communicated it to captain Wiſhart, commander of the Eagle, and of the whole ſquadron. There was immediately a conſultation of captains held, in which it was reſolved, that this news being of ſuch vaſt importance, a ſhip ſhould be ſent to acquaint the admiral with it, and as captain Hardy's was the beſt ſailer, and he was maſter of the intelligence, he was pitch'd upon to ſail a-head, to find out the fleet: which, after having ſurmounted inexpreſſible difficulties, he had the good fortune to do, the 6th (or as ſome accounts ſay the 7th) of October The admiral was no ſooner informed of the news, than he imparted it to the Dutch admiral, and having declared it to be his opinion, that the fleet ſhould directly ſail for Vigo, he readily concurr'd: and, the next day, it was agreed, in a council of flag-officers, that in regard the attempting and deſtroying the French and Spaniſh ſhips, at Vigo, would be of great advantage to her Majeſty, and no leſs honorable to her and her allies, as alſo tend, in a great meaſure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the fleet ſhould make the beſt of their way to that port, and fall upon them immediately, with the whole line, if there were room ſufficient for it, otherwiſe attack the enemy with ſuch detachments, as might render the enterprize moſt effectual and ſucceſsful.

It is reſolved to attempt them.

(1) The diſappointment of the nation's hopes from this expedition was certainly, in a great meaſure, owing to the miſmanagement and want of diſcipline, at port St. Mary's. To fall upon a people (ſays the author of the life of Queen Ann) in that manner, whom they ſhould have treated as friends, to raviſh the nuns, plunder private houſes, and even churches, was ſuch an effectual method of provoking that bigoted people, that no ſucceſs was to be expected afterwards, but what was to be obtained by downright force. Vol. I. p. 113.

(2) The reaſons alledg'd, for this reſolution, were the oppoſition and obſtinacy of the Spaniards, in Andaluſia, againſt the houſe of Auſtria; the difficulties which might be expected from the ſeaſon of the year; the averſion that they might reaſonably expect to find from the people of any other part of Spain (which by the by, their behavior at port St. Mary's had raiſed) the want of intelligence, which the army had been wholly deſtitute of, from the time they landed; a ſcarcity of proviſions for the Dutch troops, which they pretended could not be ſupplied from their ſhips, longer than a month; the leſſening of the army, by the detachment which was to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, with captain Walker, and the inconvenience which might ariſe from ſickneſs; theſe, I ſay, were the pretended motive, for abandoning this deſign in a manner that gave occaſion to much cenſure. Lediard's Naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 752.

(3) As we are now come to a concluſion of this unſucceſsful expedition, let us hear what the French and Spaniards ſay of it. The confederate fleets of England and Holland (ſays F. Daniel) made an attempt, this year, upon Cadiz; but, after having been at a very great expence, in the preparations for this enterprize, were repulſed, with a conſiderable loſs. The Marquis de Villadarias, general of the coaſts, behaved, on this occaſion, with great courage and prudence. The French gallies ſtood by him gallantly, in defence of the Fort of Matagorda, where the Conde Hernando Nunez, captain-general, and commander of the gallies of France and Spain, performed his duty, with a ſingular conduct. The enemy were forced to deſiſt from their undertaking, after having loſt near two thouſand men in the expedition.

The marquis de Villadarias, in his letter, of the twenty-ſeventh of September, to the court of Madrid, ſays;

Nothing has been omited on my ſide, whereby I could merit the good opinion his Majeſty has of me. As the King was, ſo was I convinced the enemy could never pretend to beſiege Cadiz with ſo ſmall a number of men. Had the city ſent me the troops I required, I could have intirely defeated the enemy's forces when they re-embark'd. All the veſſels, both ſhips and gallies, did whatever could be expected from the valor and experience of their commander. The advantage we had at Matagorda was owing to the fire from the gallies. (Here we ſee the ill conduct of not ſending in our fleet at firſt, before the entrance into the harbor was rendered impracticable). The conſequence of that action, was their being forced to leave port St. Mary's, and the diſappointment of the whole undertaking (to the public, indeed, but not to thoſe who took care to inrich themſelves with the plunder both of friend and foe).

(4) The Queen, in the mean time, upon information, that monſ. Chateau-Renaud was got into the harbor of Vigo, with the French fleet and Spaniſh gallions, immediately diſpatch'd away two expreſſes, one to ſir George Rooke, with poſitive orders to attempt the taking or deſtroying them, and another to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, to ſail with his ſquadron, to re-inforce the grand confederate fleet: but ſir George received the intelligence by another channel. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 732.

(5) Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Rooke, without proſecuting his other inſtructions, in caſe the deſign on Cadiz miſcarried, gave orders only for a ſquadron, to ſail to the Weſt-indies, with ſome land forces; and tho' he had a fleet of victualers, that had proviſions to the middle of December, he ordered them to ſail home, by which means, the men of war were ſo ſcantily furniſhed, that the ſailors were ſoon forced to be put on ſhort allowance. Nor did Rooke ſend advice boats, either to the ports of Algarve, or to Liſbon, to ſee what orders or advices might be lying for him, but ſailed in a direct courſe for England. Hiſtory of his own times.

(6) The diſcovery was more particularly made, by mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jerſey, and chaplain of the Pembroke, who, going aſhore, with theſe officers, pump'd the ſecret out of the French conſul, and a gentleman he met there, who was going from Liſbon on board the fleet. Appendix to Harris's Coll.

Purſuant

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Purſuant to this reſolution, the whole fleet ſteer'd their courſe for Vigo, and the admiral having diſpatch'd two frigats, for intelligence, they return'd, the 9th at night, with a confirmation of captain Hardy's account, adding, that the enemy's ſhips lay up the river, in Redondella-harbor: and a ſhip of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's ſquadron, coming into the fleet the next morning, with advice, that the admiral was off of Cape-Finiſterre, orders were ſent him to join the grand fleet. The 11th, in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor, at Vigo, the weather having proved ſo haſy, that they were not diſcovered, till they were juſt upon the town, and tho' they then fired very thick upon them, the confederates took no notice of it. The French admiral, monſ. Chateau-Renaud, had taken all human precautions to ſecure his fleet (1).

Diſpoſitions for the attack.

The confederate fleet was no ſooner come to an anchor, than the admiral called a general council of land and ſea-officers, where it was reſolved to attempt the forcing of the harbor, the next morning: and, as the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ſhips, without manifeſt danger of runing foul upon one another, a detachment of fifteen Engliſh, and ten Dutch men of war, of the line of battle, with all the fireſhips, ſhould be ſent in, with orders to uſe their beſt indeavors in deſtroying or taking the enemy's fleet, that the frigats and bomb-veſſels ſhould follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ſhips ſhould move after them, and go in, if there ſhould be occaſion: that the army, at the ſame time, ſhould land, and attack the fort, on the ſouth of Redondella, and thence proceed on, where they might moſt effectually annoy the enemy: that becauſe it was not well known what depth of water there might be, the attempt ſhould be made with the ſmaller ſhips, and that, to give the better countenance to the ſervice, all the flag-officers ſhould go in with the ſquadron. For the better execution of theſe reſolutions, the admiral ſpent a good part of the night, in going from ſhip to ſhip, in his own boat, to give the neceſſary orders, and incourage both officers and ſeamen to their duty.

Succeſs of the land-forces.

The 12th in the morning, the duke of Ormond landed, about two leagues from Vigo, on the ſouth-ſide of the river, with between 2 and 3000 men; and, meeting with no oppoſition, his grace ordered the lord Shannon and colonel Peirce, to march, with the grenadiers, directly to the fort, that guarded the entrance into the harbor, where the boom lay, which they executed with much alacrity and and courage: and the duke himſelf, at the head of the reſt of the forces, march'd on foot, over craggy mountains, to ſuſtain the firſt detatchment: at the ſame time, there appeared about 8,000 men, between the fort and the hills; but, as the grenadiers advanced they retired; and the former, in like manner, driving another party of the enemy before them, followed them to the very fort, and bravely made themſelves maſters of the lower platform, on which they found thirty-eight pieces of cannon. Lieutenant-general Churchil's regiment advanced, hereupon, on the left, and took their poſts, as they ſaw moſt convenient. The batteries being thus taken, with a handful of men, notwithſtanding the French and Spaniards had near 20,000 men, at or not far from the place, the enemy retired into an old tower or ſtone-caſtle, and fired, from thence, for ſome time, very briſkly upon the Engliſh: but the granadiers plying them very warmly with their grenadoes and fuzees, as ſoon, as they appeared on the wall, monſ. de Sorel, a valiant captain of a French man of war, who commanded in the fort, opened the gates, and indeavored to force his way thro' the Engliſh, ſword in hand. The Engliſh grenadiers ruſhing, however, immediately into the caſtle, made themſelves maſters of it, and took near 300 French ſeamen, and fifty Spaniards, with their officers, priſoners at diſcretion: while a detachment of the Dutch ſtopp'd another ſmall party, that were eſcaping thro' the water.

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Succeſs of the fleet.

As ſoon as the land-forces were got on ſhoar, the admiral gave the ſignal to weigh; the line was formed, and the ſquadron was bearing briſkly up to the boom, but when the van was got within ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were obliged to come to anchor again. A freſh gale coming up, ſoon after, vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, being next to the enemy, immediately cut his cables, clapp'd on all his ſails, and bearing up directly upon the boom, amidſt all the enemy's fire, broke thro' it, at once, caſt anchor, with great reſolution, between two French men of war, the Bourbon and l'Eſperance, which lay near the boom, and received ſeveral broad-ſides from them. The reſt of vice-admiral Hopſon's diviſion, and that of vice-admiral Vandergoes, having weigh'd, at the ſame time, ſailed abreaſt towards the boom, but, being becalmed, they all ſtuck, and were forced to cut their way thro': a freſh gale, however, blowing again, the Dutch admiral made ſuch good uſe of it, that having hit the paſſage, the valiant Hopſon had made, he boldly went in, and made himſelf maſter of the Bourbon. Admiral Hopſon was all this while, in extream danger; for being clapp'd on board by a French fire-ſhip, by which his rigging was immediately ſet on fire, he expected, every moment to be burnt: but it fortunately fell out, that the French fire-ſhip, which was only a merchant-man, laden with ſnuff, fited up in haſte, for that purpoſe, being blown up, the ſnuff help'd to extinguiſh the fire, and preſerved the Engliſh man of war: however, the vice-admiral received conſiderable damage in this action (2). At the ſame time, captain Bokenham, in the Aſſociation, of ninety guns, laid

(1) He had not only drawn them up, beyond a very narrow ſtreight, not above a muſket-ſhot broad, defended by a caſtle on the one ſide, and plat-forms on both ſides of the ſtreight, on which he had planted his beſt guns: but he had, likewiſe, laid athwart it, a very ſtrong boom, made up of maſts, yards, cables, top-chains and caſks, faſtned together with ropes, ſeveral yards in circumference, under-run with hawzers and cables, and kept ſteady by anchors caſt on both ſides of it. The top-chain, at each end, was moored to a ſhip of ſeventy-guns. Within the boom, five men of war, of ſixty and ſeventy guns each, were ſo moored, with their broad-ſides fronting the intrance of the ſtreight, that they might fire at any ſhips which came near the boom and plat-forms. The harbor itſelf is ſo ſurrounded with hills, that no circumſtance of ſituation was wanting to render it impregnable, had there been time for it.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, monſ. Chateau-Renaud had not time to finiſh what he deſigned, otherwiſe the place had been inacceſſible; but, as it was, the difficulty in forcing this port was believed to be greater than any they would have met with, if they had landed on the iſle of Cadiz. He adds, that as ſoon as the Spaniſh flota had put in at Vigo, Methuen, the Queen's miniſter at Liſbon, ſent advertiſements of it, to all the places where he thought our advice-boats might be ordered to call: Rooke had given no orders for any to call, ſo held on his courſe towards cape Finiſterre; but when he received the intelligence (in the manner I have above related) he turned his courſe towards Vigo, very unwillingly, as was ſaid, and finding the advice was true, reſolved to force his way in. Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) Beſide his having the fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, 115 men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, moſt of his ſails were burnt and ſcorched, his fore-yard burnt to a coal, and his lar-board-ſhrouds, fore and aft, burnt to the dead-eyes; inſomuch that, tho' he peſerved the ſhip, he was afterwards obliged to leave her, and hoiſt his flag on board the Monmouth. For this good ſervice, as well the officers as the men, when they came home, were deſervedly rewarded, ſome with medals and chains of gold, and the reſt according to their reſpective qualities. Lediard's naval hiſtory Vol. II. p. 756.

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his broad-ſide againſt a battery of ſeventeen guns, on the left-ſide of the harbor, while captain Wyvell, in the Barfleur, a ſhip of the like force, was ſent to batter the fort, on the other ſide. Thus, for a long while, there was a conſiderable firing of great and ſmall ſhot, on both ſides, 'till the French admiral, (ſeing the platform and fort in the hands of the victorious Engliſh, his fireſhip ſpent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut, and the confederate fleet pouring in upon him) ſet fire to his own ſhip, and ordered the reſt of the captains, under his command, to follow his example, which was done, in great confuſion, yet could not be ſo punctually obeyed, but ſeveral of the men of war and gallions were taken by the Engliſh and Dutch (1).

Loſs of the confederates;

To make this victory ſtill more glorious and memorable, it was obtained with a very inconſiderable loſs, on the ſide of the confederates: for, beſide the damage ſuffered by vice-admiral Hopſon, as I have already mentioned, the Kent had only her fore-maſt ſhot, and her boatſwain wounded, the Aſſociation her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, and as many wounded. And the Mary her boltſprit ſhot. Of the land-forces, two lieutenants, and about forty ſoldiers were killed, colonel Pierce was wounded by a cannon ball, from our own men of war, in the thigh, and colonel Seymour, colonel Newton, and mr. Talmaſh, with about thirty private men were alſo wounded.

And of the French and Spaniards.

On the French ſide, the number of men killed was much the ſame, as that of the allies: but they had near 400 officers, and men taken priſoners; among whom were Don Joſepho Checon, the Spaniſh admiral, monſieur d'Aliegre, commadore of a ſquadron, the marquis de la Galliſſoniere, and ſeveral other officers of note.

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The conſequence of this victory was a vaſt booty, both of plate and other things, the value of which it would be difficult to compute (2): but tho' the duke of Ormond poſſeſs'd himſelf of Redondella (where he took a great booty, which he cauſed to be diſtributed among the officers) and would have attacked Vigo, and wintered there; admiral Rooke would not conſent to it; for which he has been ſeverely cenſured by biſhop Burnet.

Admiral Rooke returns to England.

The 16th, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with about twenty of her Majeſty's ſhips, joined the grand fleet from England. The next day, the duke of Ormond, with the land-forces, left Redondella: and, on the 19th, the forces being imbarked, the admiral ſailed from Vigo-harbor, with nine Engliſh men of war, beſide ſome ſmaller veſſels, ſeveral Dutch men of war, and one of the gallions which was rigged (3); leaving the remainder of his fleet under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with orders to ſee the French men of war and gallions rigged, and ſupplied with men, ſo that ſuch of them, as were our prizes, might be brought to England; and to deſtroy thoſe he could not have a proſpect of bringing home, firſt ſaving ſo much of their loading, guns and rigging, as poſſibly he could (4). With theſe ſhips ſir George Rooke arrived, the 7th of November, in the Downs, from whence the great ſhips were brought to Chatham (5).

About a week after ſir George Rooke's departure, the French men of war, and other prizes,

(1) Of thirteen gallions, which carried from twenty to upwards of thirty guns each, four were taken by the Engliſh, five by the Dutch, and the reſt were all deſtroyed. Of fifteen French men of war, five, together with two frigats, a fireſhip, and three ſcouts were burnt. The other ten men of war were taken, of which four, however, were run aſhore and bilged. How three Spaniſh men of war, which were in the harbour of Redondella fared, I do not any where ſo particularly find: but it is certain, they underwent the ſame fate, either of being burnt or taken. Some accounts make the number of the gallions more, and ſay the Engliſh, beſide the four abovemention'd, took two on the ground. Certain it is, that whether out of deſign, or by accident, the true ſtate of things was very much conceal'd.

(2) It has however been remarked; that this flota was the richeſt that ever came from the Weſt-Indies to Europe; that the ſilver and gold was computed at twenty millions of pieces of eight, of which fourteen millions only had been taken out of the gallions, and ſecured by the enemy at Lago or Lugo, about twenty-five leagues from Vigo, and the reſt was either taken, or left in the gallions, that were burnt or ſunk: and that the goods were valued at twenty millions of pieces of eight more, one fourth part of which was ſaved, near two deſtroyed, and the other taken by the confederates: beſide the ſhips already mentioned, and a great deal of plate and goods belonging to private perſons, moſt part of which was either taken or loſt. Annals of Queen Ann.

(3) Thus (ſays biſhop Burnet) ended this expedition, which was ill projected, and worſe executed. But as for the project, I muſt beg leave to differ from the biſhop. It was form'd by King William, and was worthy of ſo great a Prince: it was likewiſe, well timed, if not ſomething too late: however, the King of Spain being in Italy, the French King having occaſion for all his troops, in Flanders, Germany and Italy, and the Spaniards having neither fleet nor army, were favorable conjunctures. The duke of Ormond (adds the biſhop) told me he had not half the ammunition that was neceſſary, for the taking of Cadiz, if they had defended themſelves, tho' he believed, they would not have made any great reſiſtance, if he had landed, on his firſt arrival, and not given them time to recover from the diſorders, into which the firſt ſurprize had put them. A great deal of the treaſure taken at Vigo was imbezzel'd, and fell into private hands; one of the gallions foundered at ſea. The public was not much inrich'd by this extraordinary capture; yet the loſs our enemies had by it was a vaſt one; and to compleat the ruin of the Spaniſh merchants (and I fear a great number of ours too, who no doubt were deeply concern'd in the cargo's of this rich fleet) their King ſeized on the plate that was taken out of the ſhips, at their firſt arrival at Vigo.

(4) I ſhall conclude this relation, as I did that of the expedition to Cadiz, with an account what the French ſay of it: the confederate fleets (ſays F. Daniel) were more ſucceſsful at Vigo, than at Cadiz. The count de Chateau-Renaud was returning as convoy to the Spaniſh gallions, which were bound, very richly laden, from Mexico to Cadiz. But when he arrived within ſight of that Port, he found the fleets of England and Holland in poſſeſſion of the harbor. He offered to convoy them into ſome port of France. But to that they would not, on any account, give their conſent; ſo he was forced to go into the port of Vigo. He took all the meaſures he poſſibly could to put this poor harbor into a poſture of defence, and convey'd a great part of the gold and ſilver, out of the gallions, to Lago, within land. Not many days after, admiral Rooke appeared, and landing 2000 men, attack'd the fort and the batteries which defended the port. The fort they took, after ſome reſiſtance, and ſeized upon a battery, while the veſſels broke down the bomb which was laid before the haven. The count de Chateau-Renaud, when he found he had no hopes left, gave orders to the commanders of the ſhips and gallions to ſet fire to them, as ſoon as they had drawn out their men, while he threw a body of troops into the town and caſtle to defend them. They had time only to burn ſeven veſſels, and to run four a-ground. Fifteen gallions were likewiſe burnt, four run a-ground, and as many frigats. Five men of war, and as many gallions were taken by the enemy. This action coſt them 900 men killed or wounded. They took the Spaniſh admiral, monſieur d'Aliegre, chief of a ſquadron, the marquis de la Galiſſoniere, meſſieurs de Monbault, and la Maiſon-fort, captains of ſhips. The French loſt monſieur de la Rude, and de l'Eſcalette, lieutenants, de Pont de Veſe, an enſign, Tricambaut, captain of a ſhip, and monſieur du Pleſſis-Liencourt. Among the wounded were de Camilli, Pimont, la Tour, Landry, la Valette, Marigni, Lambourg, Chatelet, the chevalier Begon, the ſieurs de St. Victor and Hardi. The enemy attempted to make themſelves maſters of Vigo, but were repulſed by the Prince de Barbançon, governor of the province of Galicia, and by monſieur Renaud. With this agree ſeveral other French Relations, as well as that of an anonimous Spaniſh author; and they all indeavor, by a general and ſummary account only, to conceal the loſs of treaſure the Spaniards ſuſtained.

(5) He was obliged (ſays biſhop Burnet) to make all poſſible haſte home: for if the wind had turned to the eaſt, which was ordinary in that ſeaſon, a great part of our ſhips crews muſt have died of hunger. Hiſt. of his own times.

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were put into the beſt condition, for their paſſage home, that the place would admit of, and all the loading was taken out of a gallion which was aground, ſeiz'd by the Mary; as alſo of another ſhip of fifty guns, called the Dartmouth, taken from the Engliſh, the laſt war, and now made prize by captain Wyvell. There were, likewiſe, taken out of ſome French ſhips of war, which were on the ground, fifty braſs guns, which with thoſe taken from the ſhore, amounted to about 110. And the day before ſir Cloudeſly ſet ſail, he ſet fire to all the ſhips and veſſels, which he could not poſſibly bring away.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel returns with the prizes.

Sir Cloudeſly left Vigo the 25th, having then with him at leaſt ſeventy ſail of all ſorts: but, the next day, ſtanding thro' the ſouth channel, one of the gallions, which was the Monmouth's prize, ſtruck upon a hidden rock, and immediately founder'd; as did, afterwards, a rich prize from Morlaix, taken by the Naſſau. Several other ſhips ſuffered damage, and the whole fleet being ſeparated in bad weather, every one made the beſt of their way to the channel. Having thus given an account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions at ſea, this year; I return now to domeſtic affairs (1).

The parliament diſſolved.

The parliament of England being of courſe, purſuant to an act paſs'd for that end, to determine, ſix months after the demiſe of the late King, her Majeſty thought fit, on the 2d of July, to iſſue out a proclamation, "for diſſolving that parliament, "and declaring the ſpeedy calling another, to "meet at Weſtminſter, the 20th of Auguſt next." The 6th, the count de Platen, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, had his public audience of the Queen, and the Prince of Denmark (2).

Promotions and preferments.

In this month, her Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſeveral promotions in the army, and beſtow diverſe places and preferments. Among others, the duke of Bolton was made warden of New-foreſt, and the duke of Newcaſtle governor of the town of Kingſton upon Hull. Brigadier Cholmondley was made a major-general, and governor of Tilbury-fort. The earl of Berkley was appointed conſtable of the caſtle of Brianels, in the foreſt of Dean, and cuſtos-rotulorum, of the counties of Glouceſter and Surrey. The earl of Ranelagh was made receiver and pay-maſter general of her Majeſty's forces. William Blaithwait, eſq; was made ſecretary of war; and the lord Walden, commiſſary-general of the muſters, and chief muſter-maſter of her Majeſty's forces. Major-general Earl was made governor of Portſmouth, Robert Crawford, eſq; governor of the fort of Sheerneſs; Anthony Duncomb, eſq; governor of the caſtle of Scarborough, and Henry Villars, eſq; governor of the fort of Tinmouth. The duke of Somerſet was made maſter of the horſe to her Majeſty, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, who was made preſident of the council. The lord Wharton's patent as warden and chief-juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts, &c. on this ſide Trent, was revoked. The duke of Newcaſtle was made warden of the foreſt of Shirwood, in the county of Nottingham; and John Tucker, eſq; was made keeper and regiſter of the papers and records of ſtate.

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The elections for the inſuing parliament were carried on, in the mean time, with great warmth and contention, tho' with conſiderable advantage on the ſide of the high-church or tory-party. The 6th of Auguſt, the Queen thought fit, by proclamation, to prorogue the new parliament, which was to have met the 20th of that month, to the 8th of October, as ſhe did afterwards to prorogue it farther to the 23d of the ſame month.

The new parliament prorogued.

His royal highneſs, Prince George of Denmark, being very much indiſpoſed, this ſummer, with his uſual aſthma, was adviſed by his phyſicians, to go to the Bath, and her Majeſty, as an inſtance of her conjugal affection, reſolved to attend him thither. They ſet out accordingly, the 26th of Auguſt, from Windſor, in order to ly at Oxford, that night. They were met, at the entrance into that country by the earl of Abingdon, as lord-lieutenant, with the high-ſheriff, and a great number of gentlemen: and, at ſome diſtance from the city, by the vice-chancelor, doctors and maſters in their robes, on horſeback, and were, in that manner, attended to Chriſt-church, where they ſuped. The Queen was pleaſed to honor the univerſity, the next day, with her preſenſe, in convocation, when the univerſity-orator congratulated her arrival among them, and many of the nobility and perſons of quality, took the degree of doctor of law. From the convocation-houſe, the Queen went to the theatre, where ſhe was entertained with a concert of vocal and inſtrumentacal muſic; and ſeveral pieces of poetry were exhibited expreſſive of that honor and happineſs they injoyed by her Majeſty's preſenſe. Her Majeſty was afterwards entertain'd at dinner by the univerſity, and then ſet out, with the Prince, for Cirenceſter, where ſhe lay that night, and, the next day, reached the Bath. They were met by the high ſheriff and gentlemen on the borders of the county of Sommerſet, and, within half a mile of the city, by 200 maids, richly dreſs'd, and carrying bows and arrows like amazons. They were met, at the weſt-gate of the city, by the mayor and corporation, in their formalities, who attended them to the abby-houſe, which was prepared for their reception. The ſtreets were illuminated, that night, and all imaginable expreſſions of joy appeared at her Majeſty's arrival among them, as there had been alſo in every place thro' which ſhe paſs'd.

The Queen and Prince go to the Bath.

Return to Windſor.

The parliament meets.

The 8th of October, her Majeſty, with her royal conſort, left the Bath, arrived the 10th at Windſor, and came the 15th to St. James's. The 20th the parliament met, and the Queen, being come to the houſe of lords, ſent for the commons, who being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, unanimouſly elected Robert Harley, eſq; who had been ſpeaker of three preceeding parliaments. The next day, they preſented him to her Majeſty, who, after having ſignified her approbation of their choice, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great ſatisfaction I meet this parliament, which I have ſummoned to aſſiſt me, in "carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war, in which "we are ingaged. I have called you together as

(1) I muſt not, however, quite paſs by the ſucceſs of commadore (afterwards ſir John) Leake, in Newfoundland, where he, with a ſmall ſquadron, under his command, took, this ſummer, in the French harbors, twenty-nine ſail of ſhips, and burnt twenty-two more; deſtroying all the ſtages and ſettlements of the French, in thoſe parts. For farther particulars, I refer to Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 759.

(2) We have in Harris, of this year's date, the charter of ſettlement for the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, granted upon the agreement of the two companies; by way of abſtract. Being an indenture tripartite, dated July the 22d of this year, between the Queen, the governor, and company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt-Indies; by which the two companies were united, their ſeveral charters confirmed, and being thus join'd, they were appointed, after the performance of certain points ſtipulated in this indenture, to call themſelves: the united company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

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" early as was conſiſtent with your convenience in " coming out of your ſeveral countries; and I " aſſure my ſelf of ſuch evidences of your affections " to me, and of your zeal for our common cauſe, " as will not only give ſpirit and forwardneſs to " our own preparations, but ſuch example and " incouragement to our allies, as, by GOD's bleſ- " ſing, cannot fail of a good effect for the advan- " tage of the whole confederacy.

" I have met with ſo many expreſſions of joy " and ſatisfaction, in all the countries, thro' which " I have lately had occaſion to paſs, that I can- " not but look upon them, as true meaſures of " the duty and affection of the reſt of my ſub- " jects.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons.

" I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies " as will inable me to comply both with our par- " ticular treaties and ingagements already made, " and ſuch others as may be neceſſary, for the in- " couragement of our allies, and the proſecuting " the war where it ſhall moſt ſenſibly effect our " enemies, and be moſt effectual for diſappointing " the boundleſs ambition of France.

" And, that my ſubjects may the more cheer- " fully bear the neceſſary taxes, I deſire you to in- " ſpect the accounts of all the public receits and " payments, and, if there have been any abuſes " or miſmanagements, I hope you will detect them, " that the offenders may be puniſhed, and others " be deterr'd, by ſuch examples, from the like " practices.

" I muſt obſerve to you, with ſome concern; " that the funds given by the laſt parliament, " have, in ſome meaſure, fallen ſhort of the ſums " propoſed to be raiſed by them; and tho' I have " already paid and applied to the public ſervice, " the 100,000 l. which I promiſed to the laſt " parliament, yet it has not ſupplied that defi- " ciency.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot, without much trouble, take notice " to you of the diſappointment we have had, at " Cadiz, I have not yet had a particular account of " that enterprize, nor of all the difficulties our " forces have met with there: but I have had ſuch " repreſentations of diſorders and abuſes commited " at port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give " directions, for the ſtricteſt examination of the " matter.

" I am earneſtly deſirous, for all our ſakes, that " this may prove a ſhort ſeſſion: however, I hope " you will find time to conſider of ſome better and " more effectual method, to prevent the exportation " of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which " is of great conſequence to the whole nation; on " my part, nothing ſhall be omited for its in- " couragement.

" I am firmly perſuaded, that the love and good " affections of my ſubjects is the ſureſt pledge of " their duty and obedience, and the trueſt and " juſteſt ſupport of the throne. And as I am re- " ſolved to defend and maintain the church, as " by law eſtabliſh'd, and to protect you in the full " injoyment of all your rights and liberties, ſo I " rely upon your care of me: my intereſts and " yours are inſeparable: and my indeavors ſhall " never be wanting to make you all ſafe and " happy."

Addreſs of the lords.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, the lords preſented her Majeſty, on the 23d, an addreſs of thanks, in which " they congratulated the ſucceſs of her arms, in " conjunction with her allies, under the command " of the earl of Marlborough. As alſo the ſucceſs " of her Majeſty's allies in Germany and Italy, " and the proſperous condition of trade, which " they acknowledged to be chiefly owing to her " Majeſty's wiſdom and conduct; declaring their " readineſs to aſſiſt her in this juſt and neceſſary " war. They alſo thank'd her Majeſty for the " reſolution ſhe expreſs'd to maintain and defend " the eſtabliſh'd church, and to protect their rights " and liberties, aſſuring her, they would ſupport " and defend her royal perſon and government, " with all poſſible zeal and duty.

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The 24th the commons, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs of thanks, to her Majeſty, in which they obſerved; " that her ſubjects had already received " ſo many benefits, under the influence of her " happy government, that ſhe would have met " with the like expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, " had ſhe viſited any other part of her dominions, " as ſhe did, in her journey to Bath. That the " late diſappointment at Cadiz did not affect them " more, as it gave her Majeſty ſo much trouble: " but this misfortune could not make them for- " get, that the protection and ſecurity of their " trade, the vigorous ſupport of her Majeſty's " allies, and the wonderful progreſs of her arms, " under the earl of Marlborough, had ſignally " retrieved (1) the ancient honor and glory of the " of the Engliſh nation.

Addreſs of the commons.

" That her Majeſty had been always a moſt il- " luſtrious ornament to this church, and expoſed " to great hazards for it; and, therefore, they " promiſed themſelves, that, in her Majeſty's reign, " they ſhould ſee it perfectly reſtored, to its due " rights and privileges, and ſecured in the ſame to " poſterity, which was only to be done, by diveſt- " ing thoſe men of the power, who had ſhewn they " wanted not will to deſtoy it.

" That her Majeſty's deſire to have the public " accounts inſpected, and the abuſes therein puniſhed, " would indear her Majeſty to her people, and in- " courage them cheerfully to aſſiſt her in carrying " on the preſent war: that ſhe might rely upon " the care of her faithful commons: the value ſhe " was pleaſed to ſet on the love of her ſubjects was " the higheſt obligation could be laid on them: " they were ſenſible her Majeſty's intereſt and " theirs were inſeparable; as they gratefully ac- " knowledged her indeavors to make them ſafe " and happy, ſo their prayers and indeavors " ſhould never be wanting to make her Majeſty's " reign more proſperous and glorious than any " of her predeceſſors."

A ſupply voted.

The ſame day the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply, and, on the 30th, they reſolved, " that " 40,000 ſeamen be imployed for the next year's " ſervice, at four pound a man, per month, and " that 129,314 l. be allowed for the ordinary of " the navy". The ſame day, likewiſe, the lord Shannon arrived, from the confederate fleet, with advice of the ſignal victory obtained over the French and Spaniards, at Vigo, in Spain, of which the reader has already ſeen an accoont above.

The Queen dines in the city.

The twenty-ninth, being the lord mayor's-day, her Majeſty did the city the honor of her preſenſe, and accepted of an entertainment at Guild-hall, which was very ſplendid on that occaſion: at the concluſion of which, ſhe was pleaſed to confer the honor of knighthood on Gilbert Heathcote,

(1) The word retrieve, in this addreſs, occaſioned a debate in the houſe of commons, it being alledged, that it ſeemed to caſt a reflection on the memory of King William, and the word maintain was propoſed to be inſerted in the room of it; but, upon a diviſion, it was carried for retrieve, one hundered and eighty votes againſt eighty. From whence it was infer'd, that the Tory-party had a vaſt majority in the houſe.

Francis

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Francis Daſhwood, James Eyton and Francis Hoare, eſqrs (1).

Reſolution concerning the impeach'd lords.

The ſecond of November, a motion was made, and the queſtion put, in the houſe of commons: "that right had not been done the commons, upon "the impeachments before the lords, brought "againſt diverſe peers, in the thirteenth year of the "late King's reign": which was carried in the affirmative, 189 againſt 81.

The Queen's meſſage about a thankſgiving.

The 4th, mr. ſecretary Hedges, by her Majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe of commons: "that her Majeſty had appointed Thurſday, the "12th inſtant, to be obſerved in London and "Weſtminſter, as a day of public thankſgiving "to Almighty God, on occaſion of the great ſuc-"ceſſes of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her "allies, and particularly that of her troops, under "the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, that of "the forces under the command of the duke of "Ormond at Vigo, and alſo for the extraordinary "ſucceſs of the fleet, under the command of ſir "George Rooke: that, for the greater ſolemnity, "on that day, her Majeſty would be pleaſed to go "to St. Paul's-church, as had been accumſtomed, in "former times, in this kingdom, to return thanks "to Almighty God, for the ſignal and great ſuc-"ceſs, in which, not only her Majeſty, but all "her ſubjects, were ſo highly concerned; and that "her Majeſty had given neceſſary orders, for pro-"viding convenient places in the ſaid cathedral, "for the members of that houſe, as well as for the "houſe of lords". For this meſſage, the commons returned their thanks to the Queen, and reſolved: "that they would attend her Majeſty, as "a houſe, to St. Paul's-church, upon the day ap-"pointed for a public thankſgiving.

Bills for preventing occaſional conformity.

The ſame day, mr. William Bromley made a motion, for bringing in "a bill to prevent occaſional "conformity," which was ordered to be brought in, accordingly, by mr. Bromley, mr. St. John (afterwards lord Bolingbrook) and mr. Anneſley (afterwards earl of Angleſey) (2). At the ſecond reading it was commited to a committee of the whole houſe; but a motion being made, and the queſtion put; "that the ſaid committee have "power to receive a clauſe for the exempting Diſ-"ſenters from ſuch offices as cannot, by law, be "executed without receiving the ſacrament, ac-"cording to the uſage of the church of England," it paſs'd in the negative. Towards the end of the ſame month, the ſaid bill paſs'd the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the lords for their concurrence, who, the 9th of September, ſent it back to the lower houſe, with ſeveral amendments (3). At the ſame time, their lordſhips being apprehenſive, that the commons would not give their concerence to the ſaid amendments, and might, as they had done, on other occaſions, tack their bill, to ſome money-bill, their lordſhips, therefore, made a vote, "that "the annexing any clauſe to a mony-bill was con-"trary to the conſtitution of the Engliſh govern-"ment, and the uſage of parliament", and ordered this vote to be added to the roll of the ſtanding orders of their houſe. On the other hand, the commons having read the amendments made by the lords, agreed to ſome of them, and diſagreed to others, and, on the 12th of December, appointed a committee to draw up reaſons for this their diſagreement, to be offered to the lords at a conference. Theſe reaſons being prepared, the commons, on the 17th, deſired a conference with the lords, where their managers left them, together with the bill and amendments, with the managers for their lordſhips.

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Vote againſt tacking.

A farther ſupply voted.

The 6th they reſolved; "Firſt, that the propor-"tion of land-forces, to act in conjunction with "the forces of the allies, for making good the al-"liances, be 40,000 men, conſiſting of 33,000 foot, "and 7000 horſe, and dragoons. 2dly, That "the ſum of 350,000 l. be granted, for the main-"taining of guards and gariſons, for the year "1703 (including 5000 men, to ſerve on board "the fleet;) and 3dly, the ſum of 70,973 l. for "land-ſervice, to be performed by the office of "ordnance, for the year 1703". The 10th they reſolved, "to grant 833,826 l. for main-"taining the 40,000 land-forces, and 51,843 l. "for her Majeſty's ſubſidies to her allies."

The commons vote thanks to the duke of Ormond, and ſir George Rooke.

At the ſame time, the commons unanimouſly voted their thanks to the duke of Ormond, and ſir George Rooke, for the ſignal ſervices by them performed, for the nation, both by ſea and land: and ſir George, afterwards, taking his place in the houſe of commons, on the 21ſt, the ſpeaker gave him their thanks, in a ſet ſpeech, in which he obſerved: "That formerly admirals and generals "had ſucceſs againſt France or Spain ſingly: but "the action at Vigo had been a victory over them "confederated together: that he had not only "ſpoiled their enemies, but inriched his own "country: common victories brought only terror "to the conquered; but he had brought deſtruction "upon them, and additional ſtrength to England. "That France had indeavored to ſupport its "ambition, by the riches of India: but his ſuc-"ceſs had left them the burden of Spain, and "ſtripp'd them of the aſſiſtance of it: the wealth "of Spain, and the ſhips of France, were by "this victory brought over to their juſter cauſe; "that this was an action ſo glorious in the perfor-"mance, and ſo extenſive in its conſequence, that, "as all times would preſerve the memory of it, "ſo every day would more and more inform "them of the benefit. No doubt, in France, "he was writ in remarkable characters, in the "black liſt of thoſe who had taken French gold "(4); and it was a juſtice due to the duke of

The ſpeaker's ſpeech to the latter.

Paſſes the houſe of commons.

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(1) In the month of October, of this year, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the earl of Peterborough governor of Jamaica; and he was declared captain-general and admiral of all her Majeſty's ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies: mr. Graydon was ordered with a ſquadron to convoy his lordſhip, and the forces he was to take with him thither. And all people concerned in the plantations were extreamly pleas'd to ſee this commiſſion in his hands. Why this nobleman did not go, tho' the Dutch admiral Vanderduſſen was actually arrived at Spithead, with a ſquadron of men of war, and land-forces on board, In order to have joined him; and why the Dutch-admiral was ordered to return home, and the expedition wholly laid aſide, are queſtions I ſhall not pretend to determine; but what was done with mr. Graydon's ſquadron, the reader ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Lediard's naval hiſtory vol. II. p, 761.

(2) The ſubſtance of this bill was: that any perſon in office, reſorting to a conventicle or diſſenting meeting, was made liable to a forfeiture of a hundred pound, and five pound for every day he ſhould continue in his office afterwards; and ſuch perſon was diſabled from holding that or any other office, till he conformed regularly for one whole year, and received the ſacrament, according to the rites of the church of England, three times within ſuch year; and, upon a ſecond offence, the penalties were doubled.

(3) By theſe amendments of their lordſhips the Jacobite meetings were included. The hundred pound penalty was reduced to twenty pound, and the whole incapacitating clauſes were left out. They alſo limited the information to ten days, and the proſecution to three months exempted Diſſenters from holding offices; for which they could not be qualified without taking the ſacrament; and provided that the act ſhould not extend to the univerſity-churches, or to the French or Dutch churches, or to the governors of hoſpitals, or to the aſſiſtants of corporations for relieving or imploying the poor.

(4) It will be neceſſary, in order to juſtify this odd expreſſion of the ſpeaker's, to acquaint the reader; that in ſome pamphlets, which were publiſh'd about that time, the names of ſir George Rooke, and ſeveral others, were put in black characters, as penſioners to France.

"Ormond's

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" Ormond's and his merit, that they would ſtand " recorded, in the regiſters of that houſe, as the " inſtruments of that glorious victory: therefore " the houſe, having come to that unanimous reſo- " lution, that the thanks of this houſe be given to " his grace the duke of Ormond, and ſir George " Rooke, for the great and ſignal ſervices per- " formed by them, to the nation, at ſea and land; " he did, by their command, return him their " thanks."

Thanks of both houſes to the duke of Ormond.

The commons ſent their thanks to the duke of Ormond, by a commitee of their own members, and his grace coming into the houſe of peers, on the 13th, the lord-keeper, in the name of the houſe, returned him thanks, for his ſignal ſervices performed at Vigo: however, they ſoon after addreſs'd her Majeſty, to order an account of his grace's and ſir George Rooke's proceedings, in the late expedition, to be laid before them; with which her Majeſty complying, the duke of Ormond, on the 16th, laid his journal before the lords (1).

The thankſgiving ſolemnized.

The 12th, being the day appointed to be ſolemnized as a thankſgiving, for the ſucceſſes of this campain, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter (as the 3d of December was, for other parts of the kingdom) her Majeſty went to St. Paul's, attended by the two houſes of parliament, which formed one of the moſt ſplendid proceſſions, this nation had ſeen. The biſhop of London read the communion-ſervice, and the biſhop of Exeter preach'd, before her Majeſty, on the 23d of Joſhua, ver. 8 and 9.

Reſolutions againſt the biſhop of Worceſter.

The 18th, the commons took under their conſideration, a complaint made by ſir John Packington, one of the repreſentatives for the county of Worceſter, againſt the biſhop of Worceſter, and mr. Lloyd, his ſon, for certain undue practices, in order to prevent ſir John's election for that county; and the houſe having examined the matter, reſolved; " That ſir John Packington had, by evidence, " fully made out the charge which he exhibited " againſt the lord biſhop of Worceſter: that it " appeared to the houſe, that the proceedings of " of William, lord biſhop of Worceſter, his ſon, " and his agents, in order to the hindering the " election of a member of the county of Wor- " ceſter, had been malicious, unchriſtian, and " arbitrary, and an high violation of the privi- " leges of the commons of England; and that " an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, " that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove, " William, lord biſhop of Worceſter, from being " almoner to her Majeſty; and ordered mr. at- " torny-general to proſecute mr. Lloyd, the bi- " ſhop's ſon, for thoſe offenſes, after his privi- " lege, as a member of the lower houſe of con- " vocation, was expired (2)." On the other hand, the lords addreſs'd her Majeſty, ſhewing, " that " it was the undoubted right of every lord of par- " liament, and of every other ſubject of England, " to have an opportunity of making his defenſe, " before he ſuffer any ſort of puniſhment; and, " therefore, deſired ſhe would not remove the bi- " ſhop of Worceſter, from the place of lord-al- " moner, nor ſhew any mark of her diſpleaſure " towards him; till he was found guilty of ſome " crime by due courſe of law:" to which her Majeſty anſwered: " She agreed, that every peer " and lord of parliament, and, indeed, every o- " ther perſon, ought to have an opportunity of " being heard to any matters objected againſt " him, before he is puniſh'd: that ſhe had not " yet received any complaint againſt the biſhop of " Worceſter, but looked upon it as her un- " doubted right, to continue or diſplace any ſer- " vant, attending her own perſon, when ſhe " thought proper."

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The lords, hereupon, reſolved; " That no " lord of that houſe ought to ſuffer any ſort of " puniſhment, by any proceedings of the houſe " of commons, otherwiſe than according to the " known and ancient rules and methods of parlia- " ment." But her Majeſty being attended by ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler of the houſhold, with the reſolution and addreſs of the commons, for removing the biſhop of Worceſter, from being almoner, the Queen anſwered: " She was very " ſorry there was occaſion for this addreſs againſt " the biſhop of Worceſter; and ſhe would di- " rect, that he ſhould no longer continue to ſup- " ply that office:" for which anſwer, " the " commons returned her Majeſty their moſt hum- " ble thanks (3)."

The 21ſt, mr. ſecretary Hedges delivered a meſſage to the commons, ſigned by the Queen, importing: " That her Majeſty, conſidering, " that there was but a very ſmall proviſion made " for the Prince, her huſband, if he ſhould ſur- " vive her Majeſty; and that ſhe was reſtrained

(1) The duke of Ormond, at his firſt arrival from the expedition to Cadiz, complained very openly of Rooke's conduct, and ſeemed reſolved to carry the matter to a public accuſation: but the court found the party that prevailed in the houſe of commons, determined to juſtify Rooke; ſo, to comply with this, the Queen made him a privy-counſellor, and much pains were taken with the duke of Ormond, to ſtifle his reſentments. He was in a great meaſure ſoftned, yet he had made his complaints to ſo many lords, that they moved the houſe to examine both his inſtructions, and the journals relating to that expedition. A commitee of the houſe ſate long upon the matter. They examined all the admirals and land-officers, as well as Rooke himſelf, upon the whole progreſs of that affair. Rooke was ſo well ſupported by the court, and by his party in the houſe of commons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the lords could do; ſome, who underſtood ſea-matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every motion which he made, during the expedition, he intended to do nothing but to amuſe and make a ſhew. They alſo concluded, from the protection the miniſtry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how improper a thing a deſcent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt muſt have proved; and, in doing this, he arraigned his inſtructions, and the deſign he was ſent on, with great boldneſs, and ſhew'd little regard to the miniſters, who took more pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The lords of the commitee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rooke, and laid it before the houſe; but ſo ſtrong a party was made, to oppoſe every thing which reflected on him, that tho' every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favor, juſtifying his whole conduct. The great imployment (lord-lieutenant of Ireland) given to the duke of Ormond, ſo effectually prevailed on him, that tho' the inquiry was ſet on foot, by his means, and upon his ſuggeſtions, yet he came not to the houſe, when it was brought to a concluſion. So Rooke, being but faintly puſhed by him, and moſt zealouſly ſupported by his party, was juſtified by a vote, tho' unanimouſly condemned by more impartial judges. The behavior of the miniſtry, in this matter, heightned the jealouſies, with which many were poſſeſſed; for it was infered, that they were not in earneſt, in this whole expedition; ſince the conduct, being ſo contrary to the inſtructions, their juſtifying one, was plainly condemning the other. Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times.

(2) For this regard had to the privilege of the lower houſe of convocation, the commons had afterwards their thanks, delivered, by their order, to the ſpeaker, by the prolocutor, the dean of Canterbury, archdeacon Ottley, and mr. Moor; upon which they reſolved: " That they would, upon all occaſions, aſſert the juſt rights and privileges of the lower houſe of convoca- " tion."

(3) Thus (ſays Boyer, in his reign of Queen Ann, p. 36.) this pious and learned prelate, fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the prevailing high-church party, for being too warm a ſtickler for their antagoniſts: while, on the other hand, ſir George Rooke, who was in great eſteem with the tories, was ſworn of the privy-council, and had the thanks of the houſe.

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" from increaſing the ſame, by the late act of " parliament for ſettling her revenue, thought it " neceſſary to recommend the making a farther " proviſion for the Prince to their conſideration." The commons, after having conſidered this meſſage, reſolved, on the 1ſt of December; " that " the yearly ſum of 100,000 l. be ſettled on his " royal highneſs, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her " Majeſty."

Vice-admiral Hopſon rewarded.

The Prince having, two days before, preſented to her Majeſty, Thomas Hopſon, eſq; vice-admiral of the red, the Queen confer'd the honor of knighthood upon him, and afterwards ſettled a penſion of 500 l. a year upon him, with a reverſion of 300 l. a year for his wife, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices at Vigo.

Submiſſion of one of the Kentiſh petitioners.

About this time, Thomas Colepepper, eſq; one of the Kentiſh petitioners, who had given the houſe ſo much trouble in the late reign, preſented a petition of another nature, in which he acknowledg'd; " That he had, in the reign of his late " Majeſty, given juſt offenſe to the houſe of " commons, and thereby juſtly drawn on him- " ſelf, not only their diſpleaſure, but alſo their vote " for his proſecution by the attorny-general; and " that he was truly ſorry for all thoſe cauſes, by " which he ever offended the ſaid houſe of com- " mons, or might incur their diſpleaſure, and hum- " bly pray'd, that the houſe would be pleaſed to " interpoſe with her Majeſty, in his behalf, to give " order to her attorny-general, to ſurceaſe farther " proceedings, in the proſecution againſt him." Mr. Colepepper was, hereupon, called in, and having owned the petition, was commanded to withdraw. The houſe then ordered, that he ſhould be ask'd, whether he was ſorry for his ſeveral ſcandalous and ſeditious practices, by him acted, againſt the honor and privileges of that houſe, againſt the peace of the kingdom in general, and the quiet of his own country, in particular? and the ſame having been ask'd him accordingly, he anſwer'd, he was ſorry: and being withdrawn a ſecond time, the commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, to ſtop the proſecution againſt him, which had been at their deſire, and ſo this matter ended.

The earl of Marlborough receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

His anſwer.

The 30th of November, ſir Edward Seymour, comptroler of her Majeſty's houſhold, reported, to the houſe of commons, that the commitee appointed by the houſe, had attended the earl of Marlborough with their thanks, for the great and ſignal ſervices by him performed for this nation, and that thereupon his lordſhip had expreſs'd himſelf to the following effect: viz. " that nothing " could add to the ſatisfaction he took in the Queen's " moſt gracious acceptance of his hearty and ſincere " indeavors for the public ſervice, but the obliging " and favorable ſenſe which that houſe was pleas'd " to expreſs of them, of which honor, no man could " be more truly ſenſible than himſelf. That our ſuc- " ceſs was chiefly to be imputed to God's bleſſing " upon her Majeſty's happy conduct, and the great " bravery of her own troops, and thoſe of her " allies".

The earl of Marlborough made a duke.

Upon the 2d of December, the Queen, to ſhew what a ſenſe ſhe had of the earl of Marlborough's ſervices, was pleaſed to declare, before a committee of council, that ſhe was ſo ſatisfied of the eminent ſervices of my lord Marlborough to the public, and to herſelf, both in the command of the army, and the intire confidence he had ſettled between her and the States-general, that ſhe intended to make him a duke; which ſhe did accordingly, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough: and, on the 10th, her Majeſty ſent the following meſſage to the commons in his lordſhip's favor:

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The Queen's meſſage to the commons in his favor.

" The earl of Marlborough's ſervices to her Ma- " jeſty, and to the public, have been ſo eminent, " both in his command of the army, and in his " having eſtabliſhed an intire confidence, and good " correſpondence, between her Majeſty and the " States-general, that ſhe has thought fit to grant the " title of a duke of this kingdom to him, and to " the heirs male of his body, and alſo a penſion " of 5000 l. per annum, upon the revenue of the " poſt-office, for the ſupport of this honor, during " her Majeſty's natural life. If it had been in her " Majeſty's power, ſhe would have granted the ſame " term in the penſion, as in the honor, and ſhe hopes " you will think it ſo reaſonable, in this caſe, as to " find ſome proper methods of doing of it".

Debates thereupon.

A ſecond meſſage.

This meſſage having occaſioned great debates, in the houſe (1), and there being no likelihood, that the commons would comply with her Majeſty's deſire, the 15th, ſhe ſent them another meſſage, whereby ſhe acquainted them, that the duke of Marlborough had declined her Majeſty's meſſage to them. Nevertheleſs, the commons being in a grand commitee, the motion was made, the ſame day, that an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, ſeting forth the reaſons why they could not comply with her Majeſty's firſt meſſage. This motion was agreed to, on the 16th, and a commitee appointed to draw up the addreſs, which was as follows:

Moſt gracious Soverein,

The commons addreſs to the Queen about it.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub- " jects, the commons in parliament aſſembled, hum- " bly beg leave to declare our unanimous ſatisfaction " in the juſt eſteem your Majeſty has been pleaſed " to expreſs, of the eminent ſervices performed " by the duke of Marlborough, who has, not only " by his conduct of the army, retriev'd the ancient " honor and glory of the Engliſh nation, but, by " his negociations, eſtabliſh'd an intire confidence, " and good correſpondence, between your Majeſty " and the States-general, and therein vindicated the " gentlemen of England, who had, by the vile " practiſes of deſigning men, been traduced, " and induſtriouſly repreſented, as falſe to your " Majeſty's allies, becauſe they were true to the in- " tereſt of their country.

" It is to their inexpreſſible grief, that your " Majeſty's moſt dutiful commons, find any in- " ſtances where they are unable to comply with " what your Majeſty propoſes to them; but they " beg leave humbly to lay before your Majeſty, " the apprehenſions they have of making a prece- " dent, for the alienations of the revenue of the " crown, which has been ſo much reduced " by the exorbitant grants of the laſt reign, and " which has been ſo lately ſettled and ſecured, by " your Majeſty's unparallel'd grace and goodneſs.

" We are infinitely pleaſed to obſerve by your " Majeſty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of " Marlborough's ſervices, that the only way to ob- " tain your Majeſty's favor, is to deſerve well from " the public; and we beg leave to aſſure your " Majeſty, that whenever you ſhall think fit to " reward ſuch merit, it will be to the intire ſatiſ- " faction of your people".

This addreſs being preſented to the Queen the 21ſt of December by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleaſed to return this anſwer:

The Queen's anſwer.

" I ſhall always think my ſelf much concerned to

(1) The duke of Marlborough, as ſoon as he was informed thereof, waited on her Majeſty, and pray'd her, rather to forego her gracious meſſage, on his behalf, than to create any uneaſineſs on his account; ſince it might imbarraſs her affairs, and be of ill conſequence to the public.

" reward

Q. ANN, AN' 1702. "reward those who deserve well of me, and of the "public: on this account I bestow'd some favors "on the duke of Marlborough, and I am glad to "find you think they are well placed".

The 13th of December, a proclamation was issued for the discovery and recovering of all such goods, plate, and other effects, as, contrary to her Majesty's and the duke of Ormond's express commands, were plundered or imbezzel'd at Port St. Mary's, or from the gallions taken at Vigo, and put on board her Majesty's men of war, or other vessels; her Majesty reserving to herself the power of rewarding every one who had been in those services.

Proceedings against the earl of Ranelagh.

Some time before this, the commissioners for taking the public accounts, having, by order of the house of commons, examined those of the earl of Ranelagh, as pay-master general of the army, and drawn up a narrative, wherein they charged him with great mismanagements: his lordship, on the last of November, presented to the house, his answer to the same On the 7th of December, after a full hearing of all parties, the commons unanimously resolved:

1. "That it appeared to the house, that the "commissioners appointed, by act of parliament, "for taking, examining and stating the public ac- "counts of the kingdom, had very good grounds "for making the observations in the narrative or "representat on laid before the house.

2. That all monies issued to the pay-master-gene- "ral of the army, ought to be applied to the use of "the army and forces only, and to no other use or "purpose whatsoever.

3. "That all privy-seals, orders of the treasury, "or other warrants, to the pay-master-general of "the army, to apply the mony in his hands, to "other than the use of the army and forces, are il- "legal and void.

4. "That all privy-seals, or warrants of the "auditors of the impress, to pass accounts, with- "out proper vouchers, or to make any allowances, "other than according to the law and course of the "exchequer, are illegal and void.

5. "That the said commissioners had made "good the allegations in their narrative: and,

6. "That the pay-master-general of the army "had misapplied several sums of the public mony.

The earl of Ranelagh, seing so violent a torrent against him, which opposition might but have rendered yet more boisterous, chose rather to put a stop to it, by laying down his place, which was afterwards divided between sir Stephen Fox, and John How, esq; the first being for the army abroad, and the latter for the guards and garisons at home. This, however, was but a salvo for a while, as we shall see below.

Acts pass'd.

The 23d of December, the Queen went to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent to "an "act for granting to her Majesty a land-tax, for "carrying on the war against France and Spain," and to two private bills.

Lords-lieutenants made.

The same day, Hugh, lord Cholmondley, was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Denby, Montgommery, Flint, Merioneth, Caernarvon and Anglesea: James earl of Derby, lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaster: and Scroop earl of Bridgewater, lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks. The same day, likewise, the question was put, whether Prince George's servants should be capacitated to sit in parliament, which was carried by a great majority, in the affirmative.

Motion for resuming of grants.

After this, sir Edward Seymour moved, that leave might be given to bring in "a bill for resuming "all grants made in King William's reign, and ap- "plying them to the use of the public," which being carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty voices, against seventy-eight, mr. Walpole moved, "that all the grants made in the reign "of the late King James should be resumed like- "wise:" but this pass'd in the negative. This being over, sir John Holland made a motion, and the question was put, that leave be given to bring in "a bill for the more free and impartial pro- "ceedings of parliament, by providing that no "person whomsoever, in office or imployment, "should be capable of siting in parliament"; which, likewise pass'd in the negative; and, instead thereof an order was procured, for the bringing in "a bill for the more free and impartial "proceedings of parliament, by providing that "no person should be chosen a member of the house "of commons, but such as have a sufficient real "estate:" which done the house adjourn'd to the 4th of January. Q. ANN, AN' 1702.

AN' 1703.

The French King having given out commissions for considerable levies, in order greatly to increase his armies, an aditional force was, likewise, necessary, in those of the allies; and the States-general thereupon made their applications to the Queen, for an augmentation of her troops: her Majesty therefore at the first meeting of the house of commons, after new-year, sent the following message to them:

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Her Majesty's letter to the commons.

"Her Majesty having received several letters "from the States-general of the United-provinces, "as also several memorials from their embassadors, "seting forth the great apprehensions they ly under, "from the extraordinary preparations of France, "to attack them early in the spring, and the ne- "cessity, as they conceived, of making an aug- "mentation of the forces of England and Holland, "as the only means to prevent the immediate ruin "which threatned their country, was pleased, there- "upon, to propose some expedient to the States- "general, which she hoped might have been of "advantage to the common interest, and relieved "them, in some measure, from their just appre- "hensions, without having recourse to her parlia- "ment. But these expedients, proposed by her "Majesty to the States-general, not having pro- "duced the effect she hoped for, and the States ha- "ving again renewed their applications to her Ma- "jesty, with more earnestness than before, to assist "them in this time of their danger, with an aug- "mentation of her forces, as the only means to "disappoint the effect of those great and early "preparations, which the French are making "against them; her Majesty has commanded the "several letters and representations, which "have passed between her, and the States-general, "upon this subject, to be herewith transmitted to "you, that you may the better judge of the dan- "ger which threatens them.

"Her Majesty conceives this matter to be of "such great consequence, as indispensably obliges "her to acquaint you with the present state of it, "that she may have your advice upon it; not "doubting but you will take such measures, upon "this occasion, as may be most for the honor and "advantage of her Majesty, the safety of her "kingdoms, and the necessary support of her "allies".

The commons having taken her Majesty's message into consideration, the next day, agreed, that 10,000 foreiners be hired, for an augmentation of the forces, to act in conjunction with the allies; but upon condition, that an immediate stop be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain, which they resolved to lay before the Queen, in the following address:

The address of the house of commons in answer.

Most gracious Sovereign.

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal "subjects, the commons in parliament assembled, "do

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" do beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble " thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious condeſ- " cenſion, in communicating to your commons " the ſeveral memorials, tranſactions and letters, " that have paſſed between your Majeſty and the " States-general, for the augmentation of your " Majeſty's forces, which are to act in conjunction " with the forces of the States-general; by all " which your commons are intirely convinced of " your Majeſty's great tenderneſs of your ſubjects, " in not laying a greater burden upon them, " than the neceſſity of affairs does abſolutely re- " quire.

" And your commons do humbly aſſure your " Majeſty, that in caſe your Majeſty ſhould think " it neceſſary to enter into any farther negociation, " for increaſing the forces, which are to act in " conjunction with the forces of the States-general, " (for whoſe intereſt and preſervation we ſhall " always have the greateſt regard) your commons " will inable your Majeſty to make good the " ſame.

" And your commons do farther crave leave " humbly to beſeech your Majeſty, that you will " pleaſe to inſiſt upon it, with the States-general, " that there be an immediate ſtop of all poſts, and " of all letters, bills, and all other correſpondence, " trade and commerce with France and Spain, which " your commons are humbly of opinion is ſo abſo- " lutely neceſſary for carrying on the juſt and ne- " ceſſary war, wherein your Majeſty is ingaged, " to the interrupting the trade of your enemies, " and reducing them to the greateſt ſtreights, that " your commons do humbly deſire, that England " may not be charged with the pay of ſuch ad- " ditional troops, but from the day, when ſuch " ſtop ſhall be made by the States-general."

This addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, by the whole houſe, the 8th of January, her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer:

Gentlemen,

The Queen's anſwer.

" It is with great ſatisfaction, that I receive this " addreſs, which inables me to join with the States- " general, in augmenting our forces, according to " their deſire.

" I make no doubt, but the condition you men- " tion will be approved, ſince it is abſolutely ne- " ceſſary for the good of the whole alliance; and " I ſhall, this night, ſend directions to my mini- " ſters in Holland, to concur with the States, in " providing the troops accordingly."

The lords addreſs on the ſame occaſion.

The ſame papers having been laid, by her Majeſty's commands, before the houſe of lords, the 13th, their lordſhips preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which they returned her Majeſty thanks for communicating the ſeveral letters and memorials of the States-general to that houſe; adding, " that having taken notice how much time had " been already ſpent in this negociation, and with " what repeated and preſſing inſtances the States- " general had repreſented the apprehenſions they " were under, from the extraordinary and forward " preparations of the French, the lords took leave " humbly to adviſe her Majeſty, that without any " farther loſs of time, ſhe would be pleaſed to agree " to the propoſals made to her Majeſty, by the " States-general, for ſuch an augmentation of " forces, as might diſappoint the great and early " preparations of France, and effectually ſupport " and defend the common cauſe; and they, far- " ther, humbly acquainted her Majeſty, that it " was the opinion of that houſe, that her Majeſty's " furniſhing her quota of the augmentation of " troops in the Low-countries, would be ineffectual, " unleſs all correſpondence with France and Spain, " by letters, or otherwiſe, be totally prohibited by " the States-general, and all other her Majeſty's " allies."

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Her Majeſty's anſwer to this addreſs was:

The Queen's anſwer.

" That no time ſhould be loſt, in relation to the " augmentation of troops, and the prohibition of " the commerce by letters, recommended in this " addreſs."

Reaſons for inſiſting on this prohibition.

Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid, and particularly by biſhop Burnet, to make this proceeding appear too harſh and ill-natured, with regard to the Dutch, the parliament had certainly very cogent and juſtifiable reaſons for it. Among other motives which induced that illuſtrious body to inſiſt ſo ſtrenuouſly on this prohibition, the chief may probably have been the great difficulty the court of France labor'd under, at this time, to make remitances of mony, to maintain their army in Italy; and to ſend ſubſidies to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany: which the parliament of England (and indeed every one elſe) juſtly preſumed the French could not do, without the aſſiſtance of Engliſh and Dutch merchants. This opinion was likewiſe confirmed by a late diſcovery made by the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, of an unlawful intercourſe of bills of exchange, between ſome French bankers, at Paris, and ſome citizens of London (1). But to return to the occaſional conformity bill.

Debate on the occaſional conformity bill.

The 8th of January, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to deſire a new conference, the next day, in the painted-chamber, upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, on the bill intitled: " an " act for preventing occaſional conformity," which was readily granted: the managers for the commons, having met the lords at the conference, their lordſhips inſiſted upon all their amendments to the bill; which being reported to the commons by mr. Bromley, and his report taken into conſideration, on the 11th of January, the queſtion was put, " that the houſe ſhould inſiſt upon their diſagree- " ing with the lords in the ſaid amendments, and " carried in the affirmative." It was, thereupon, reſolved; that a free conference be deſired with the lords upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference: to which their lordſhips having readily agreed, and appointed the ſame to be on the 16th of the ſame

(1) This illicite and clandeſtine correſpondence and trade, carried on openly by the Dutch, with the common enemy, and which, notwithſtanding this notice taken of it, was, as it has been ſaid, continued during the whole war, even to the furniſhing them with arms and ammunion, was of ſo great an advantage to them, that ſome have ventured to ſay, they were gainers by the war, while we, out of an exceſs of generoſity (but too common with us) were plunging our ſelves into debts and difficulties to ſupport the common cauſe, and ſcorned to take advantage of theſe under-hand practices, to the detriment of it, tho' to our own impoveriſhment, and notwithſtanding we had the ſame right to it as they: for tho' there were perhaps, ſome few here, who underhand were concern'd in theſe unlawful practices; yet all commerce with France was ſtrictly forbid by the government, and all poſſible meaſures taken to prevent it.

Biſhop Burnet, tho' an advocate for the Dutch, in this caſe, and tho' he thinks they were treated in it very indecently, is obliged to own, that France could not have ſupplied their armies in Italy, but by the means of this ſecret trade: but he pretends the impoſing it on the Dutch, in the manner in which this was preſſed, carried in it too high a ſtrain of authority over them: but, in this, I muſt beg leave to diſſent from our prelate. It was a favor the Dutch deſired of us, for their own immediate advantage and ſecurity; and, in return, we inſiſted on no more, than what we had a right to demand, even without this conſideration: where then is the hardſhip? The argument the biſhop makes uſe of in their favor, viz. " That their country, " ſubſiſted by their trade", will hold as good with reſpect to our nation. The States reſolved, however, to comply with England in every thing (at leaſt in ſhew) and tho' (as the biſhop ſays) they did not like the manner of demanding this, yet they readily conſented to it: (and, if they are not wrong'd, as readily broke thro' it again.)

month,

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month in the painted-chamber, the commons order'd, that their members, who managed the laſt conference, viz. mr. Bromley, mr. St. John, mr. Finch, mr. ſolicitor-general, and ſir Thomas Powis, ſhould manage the ſaid free conference, and ſeveral others were added to them: while, on the ſide of the lords, the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Peterborough, and the lords Sommers and Hallifax, were appointed managers (1); but all to no purpoſe; the lords perſiſting in their amendments, and the commons in diſagreeing to them; and ſo the bill was loſt (2).

The bill loſt.

While the occaſional conformity-bill was depending, Daniel de Foe, the author of the True-born Engliſhman, who himſelf was a Diſſenter, publiſh'd an anonymous libel, pretended to be in order to exaſperate the parliament againſt the Diſſenters, or rather, as it was generally believed, to turn into ridicule, what they call'd the immoderate zeal of the High-church party, and to inſinnate, that the commons were about to re-eſtabliſh ſanguinary laws, in matters of religion. This ſcandalous libel (for ſuch it is taken either way) was intitled, "The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters", and was fill'd with bitter invectives (3) againſt them and their principles, the tendency of which was covered

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(1) The commons, in their reaſons, alledg'd, that the intent of this bill, for preventing occaſional conformity, was only to reſtrain a very ſcandalous practice, which is a reproach to religion, gives offenſe to all Chriſtians, and to the beſt among the Diſſenters themſelves: that this bill inacted nothing new, and was only intended to make the laws in being more effectual. That thoſe laws were thought ſufficient to ſecure our eſtabliſhment, but ſince the invention and iniquity of man had found out ways to elude them, the commons could never doubt but the lords would let thoſe men ſee, they would not be wanting, on their part, to maintain and ſupport them. That this bill appear'd to the commons abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing thoſe miſchiefs, which muſt prove deſtructive to the church and monarchy; that the commons were incapable of having any deſigns they were aſhamed to own; and as they intended nothing but the preſervation of the church of England, and the Monarchy, ſo they doubted not but to meet a ready concurrence from the lords in theſe deſigns. That an eſtabliſh'd religion, and a national church, are abſolutely neceſſary, when ſo many ill men pretend to inſpiration, and when there are ſo many weak men to follow them: that if a national church be neceſſary, the only effectual way to preſerve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of thoſe whoſe practiſes and principles are conformable to it. That when the corporation-act was made, the parliament had freſh in their minds, the confuſion and calamities that had been brought upon the nation, by ſuch as pretended to be, at the ſame time, in the true intereſt of religion and of their country. That the parliament by that act, and afterwards by the teſt-act, thought they had ſecured our eſtabliſhment, both in church and ſtate; and that they had provided a ſufficient barrier to defeat and diſappoint any attempts againſt them, by inacting, that all in offices ſhould receive the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England, and never imagined, that a ſet of men could at any time riſe up, whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, but hardned enough to break them; that as, upon the revolution, the laſt reign begun with an act in favor of the Diſſenters, ſo the commons did deſire in the begining of her Majeſty's auſpicious reign, an act might paſs in favor of the church of England, that the laws, which had been evaded, might now be effectually inforced, and that thoſe men might be kept out of offices, who have ſhewn they never wanted the will, when they had the power, to deſtroy the church: and that nothing had been more miſ-repreſented than this bill; which did not, in any reſpect, intrench on the act of toleration, or take from the Diſſenters any one privilege they have by law, or give any one privilege to the church of England, which was not, at leaſt, intended her by the laws, as they now ſtand.

The commons, then deſcending to particulars, inſiſted on their diſagreement to an alteration the lords had made, in the preamble of the bill; where it was recited, that the laws intended all people in office ſhould be conformable to the church. They alſo diſagreed to their lordſhips amendment in relation to the penalty: they ſaid, if their lordſhips pleaſed to conſider how much greater the penalties, in other penal laws were, in many inſtances, than in this bill, they preſumed the lords could not think thoſe in this bill exceſſive: that, in laying penalties, the commons ſhall always indeavor to make them ſuch, as ſhall neither tempt to perjury, nor totally diſcourage informations and proſecutions; which, they thought this amendment of the lords would do, could the commons agree to it. As to the commons diſagreeing to their lordſhips 9th amendment, they alledg'd, that the puniſhment of incapacity, the re-capacitating, and the increaſe of puniſhment for a ſecond offenſe, are warranted by many precedents of the like nature, in other penal laws: that an incapacity, as qualified by the ſubſequent proviſo, is a very proper puniſhment: that a ſecond offenſe is a relapſe, or apoſtacy; which are circumſtances that aggravate and make it more heinous then the firſt offenſe, and therefore deſerve an increaſe of puniſhment: that he is, indeed, reduced to a very unhappy condition, who is made incapable of ſerving his Prince and country. But, in the preſent caſe, our Prince and country would be in a more unhappy condition to be ſerved by ſuch, whoſe principles are inconſiſtent with the good and welfare of our eſtabliſhment. That the commons could never imagine the lords would infer from this incapacity, the taking away the toleration. That the toleration was intended only for the eaſe of tender and ſcrupulous conſciences, and not to give a licenſe for occaſional conformity. That conforming and non-conforming are contradictions; nothing but a firm perſuaſion, that our terms of communion are ſinful and unlawful, can juſtify the one, and plainly condemns the other. Laſtly, as to the commons diſagreeing to the clauſes mark'd A B C D, their managers urged, that the exempting Proteſtant Diſſenters from ſerving offices, would rather eſtabliſh occaſional non-conformity, than prevent occaſional conformity; and therefore, increaſe, and not cure, the evil the bill was intended to remedy: that the act of uniformity, which eſtabliſhes the liturgy and practiſe of the church of England, has provided for the ſermons or lectures, preach'd or read in the univerſities. That thoſe ſermons and lectures having been in ſuch manner provided for, it was not thought neceſſary, when the acts paſs'd, in the 16th and 22d of Car. II. to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles (in both which acts conventicles are deſcribed, as in this bill) to have any particular exceptions for them, and yet they were never, by any conſtruction, taken to be conventicles. That the allowing an exemption to ſuch as ſhould be preſent, at the exerciſes in forein reformed churches, would be to open a door for the evading this law. That the places of governors in ſome hoſpitals are very conſiderable preferments, and given as ſuch to the clergy of the church of England; and the commons can never conſent, by any law, to let in the Diſſenters to the injoyment of them.

The lords, on the other hand, tho' they allow'd occaſional conformity to be a ſcandal to religion, ſaid, that this ſeemed to be a breaking in upon the toleration: that the nation had been quiet ever ſince the toleration-act had been made, and that the Diſſenters, who were not obnoxious, but well affected to the preſent government, had loſt more ground by it than the church: that the nation was ingaged in a great war, and it was not prudent to incourage animoſities in religion at ſuch a time: that the fines were exceſſive, and would induce informers to proſecute innocent men; and that every one would be expoſed to the malice of profligate villains and wicked ſervants.

To which the commons replied, that the bill eſtabliſh'd the toleration, inſtead of weakening it: that the fines were ſuited to the nature of the caſe, and that the lords could not alter a fine: that it was the practiſe of all governments, even of Holland itſelf, not to admit any Diſſenters to the eſtabliſh'd church to any ſhare in the government; and, if there was no precedent for it, the thing itſelf was ſo reaſonable, that none could oppoſe it, who had not ſome ſiniſter view; for it could never be imagined, that Diſſenters, whoſe principles led them to deſtroy the church, would not advance its intereſts, but rather ruin the church, if power was put into their hands; or that republicans, in place, would not contribute to the ſubverting the Monarchy, rather than the defending it. In ſhort, that if any government was ſo ſottiſh, to put the civil or military power into the hands of their enemies, they muſt expect to feel the ill conſequences of it; and even in a time of war, the adminiſtration would be much ſafer in the hands of its friends, than of its profeſs'd enemies.

(2) It has been obſerved upon this occaſion, that the majority of the temporal lords, were ſatisfy'd with this laſt reply of the commons; but that the biſhops made in the laſt reign fell into the oppoſite ſcale, and that, with them, one vote only loſt the bill.

(3) After many others, of the like kind, were the following: "that this was the time to pull up this heretical weed of ſedition, "that had ſo long diſturbed the peace of the church, and poiſon'd the good corn: if it ſhould be objected, that this renewing fire "and faggot would be cruelty, and accounted barbarous, he anſwered; that 'tis cruelty to kill a ſnake or a toad, in cold blood; "but the poiſon of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbors to deſtroy thoſe creatures, not for any perſonal injury "received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do: and that as ſerpents, toads and "vipers are noxious to the body, and poiſon the ſenſitive life; ſo the Diſſenters poiſon the ſoul, corrupt our poſterity, inſnare "our children, deſtroy the vitals of our happineſs, our future felicity, and contaminate the whole maſs, and, therefore, they "are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we would live in peace, ſerve God, and injoy our own.

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with too thin a varniſh not to be ſeen thro' ; the commons, therefore, taking theſe dangerous inſinuations under their conſideration, ordered, on the 25th of February, the pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be proſecuted at law.

Proceedings againſt the lord Halliſax.

The commons were, in the mean time, entered upon another affair, which made a great noiſe, and very much augmented the differences which the occaſional conformity-bill had excited between the two houſes of parliament ; I mean the proceedings upon the reports of the commiſſioners of the public accounts, of which I have already made ſome mention, with regard to the earl of Ranelagh. The 26th of January, colonel Bierly, from the ſaid commiſſioners, preſented to the houſe, their report, purſuant to an order, by which they were directed to examine the auditor, and other officers of the exchequer, relating to the paſſing of the accounts of the public mony, and to lay before the houſe, what they ſhould find to be the cauſe, that the accounts were not annually and duly paſs'd, according to the laws in that caſe, and thro' whoſe default it had happened. This report, and ſeveral paragraphs of the commiſſioners obſervations, being read, the houſe reſolved :

1. " That Charles, lord Hallifax, auditor of the " receit of the exchequer, had neglected his duty, " and was guilty of a breach of truſt, in not tranſ- " miting the impreſs'd rolls, half-yearly to the " King's remembrancer, according to the late " ſtatute, made in the eight and ninth year of King " William.

2. " That the allowing accomptants the charges " of law-ſuits to determine the right of their offices, " was a miſapplication of the public mony.

3. " That the auditors of the impreſt had been " guilty of a great neglect of their duty, in not " certifying to the King's remembrancer, the " neglect of the ſeveral annual accounts, that " proceſs might go out againſt them : and,

4. That there had been a general miſmanage- " ment of the public mony, by not obliging ac- " comptants to make up their accounts, and by " continuing receivers in ſeveral counties, contrary " to law, who had neglected to make up their ac- " counts in due time, which had been a great abuſe " of the public, and another cauſe of the great debt " that lay upon the nation."

The 27th, the commons having proceeded in the farther conſideration of the obſervations of the commiſſioners of public accounts, reſolved :

1. That the mony impreſs'd out of the exche- " quer, for the ſervice of the public, ought to be " kept by the reſpective officers, in their own " cuſtody, untill the ſame ſhall be paid to the uſes " for which it was directed.

2. " That Charles, lord Hallifax, auditor of the " receit of exchequer, had been guilty of a breach of " truſt, in not examining, every three months, the " tellers-vouchers for the payments, upon the annuities " which he allowed in his weekly certificates, ac- " cording to the aforementioned act of parlia- " ment.

3. " That the reſolutions relating to the lord " Hallifax, be laid before her Majeſty ; and,

4. " That an addreſs be preſented to her Ma- " jeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions, " to the attorny-general, to proſecute him, for " the ſaid offenſes."

The 7th of February, colonel Granville acquainted the houſe, that the Queen had been pleaſed to ſay : " ſhe would ſend to the attorny-general, " and give him her directions, purſuant to this " addreſs." Q. Ann, An' 1703.

The ſame day, the commons reſumed the adjourned debate, upon the laſt obſervation of the commiſſioners for public accounts ; and the reſolutions of the 4th and 7th of December, relating to the earl of Ranelagh, being read, it was reſolved ; " That the ſaid earl, being guilty of a high-crime " and miſdemeanor in miſapplying ſeveral ſums of " the public mony, be expell'd the houſe ; and " that an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, upon " the narrative, repreſentation, and obſervation of " the ſaid commiſſioners, and upon the reſolution " of the houſe of commons thereupon, and upon " the debate of the houſe " (1). The earl of Ranelagh expell'd the houſe of commons.

The lords, on the other hand, apprehending they had an equal right, with the commons, to examine the public accounts, and having gone thro' ſeveral papers laid before them by mr. King, ſecretary to the commiſſioners of accounts, and likewiſe appointed a commitee to conſider of the obſervations made by the ſaid commiſſioners ; which commitee, having ſat, for that purpoſe, reported to the houſe of peers ; " that tho' the commiſſioners of accounts " had notice of the commitee's ſiting, yet none of " them attended ; and, therefore, the commitee " was of opinion, that a meſſage be ſent to the " houſe of commons, that they might have leave " to attend." This meſſage was accordingly ſent, the 4th of February ; and, the next day, the commons having taken the ſame into conſideration, appointed a commitee, " to inſpect the journals, and " to ſearch precedents, relating to what had been " done upon the lords deſiring members of the " houſe of commons, to attend the houſe of lords, " and in relation to the lords inſpecting and examining accounts : " which took up ſome time : however, the lords proceeded in their examinations, and, after a farther report of their commitee made by the duke of Sommerſet, on the ſaid 5th of February, and read, in the houſe of peers, together with the examinations taken upon oath, by the commitee, and the dates and indorſements of the ſeveral impreſs'd rolls, deliver'd by mr. Barker, deputy to her Majeſty's remembrancer, the queſtion was put ; " whether this houſe would agree to the opinion of " the committee, in this report ? " which being carried in the affirmative, it was reſolved and declared, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled ; " that Charles, lord Hallifax, " auditor of the receit of the exchequer, has per- " formed the duty of his office, in tranſmiting " the ordinary impreſs'd rolls to the Queen's re- " membrancer, according to the ancient cuſtom of " the exchequer, and the direction of the act " viii and ix. Gulielmi iii. regis, intitled ", an act for the better obſervation of the courſe anciently uſed in the receit of the exchequer ; " and that he " has not been guilty of any neglect or breach of " truſt upon that account." At the ſame time, their lordſhips ordered their proceedings in this affair, to be forthwith printed and publiſh'd.

The lords examine the public accounts.

And clear the lord Hallifax.

The commons, who were by no means ſatisfied with this honorable acquital of the lord Hallifax, ordered their commitee, on the 12th, to ſearch the journals of the houſe of lords, and report their lordſhips proceedings, relating to this matter. This report being made, and, purſuant to farther orders, the ſame commitee

Difference between the two houſes thereupon.

(1) Biſhop Burnet is very ſevere upon the houſe of commons, with regard to this addreſs, and boldly aſſerts, " that there was " not one article in all the long addreſs, the commons had made to the Queen on this ſubject (of any importance) that was not " falſe in fact" : (hiſtory of his own times.) To which, a late hiſtorian anſwers : " this is the moſt falſe and ſcandalous aſſer- " tion, upon a whole houſe of commons, that ever had a place in hiſtory ; and, if any of the biſhops friends will enter into a " fair ſcrutiny of that matter, I will be content his whole hiſtory ſhould paſs for goſpel, if I do not demonſtrate the commons " had good grounds for that addreſs. Salmon's modern hiſtory, Vol. xxv. p. 122.

having

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Q. ANN, having drawn up reaſons to be offered to the lords, at a conference upon the ſubject-matter of their lordſhips meſſage of the 4th, theſe reaſons were reported, by colonel Glanville, on the 16th, and were in ſubſtance:

"That the commons could not comply with "their lordſhips deſires, contained in their meſſage "of the 4th of that month, becauſe they were "ſtill of the ſame opinion, as was delivered to "their lordſhips, in February 1691, at a free con-"ference upon the ſubject-matter of the amend-"ments made by the lords, to the additional bill, "for the appointing and inabling commiſſioners "to examine, take and ſtate the public accounts "of the kingdom, when they deſired to know the "end their lordſhips would propoſe to themſelves, "by an inquiry into the public accounts: for, ſaid "they, ſhould there appear to have been any "miſapplication of the public mony, or a default "in the diſtribution, your lordſhips cannot take "cogniſance thereof originally, or otherwiſe, even "in your judicial capacity, than at the complaint "of the commons; and, ſhould a failure, or want "of mony, appear, 'tis not in your lordſhips power "to redreſs it, for the grant of all aids is in the "commons only: or, if there be any ſurpluſage, "the commons only can apply it to the charge "of the inſuing year.

"But, ſhould the commons give leave to the "commiſſioners to attend your lordſhips, no in-"formation they can give againſt any perſon "whomſoever, can intitle your lordſhips either to "acquit or condemn: yet, ſince this meſſage, the "commons find, in your lordſhips journals, a re-"ſolution, declaring, that Charles, lord Hallifax, "auditor of the receit of the exchequer, has per-"formed the duty of his office, &c. which looks, "to the commons, as if your lordſhips pretended "to give judgment of acquital, without any accu-"ſation brought before your lordſhips, and conſe-"quently without any trial: and that which makes "your lordſhips proceedings yet more irregular, "it tends to prejudging a cauſe, which might re-"gularly have come before you, either originally, "by impeachment, or by writ of error, from the "courts below: and, therefore, the commons "can ſee no uſe of your reſolution, unleſs it be ei-"ther to intimidate the judges, or prepoſſeſs a jury. "But if your lordſhips could have judg'd, in this "matter, it does not appear by your lordſhips "journals, that you have had, under examination, "the reſpective times of tranſmiting the ſeveral "impreſs'd rolls to the Queen's remembrancer: "without which it is impoſſible to know, whether "the auditor of the receit has done his duty ac-"cording to the late act of parliament".

Theſe reaſons being approved by the houſe, a meſſenger was immediately ſent to the lords to deſire a conference; to which the lords having agreed, the 17th, the managers for the commons delivered the ſaid reaſons to their lordſhips.

The lords, who were not a little provok'd at theſe reſolutions of the commons, came, on the 18th, to the following reſolutions:

1. "That the lords have an undoubted right "(which they can never ſuffer to be conteſted) to "take congizance originally of all public accounts, "and to inquire into any miſapplication or default "in the diſtribution of public monies, or into any "other miſmanagement whatſoever.

2. "That the lords, in their inquiry into the "examination of the obſervations of the commiſ-"ſioners of accounts, in relation to Charles, lord "Hallifax, and in their reſolution, thereupon, had "proceeded according to the rules of juſtice, and "the evidence that was before them: and,

3. "That the commons, in their reaſons deli-"ver'd at the laſt conference, had uſed ſeveral ex-"preſſions and arguments, highly reflecting, and "altogether unparliamentary, tending to deſtroy all "good correſpondence between the two houſes, and "to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution."

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The Queen, apprehending the conſequences of theſe differences between the two houſes, ſent a meſſage, on the 22d of February, to the lords, by the earl of Nottingham, to deſire them to make a quick diſpatch of the buſineſs before them: upon which, the commons reſolved; "that an addreſs "be preſented to her Majeſty, humbly to lay be-"fore her, that the commons had already diſ-"patch'd all the neceſſary buſineſs before them". The ſame day, their lordſhips communicated their laſt reſolutions to the commons, at a conference by them deſired and appointed.

The commons having taken theſe reſolutions into conſideration, the next day, reſolved that a free conference be deſired with the lords, upon the ſubject-matter of the two laſt: which being done, accordingly, the 25th, their lordſhips appointed the ſame immediately, in the painted-chamber, and named the lord ſteward, the earl of Carliſle, and the lords Herbert, Hallifax and Ferrer, to be their managers.

The managers for the commons, at the head of whom was the learned mr. Finch, open'd the particulars, which they had in direction to inſiſt on; and were as follows;

1. "That no cognizance the lords can take of "the public accounts, can inable them to ſupply "any deficiency, or to apply any ſurpluſage of the "public mony.

2. "That the lords can neither acquit nor con-"demn any perſon whomſoever, upon any inquiry "ariſing originally in their own houſe.

3. "That the attempt the lords have made to "acquit Charles lord Hallifax, auditor of the re-"ceit of the exchequer, is unparliamentary, and "not warranted by any precedent: and the reſo-"lution, thereupon, plainly contrary to what ap-"pears on the records themſelves.

4. "That the conference deſired by the com-"mons, was in order to preſerve a good u der-"ſtanding between both houſes, by offering reaſons "to prevent the lords from proceeding in a caſe "which they had no precedent to warrant: and the "commons expreſſing the conſequences which they "apprehended might follow from that reſolution, "was neither reflecting nor unparliamentary, or "tending to deſtroy the good correſpondence be-"tween the two houſes, much leſs to the ſubver-"ſion of the conſtitution: and,

5. "That the lords delivering, at a con-"ference, their reſolutions inſtead of reaſons, in "anſwer to the reaſons of the commons, is not "agreeable to the ancient rules and methods of "parliament, obſerved in conferences between the "two houſes."

To all which, he added, "that when they ac-"quainted their lordſhips, that the expreſſing the "conſequences, which they apprehended might "follow from their lordſhips reſolutions, it was not "a charge upon their lordſhips, that they intended "that conſequence; but they would have been "very glad their lordſhips would have been plea-"ſed to have let them know, what uſe was to be "made of it, or what they intended by it: "and concluded, that if their lordſhips did con-"travert any of theſe points, they were ready to "maintain them."

The lords made no anſwer to any of theſe particulars, ſave to the matter of the reſolution relating to the lord Hallifax, upon which they acknowledged: "that they were no court of inquiry, "to form any accuſation: that their proceedings,

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" in relation to that lord, was no trial; nor was " their reſolution any judgment or acquital; but " that he might ſtill be proſecuted as before. But " what gave occaſion to that proceeding was the " reſolution of the houſe of commons, which they " found in the printed votes, reflecting upon a " member in their houſe, and whereupon they " thought fit to give their opinion, which they did " in their legiſlative authority."

The commons rejoin'd largely, and the earl of Hallifax having, to conclude, ſpoken in his own juſtification, the conference broke up; and the members being returned to their reſpective houſes, the commons ordered their managers to draw up a report of the ſaid free conference; after which, a motion was made, " that the votes of the houſe of " commons ſhould not be printed, and that this " might be a ſtanding order;" which being carried, in the affirmative, occaſioned various diſcourſes, both in the city and country. The lords, on the contrary, ordered their proceedings, in relation to the occaſional conformity bill, and the public accounts, to be forthwith printed, whereupon the commons reſolved to publiſh theirs likewiſe.

Acts paſs'd.

The 27th of February, the Queen went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent; 1. " To " the land-tax bill, of four ſhillings in the pound. " 2. To an act to inable her Majeſty to ſettle a " revenue of 100,000 l. per ann. on the Prince " of Denmark, in caſe he ſurvived her. 3. To " the malt-tax bill. 4. To an act for continuing " the duty upon coals. 5. An act for granting " an aid to her Majeſty, by the ſale of annuities " (1). 6. An act for preventing eſcapes out of " the King's-bench and fleet-priſons. 7. An act " for finiſhing and adorning the cathedral of St. " Paul's. 8. An act for the puniſhment of acceſ- " ſaries to felonies, and the receivers of ſtolen " goods. 9. An act for inlarging the time, for " taking the abjuration-oath, and for the farther " ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, " and extinguiſhing the hopes of the Pretender. " 10. An act for ſtating and examining the pub- " lic accounts. And, 11, An act for advancing " the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland;" with ſome others.

This done, her Majeſty made the following remarkable ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I return you my hearty thanks for the great " diſpatch you have given to the public affairs in " this ſeſſion, which is an advantage extreamly " material at all times, and I hope we ſhall find " the fruit of it this year, in the forwardneſs " of our preparations.

" I am to thank you, gentlemen of the houſe " of commons, in particular, for the great ſup- " plies with which you inable me to carry on " the war: it ſhall be my care, to have them " ſtrictly applied to the uſes for which you have " deſigned them, and to the beſt advantage for " the public ſervice: you have repoſed great " confidence in me, by allowing ſo unuſual a la- " titude as you have done in the clauſe of ap- " propriation. I ſhall improve all opportunities " in the uſe of it, for the honor and true intereſt " of the nation.

" I muſt farther take notice to you, that the " readineſs you have ſhewn, in the proviſion made " for the Prince, is a very ſenſible obligation " to me.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" I deſire and expect from you, that you " make it your buſineſs, in your ſeveral coun- " tries, to continue and preſerve the quiet and ſa- " tisfaction of all my ſubjects. I hope, that ſuch " of them, as have the misfortune to diſſent from " the church of England, will reſt ſecure and ſa- " tisfied in the act of toleration, which I am " firmly reſolved to maintain: and that all thoſe, " who have the happineſs and advantage to be of " our church, will conſider, that I have had my " education in it, and that I have been willing " to run great hazards for its preſervation; and, " therefore, they may be very ſure, I ſhall al- " ways make it my own particular care, to in- " courage and maintain this church, as by law " eſtabliſh'd, and every the leaſt member of it, " in all their juſt rights and privileges; and upon " all occaſions of promotions to any eccleſiaſtical " dignity, I ſhall have a very juſt regard to ſuch " as are eminent and remarkable for their piety, " learning, and conſtant zeal for the church; " that by this, and all other methods, which " ſhall be thought proper, I may tranſmit it ſe- " curely ſettled to poſterity.

" I think it might have been for the public " ſervice, to have had ſome farther laws for re- " ſtraining the great licenſe which is aſſumed of " publiſhing and ſpreading ſcandalous pamphlets " and libels; but as far as the preſent laws will " extend, I hope you will all do your duty in " your reſpective ſtations, to prevent and puniſh " ſuch pernicious practiſes.

" Above all other things, I do recommend to " you, peace and union among yourſelves, as " the moſt effectual means, that can be deviſed, " to diſcourage and defeat the deſigns of our ene- " mies.

" I muſt not conclude without acquainting " you, I have given directions, that my part of " all the prizes, which have been, or ſhall be " taken during this war, be applied intirely to " the public ſervice, and I hope my own reve- " nue will not fall ſo ſhort, but that I may be " able, as I deſire, to contribute yet farther to the " eaſe of thy people."

The parliament prorogued.

After which, the lord-keeper, by the Queen's command, prorogued the parliament to the 22d of April next inſuing (2).

The diſputes in convocation reviv'd.

The convocation having been aſſembled, at the ſame time the parliament met, the former controverſy was revived, between the upper and lower houſe, concerning the power of the lower houſe to adjourn themſelves, and ſeveral papers paſs'd between them, on that account: but all proving ineffectual, the lower houſe, in the end, propoſed, that the biſhops would join with them in an addreſs to the Queen; praying, that her Majeſty, out of her tender regard to the peace and good order of the church, would pleaſe to take this controverſy into her conſideration, and appoint ſuch perſons, as ſhe, in her wiſdom ſhould chuſe, to hear and determine it.

In anſwer to this propoſal of the lower houſe, the biſhops obſerved, that they affected to expreſs themſelves in a manner, that ſet the two houſes

(1) By this act each contributor for every 210 l. paid in, was to receive fourteen pound per ann. for ninety-nine years.

(2) Beſide what I have already mentioned, there were ſeveral other bills loſt this ſeſſion: as, an ingroſſed bill from the lords; " For the better carrying on the preſent war, both by ſea and land, in the Weſt-Indies;" which was poſtponed and loſt in the houſe of commons: a bill from the commons, " For the more free and impartial proceedings in parliament, by " providing, that no perſon ſhall be choſen a member of the houſe of commons, but ſuch as have a ſufficient real eſtate;" which was rejected by the lords: and a bill from the commons; " concerning the ſale of the hoſpital of the Savoy;" which they, likewiſe rejected.

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upon ſuch an equality, as they judg'd inconſiſtent with the epiſcopal authority, and the preſidency of the archbiſhop over the whole convocation, and to lead to ſuch an independency of preſbyters upon their biſhops, as the clergy of the lower houſe, in former times, never pretended to: that they were abundantly aſſured of her Majeſty's tender regard to the peace and good order of the church, but could not think it proper to trouble her with this controverſy, it not being in their power to part with any of thoſe rights, with which they were intruſted, by the conſtitution of the church, and the laws and cuſtoms of the realm.

Semper Eadem, the Queen's motto.

This winter, the earl of Carliſle, earl marſhal of England, gave public notice of her Majeſty's pleaſure, that whenever there ſhould be occaſion to imbroider, depict, grave, carve or paint her Majeſty's arms, the words Semper Eadem ſhould be uſed for the motto, being the ſame with that of her great predeceſſor, Queen Elizabeth.

Promotions, creations, &c.

The latter end of February, the major-generals, William Stuart and Thomas Earl, eſqs; the lords Portmore, Cuts, Lumley, Tiviot, and major-general Ramſey, were made lieutenant-generals of her Majeſty's forces: and the earl of Rocheſter having reſign'd the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the duke of Ormond was, ſome time before this, appointed to ſucceed him. The 9th of March, John Sheffield, marquis of Normanby, was created duke of the ſame name, to which the title of duke of Buckinghamſhire was afterwards added: John Granville, eſq; was made baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, eſq; baron of Guernſey, in the county of Southampton; ſir John Leviſon Gower, baron Gower, of Sittenham, in the county of York; Francis Seymour Conway, eſq: younger ſon of ſir Edward Seymour, by a ſecond venter, baron Conway of Ragley, in the county of Warwick, with a remainder to his brother, Charles Seymour, eſq; and John Harvey, eſq; baron Harvey of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk. The 11th, the marquis of Carmarthen, was advanced from the poſt of vice-admiral of the white, to that of vice-admiral of the red, of her Majeſty's fleet; John Graydon, eſq; from rear-admiral of the white, to vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, and John Leake eſq; from rear-admiral of the blue, to be vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron. At the ſame time, George Byng, eſq; was appointed to be rear-admiral of the red, Thomas Dilkes, eſq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, eſq; rear-admiral of the blue. The 13th, three knights-companions of the moſt noble order of the garter were inſtall'd in St. George's chappel, at Windſor: viz. his moſt ſerene highneſs, the elector of Hanover, by his proxy, the lord Mohun; the duke of Bedford, in perſon, and the duke of Marlborough, by his proxy, ſir Benjamin Bathurſt. The 20th, the archbiſhop of York, the earl of Thanet, and the lord Guernſey, were called to the privy-council: the next day, Gervas Pierpoint, eſq; was created baron Pierpoint of Anglas, in the kingdom of Ireland: and, on the 24th, the earl of Rutland was made marquis of Granby, and duke of Rutland, and Edward Harley, eſq; was appointed auditor of the impreſt, in the room of Thomas Done, eſq; deceas'd, ſir John Verney, baronet: was created baron Verney, of Belturbet, and viſcount Fermanagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, and the duke of Schomberg was appointed general of the Engliſh and Dutch auxiliaries, which were to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the King of Portugal, who came this ſpring, into the grand alliance, and his grace was ſoon after elected knight of the moſt noble order of the garter.

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Affairs of Scotland.

The convention of the ſtates, which aſſembled in Scotland at the revolution, and was afterwards turn'd into a parliament, had been continued as ſuch during all King William's reign. This was complained of, as a great grievance, without a precedent, and an invaſion on their old conſtitution, by which a parliament was to be choſen annually. Her Majeſty was therefore pleaſed, this year to gratify her people of Scotland, by calling a new parliament; which met on the 6th of May, when her Majeſty's letter was preſented to them, by the duke of Queenſborough, the lord-high commiſſioner, in which, among other things ſhe told them: "That ſhe had, on ſeveral occaſions, given "them aſſurance of her firm reſolution, to main- "tain and protect them in their religion, rights "and liberties, as eſtabliſh'd by law, and ſhould "be always ready to do every thing elſe that was "wanting, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of "that her ancient kingdom. She recommended "to them, the ſtate of the forces and gariſons, "and the giving ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for "carrying on the war, and for the ſafety of their "country. She alſo recommended to them the "incouragement of their trade, the promoting "religion and virtue, the ſuppreſſing vice and im- "morality, and providing for the poor. She "ſaid, ſhe had appointed the duke of Queens- "borough, her high commiſſioner, being ſatiſ- "fied his great experience and abilities would "render him acceptable to them. She ſaid, ſhe "recommended nothing to them at this their firſt "meeting, but what was for their ſecurity and wel- "fare, and confidently expected a ſuitable return, "and a cheerful concurrence in what ſhe propoſed; "and that all animoſities being laid aſide, they "would, with concord and diligence, bring mat- "ters to ſuch a happy concluſion, as ſhould eſtabliſh "a laſting union between her and her people."

A new parliament choſen.

The Queen's letter to the parliament.

This letter being read, the high commiſſioner, and the earl of Seaforth, lord chancellor, made each of them a ſpeech, to back the purport of the letter: "The duke of Hamilton then offer'd the "draught of an act for recognizing and aſſerting "her Majeſty's authority, and her undoubted "right and title, to the Imperial crown of that "kingdom;" this act being read, it was, by unanimous conſent, ordered to be read a ſecond time: and then the houſe adjourning for ſome days, they return'd to her Majeſty's palace, where the lord commiſſioner had prepared a noble entertainment (1.) The 15th, the chancellor moved for a ſecond reading of this act, in order to its being paſs'd; but, before it went to the vote, the Queen's advocate propoſed the inſerting a clauſe, "making it treaſon to quarrel her Majeſty's right "and title to the crown, or the exerciſe of the "government, from her actual entry on the ſame." This clauſe, duke Hamilton, and thoſe who adhered to him, oppoſed, alledging that the miniſtry only propoſed it, as being conſcious they had, contrary to law, been inſtrumental in adviſing her Majeſty to exerciſe ſome acts of adminiſtration, ſuch as the calling together the late parliament,

An act for acknowledging her Majeſty's title.

(1) This entertainment was very ſolemn and grand: at one end of the room was a table raiſed two or three ſteps, where his grace ſat alone, and was ſerved at table by the duke of Argyle, as maſter of the houſhold, who gave the firſt glaſs kneeling; the earl of Mar ſerved as carver; the earl of Loudon as cup-bearer; the lord Boyle as comptroler; and ſir William Erſtruther baronet, as under maſter of the houſhold. Down from the commiſſioner's table, there was a table of about 120 foot long, where the nobility, barons and burgeſſes ſat.

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which had continued during all the late reign, and promoting in it ſome commiſſions, laws and powers, which were plainly beyond thoſe limitations, which determined the being of that parliament, and circumſcrib'd its power. It was, however, carried for this clauſe, and the bill having been twice read, had the royal aſſent, the nineteenth (1).

An act of toleration rejected.

An act "for the toleration of all Proteſtants, "in the exerciſe of religious worſhip," was, likewiſe, propos'd in this parliament: upon which a repreſentation was offered againſt it, in the name, and at the appointment of the general aſſembly of the kirk; in which they inſiſted, "That there "could be no juſt ground to grant a toleration to "thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, ſince there "was no ſinful condition of communion required "of them, and difference in opinion about "church-government was not a ſufficient reaſon "for ſeparation in worſhip: and that to grant a "toleration to that party, in the preſent circum-"ſtances of that church and nation, would ſhake "the foundations of their happy conſtitution. We "therefore (ſaid they) moſt humbly beſeech, yea, "we are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the "church of God, earneſtly to obteſt his grace, "and the moſt honorable eſtates, that no ſuch "motion of any legal toleration, to thoſe of the "prelatical principle, may be entertained by the "parliament: being perſuaded, that in the pre-"ſent caſe and circumſtances of that church and "nation, to enact a toleration for thoſe of that "way (which we pray God, of his infinite mer-"cy to avert) would be to eſtabliſh iniquity by "a law, and bring upon the promoters thereof, "and upon their families, a dreadful guilt, &c." (2.) The kirk, in ſhort, ſo managed matters, that the act of toleration was drop'd.

The ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover rejected.

Some time after, it was propoſed to take the ſupply into conſideration; but the houſe inſiſted, before they went upon that buſineſs, upon paſſing an act for their ſecurity, in which it was provided, in order to ſecure their ancient independency, "that in default of iſſue of her Majeſty, the ſame "perſon ſhould, in no event, be capable to be "King or Queen both of England and Scotland, "unleſs a free communication of trade, the free-"dom of navigation, and the liberty of the "plantations, &c. was fully agreed to by the "parliament of England;" and ſeveral proviſions and limitations were alſo contained in the ſaid act, to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown (3). The ſettling the ſucceſſion, in the houſe of Hanover, was afterwards propoſed by the earl of Marchmont; but his propoſal was rejected (4).

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The act of ſecurity having been twice read, and the high commiſſioner neglecting to give it the royal aſſent, he was frequently addreſs'd to that purpoſe; 'till, at length, he told the parliament: The royal aſſent refuſed to the act of ſecurity.

"that he was fully impower'd to give the royal aſ-"ſent to all the acts voted this ſeſſion, except the "act of ſecurity, which, they might eaſily believe, "required her Majeſty's farther conſideration. At "the ſame time, her Majeſty expected they would "mind their own ſafety, in making the neceſſary "proviſion for the troops, and that they would "put the trade and cuſtoms upon ſuch a foot, that "the civil liſt might be ſupported:" and he intreated them to finiſh theſe matters as ſoon as poſſible.

The negative of the crown call'd in queſtion.

Some members of the houſe began, upon this, to queſtion whether the crown had a negative or not. They ſaid, 'till of late, a negative had never been interpoſed, and that but in very few caſes; and, in the end, they peremptorily reſolved, not to go upon the ſupply, 'till the act of ſecurity had paſs'd the royal aſſent: whereupon, the lord-commiſſioner having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral other acts, on the 16th of September, the parliament was adjourned to the 12th of October (5).

The parliament adjourned.

Affairs of Ireland.

The duke of Ormond having been conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as I have obſerved already, his grace held a parliament of that kingdom, which met the 21ſt of September. When his grace made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing in ſubſtance: The duke of Ormond's ſpeech to the parliament.

"that what her Majeſty expected from the com-"mons at this time, was only that the public debts "be diſcharged, and the revenue made equal to "the expence of the government, which was much "increaſed by the charge of the barracks: and they "were found ſo uſeful, and ſo great an eaſe to the "country, that they ought not to be neglected: "aſſuring both houſes, that ſince the Queen had "done him the honor to place him in that ſtation, "as his duty and gratitude obliged him to ſerve "her Majeſty, with the utmoſt diligence and fide-"lity, ſo his inclination and intereſt, and the ex-"amples of his anceſtors, were indiſpenſable ob-"ligations upon him, to improve every opportu-"nity, to the advantage and proſperity of this his "native country: concluding, that ſince he had "no other deſign, than what they all aimed at, "the Queen's ſervice, and the good of their coun-"try, he only recommended to them, that they

(1) Before the royal aſſent was given, the duke of Hamilton deſired, it might be remember'd, that, at paſſing this act, it was expreſsly declared, "that the meaning of the advocate's clauſe could affect only the Queen's exerciſe of her government, and "not the actings of her miniſtry: and, therefore, that whatever challenge might be given afterwards, to the illegality of the "actings of the late parliament, might not be conſidered as a violation of this act.

(2) It may here be naturally and properly aſk'd; why it ſhould not be as laudable and innocent to tolerate Epiſcopacy in Scotland, as to tolerate Preſbytery in England, eſpecially if we conſider, that the legiſlative authority of both nations, are now of the Epiſcopal communion.

(3) The debates upon this act of ſecurity laſted, by adjournment, from time to time, three months, and were often very warm, on both ſides. Several other projects, acts and expedients were propos'd by different members, and debated, but all, at length terminated in this.

(4) His lordſhip preſented an act, intitled, "an act to ſettle the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hanover", and deſired it might be read; but when the clerk came to that paragraph, where it ſubſtituted the Princeſs Sophia, &c. the words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than the whole houſe was in a flame. Some moved to have it burnt; others to have the earl, who offered it, called to the bar; and again others, that he might be ſent to the caſtle. But at length, after the houſe had expreſs'd a great deal of diſſatisfaction, the clerk was ſuffered to read it thro': but the earl's ſecond motion, that it might be mark'd a firſt reading, was over-ruled, and ſo the act was loſt.

(5) The acts which had the royal aſſent were, 1. "An act for ſecuring the true Proteſtant religion, and Preſbyterian govern-"ment: 2. an act ratifying the turning the meeting of eſtates into a parliament: 3. an act anent leeſing-makers and ſlanderers: "4. an act anent peace and war: 5. an act anent the public accounts: 6. an act in favor of the company trading to Africa and "the Indies: 7. an act diſcharging the importation of Iriſh victual: 8. an act continuing the prohibition of exporting Eng-"liſh and Iriſh wool, till next ſeſſion of parliament: 9. an act allowing the importation of wines, and other forein liquors", and ſome private acts.

Thus ended this remarkable ſeſſion of the Scotiſh parliament, which, according to an eminent writer of that nation, "did "more for redreſſing the grievances, and reſtoring the liberties of that nation, than all the parliaments ſince 1660. Lockhart's memoirs, &c. p. 60.

With how great warmth matters were debated in this parliament, the reader may conceive by one inſtance, when upon a debate for a vote, "Liberty or ſubſidy", ſome members ſaid, "that, if there was no other way of coming at ſo natural and "undeniable a privilege of the parliament, they would demand it, with their ſwords in their hands.

"unite

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Addreſſes. The firſt thing both houſes went upon, after the commons had choſen a ſpeaker, was the framing and preſenting dutiful and affectionate addreſſes both to the Queen and the lord-lieutenant: and the lords alſo wrote a letter to the Queen, returning her Majeſty thanks, "for her happy choice of James, duke of "Ormond, to be her lieutenant and chief governor "over that Kingdom:" to all which compliments, the Queen, and lord-lieutenant, returned very gracious anſwers.

The ſtate of the nation inquired into. The 11th of October, mr. Moleſworth reported from the commitee of the whole houſe, appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, that they had come to a reſolution; which was agreed to by the houſe, viz. "that an humble repreſentation be made to her Majeſty, ſeting "forth the preſent diſtreſſed condition of this kingdom:" he reported alſo, ſeveral other reſolutions, as heads of the ſaid repreſentation, which being agreed to, a commitee was appointed to prepare and bring it in. That the nation look'd upon themſelves, to ly under very great hardſhips, at this time we may ſee by the ſaid repreſentation to her Majeſty from the parliament; which they preſented to the lord-lieutenant, the 22d of October, in which they ſet forth; "that her royal predeceſſors had "always had the glory of governing a free people; "but that the conſtitution of the kingdom of Ireland had been of late greatly ſhaken, and the "lives, liberties and eſtates of the ſubjects called "in queſtion, and tried, in a manner unknown "to their anceſtors. That the charge they had "been put to, by the truſtees for forfeited eſtates, "in defending their juſt rights (which, after many "and expenſive delays, had been allowed by the ſaid "truſtees) exceeded the value of the current caſh "of that kingdom: that they could not, without "the greateſt grief of heart, reflect on the loſs of "their trade, and of being deprived of the means "of earning their livelyhood, and maintaining "their own manufactures, whereby their poor "were become very numerous, eſpecially the poor "induſtrious Proteſtants: that very many Proteſtant families had been forced to leave the kingdom, and remove into forein countries: that their "forein trade was under ſuch reſtrictions and diſcouragements, that it became in a manner unprofitable; that the want of frequent parliaments "had given incouragement to evil men, who minded nothing but their own gain, tho' it tended to "the ruin and oppreſſion of her Majeſty's ſubjects: "that the rapacious covetouſneſs of ſome civil "officers was inſupportable, who amaſs'd together "vaſt eſtates, in a ſhort time, in that poor country: that others reſided, for the moſt part out "of the kingdom, and neglected their duties, to "the great detriment of her Majeſty's ſubjects, "and failure of juſtice: and that it was from her "Majeſty's gracious interpoſition alone, in their "favor, that they hoped for relief from theſe their "manifeſt griefs and oppreſſions. That they did "not doubt, her Majeſty would take ſome prudent meaſures for their ſupport, either by reſtoring to them the full injoyment of their conſtitution, or by promoting a more firm and ſtrict "union with her ſubjects of England, which "would prove to the advantage of that kingdom; "nothing being more certain, than that what ever "riches Ireland ſhould acquire, muſt at laſt neceſſarily center in the ſeat of government: "they pray'd, that ſhe might long continue to be "the choiceſt bleſſing of her people, and the aſſerter of the liberties of Europe: and that they, "her poor ſubjects of Ireland, might be an eminent "inſtance of her Majeſty's having a juſt right to "that moſt glorious title; that they might join with "the reſt of mankind, in proclaiming her moſt "excellent Majeſty, not only the greateſt, but "the beſt and juſteſt Princeſs that ever reign'd".

Repreſentation of the parliament to the Queen.

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The 25th, mr. Southwell, ſecretary of ſtate, acquainted the houſe of commons: "that their repre-"ſentation was a matter of the higheſt conſequence; "and that his grace would take ſuch care of it, as "might moſt conduce to the ſervice of the nation.

They retrench ſeveral penſions. The ſame day, the commons voted ſeveral penſions (to the value of 17,634l.) to be un-neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment, and particularly 1200l. per annum, that was paid to the Preſbyterian miniſters in Ulſter, in the reign of King William.

A complaint having alſo been exhibited, in this parliament, againſt the noted mr. Aſgil, a member of the houſe of commons of that kingdom (as he had been of that in England) for writing a book intitled, "An argument proving, that, according "to the covenant of eternal life, revealed in the "ſcriptures, men may be tranſlated from hence to "Heaven, without paſſing thro' death, altho' the "humane nature of CHRIST himſelf could not be thus "tranſlated 'till he paſs'd thro' death." The houſe, on the 11th of October, after having heard mr. Aſgil, in his defence, reſolved, "that as it appear'd to "them, John Aſgil, eſq; a member of this houſe, is "author of the ſaid book, and that he be expell'd "the houſe, and for ever after incapable of "being choſen, return'd, or ſiting as a mem-"ber in any ſucceeding parliament in that king-"dom."

Proceedings on the ſupply. The 13th, the houſe of commons took into conſideration that part of the lord-lieutenant's ſpeech as regarded the ſupply, and came to ſeveral reſolutions, which were ordered to be reported the next day. The 14th, the houſe ordered major Clayton to carry the heads of a bill ("to make it high-"treaſon, in this kingdom, by word or writing, "to impeach the ſucceſſion of the crown, as limited "by ſeveral acts of parliament", to his grace the lord-lieutenant, and deſire the ſame might be tranſmited to England in due form. Mr. Ludlow reported the reſolutions which were taken the day before, in a commitee of the whole houſe, on a ſupply, which were unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe, viz. "That the funds formerly granted by "parliament, and the revenue of the kingdom, "were ſufficient to ſupport the government, and "diſcharge the public debts, due to and for Michaelmas 1703. That the ſupply to be granted to "her Majeſty, be a ſum ſufficient to make up the "deficiency of the revenue, to ſupport the neceſſary "branches of the eſtabliſhment, for two years, "ending at Michaelmas 1705."

Acts paſſ'd. The 16th, the lord-lieutenant came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to three acts: 1. "For an aditional duty of exciſe upon beer, "ale, and other liquors: 2. for incouraging the "importation of iron and ſtaves; and, 3. to "prevent Popiſh prieſts from coming into the "kingdom."

A ſupply voted. The 26th, they "granted 150,000l. to her "Majeſty, to make good the deficiency of the ne-"ceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment, for the "ſupport of the government for two years, com-"mencing at Michaelmas 1703;" and the following days, they proceeded on ways and means to raiſe the ſame.

Heads of ſundry bills preſented. The 30th of October, they finiſh'd the heads of "a bill, for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, "and for preventing of impriſonment beyond the "ſeas;" and order'd them to be carried to the lord-lieutenant. The 8th of November, the commons went thro' the heads of "a bill, for natura-"liſing all Proteſtant ſtrangers," and ordered that likewiſe to be carried to the lord-lieutenant, to be tranſmited

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tranſmited to England. The 23d, the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, attended his grace, and preſented him heads of "a bill, to prevent the "farther growth of Popery," and alſo heads of another bill, "to incourage the linen-manufacture "of that kingdom;" with an addreſs of the commons to her Majeſty. On this occaſion the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to the lord-lieutenant, in which he, in a more eſpecial manner, recommended the firſt of theſe bills to his favor, as of great importance to their future well-being. And the more, as they ſaid, they were well informed, and fully convinced, that great ſums of mony had been lately raiſed among them, to oppoſe the paſſing of a bill of this nature, in England. The lord-lieutenant aſſured them, "that he would take care to "tranſmit theſe two bills, which were ſo much "for the intereſt of the nation, and recommend "them in the moſt effectual manner, according to "their deſire, and do all that was in his power, "to prevent the growth of Popery."

Vote againſt Papiſts.

The 26th the houſe reſolved, "that, as it appeared to them, the Papiſts of that kingdom ſtill "retained hopes of the coming in of the perſon, "who went by the name of the Prince of Wales, "in the life of the late King James, and now by "the title of James III." But, the ſame day, mr. ſecretary Southwell, by command of his grace the lord-lieutenant, acquainted the houſe, with his grace's pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn till the 11th of January next inſuing, which was done accordingly (1).

The parliament of Ireland adjourn'd.

Maritime affairs.

I come now to give ſome account of the maritime affairs of this year, in which, as nothing very extraordinary happened, I ſhall be as ſhort as poſſible: however, before I enter upon thoſe occurrences at or near home, and in other parts of Europe, I ſhall ſay a word or two of what paſs'd in America. We left rear-admiral Whetſton cruiſing about Hiſpaniola; and I have already given the reader an account, that on the 24th of September, of the foregoing year, ſir George Rooke detach'd captain Walker, in the Burford, with five more third-rates, and ten tranſports, having four regiments on board, for the Weſt-Indies.

Vice-admiral Graydon ſent to the Weſt-Indies.

The 19th of January, of this year, vice-admiral Graydon, then of the white ſquadron, who was to have carried over the earl of Peterborough, as I have ſaid above (2), was now ordered to go without the earl, and was appointed commander in chief in the Weſt-Indies (3). He was ordered at firſt, to proceed from hence with the Reſolution, Blackwall, and Sheerneſs only: but the latter not proving fit for the voyage, it was afterwards thought proper, that the Montague of ſixty, and the Nonſuch of fifty guns, which were then at Plymouth, ſhould accompany him 150 leagues into ſea.

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Meets part of du Caſſe's ſquadron.

The 18th of March, being in the latitude of forty-ſeven degrees and thirty minutes, the vice-admiral having theſe ſhips with him, and the tranſports with brigadier Colombine's regiment, together with ſome ſtore-ſhips and merchant-men, they met with four French men of war to leeward, two of about ſixty, one of fifty, and the other of forty guns, which latter being not only the ſmalleſt, but the ſternmoſt, the Montague, commanded by captain Cleveland, bore down to and ingaged her. The vice-admiral, hereupon, made the ſignal for a line of battle, and conſequently for the Montague's coming off: but her fore-top-ſail being ſhot to pieces, ſhe could not be ſo quick in tacking, but that the other three ſhips wore, and bearing down to the ſhip that had been ingaged, each of them gave the Montague a broad-ſide, tho' without doing her much damage. The French ſhips, which were part of monſ. du Caſſe's ſquadron, that had been purſued by Bembow, and were reported to be very rich, now made the beſt of their way from ours, but were very foul (4).

But lets them eſcape.

Rear-admiral Whetſtone ſucceſsful.

Rear-admiral Whetſtone was, in the mean time, pretty ſucceſsful, in taking, ſinking, and burning ſeveral of the enemy's privateers, by which their loſs was computed at 18,000 l.

Several places in Guadelupe taken.

Captain Walker arrived, the 18th of February, at Antegoa, from whence he ſailed again the latter end of that month. And the ſquadron, with diverſe privateers, and other veſſels, and the forces under colonel Codrington, got together the 7th of the following month. They put aſhore a ſmall number of men, at the north end of Guadelupe, who burnt ſome houſes and plantations, and then came on board again. The fleet ſtood off and on, till the tenth, waiting the coming up of the Maidſtone man of war, and ſome other ſmall ſhips, which lay off of Marigalante. The 12th, by break of day, they landed colonel Byam, with his own regiment, and 200 of colonel Whetham's regiment, at a place called Les Petits Habitants, where they met with a warm reception from the French; but ſoon obliged them to retire.

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(1) This vote was occaſion'd by the repreſentation of a member, ſeting forth the great danger the Proteſtants were in, in ſome parts of Ireland, particularly in the county of Limerick, where the Iriſh were begining to form themſelves into bodies, and to plunder the Proteſtants of their arms and mony; adding, that the diſaffected there held a correſpondence with thoſe in England, and were not out of hopes of reſtoring the pretended Prince of Wales: and the ſudden adjournment, when the houſe was on a hot ſcent againſt Popery, afforded matter of ſiniſter reflections, againſt the lord-lieutenant. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 82.

(2) Biſhop Burnet ſays this project was laid aſide, upon an inſinuation, that if we attempted any of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, it would but unite that nation more firmly with the French: tho' others think it was rather owing to the augmentation of our troops in Flanders.

(3) A ſquadron (ſays biſhop Burnet) was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, commanded by Graydon; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the preſent ſtate of affairs. The deſign was to gather all the forces that we had ſcattered up and down the plantations, and with that ſtrength to go and take Placentia, and ſo to drive the French out of the Newfoundland-trade: but the ſecret of this was ſo ill kept, that it was commonly talked of before he ſailed: the French had timely notice of it, and ſent a greater force to defend the place, than he could bring together to attack it. Hiſt. of his own times.

(4) As vice-admiral Graydon had more than a ſufficient force with him to have dealt with theſe French ſhips, which were foul, and could not eaſily have eſcaped him, it occaſion'd many reflections: but it has been alledg'd, in his excuſe, that he had poſitive orders, not to interrupt his paſſage, by chaſing or ſpeaking with any ſhips whatever. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 765.

His orders (ſays biſhop Burnet) were preſſing; in particular, that he ſhould not go out of his way, to purſue any of the enemy's ſhips, which he might ſee. Theſe he obſerved ſo punctually, that when he ſaw a ſquadron of four French men of war ſailing towards Breſt, that were viſibly foul, and in no condition to make any reſiſtance, he ſent indeed one of his ſhips to view them, who ingaged them; but Graydon gave the ſignal to call him off, upon which they got ſafe into Breſt. This was afterwards known to be du Caſſe's ſquadron, who was bringing treaſure home from Carthagena, and other ports of the Weſt-Indies, reported to be four millions of pieces of eight. But tho' here was a good prey loſt, yet ſo careful was the Prince's council to excuſe every thing, done by ſuch a man, that they ordered an advertiſement to be put in the Gazet, to juſtify Graydon, in which it is ſaid, that purſuant to his orders, he had not ingaged that fleet. The orders were indeed ſtrangely given, yet our admirals had never thought themſelves ſo bound down to them, but that, upon great occaſions, they might make ſtretches; eſpecially where the advantage was viſible, as it was in this caſe; for ſince they were out of the way of new orders, and new occaſions might happen, which could not be known, when their orders were given, the nature of the ſervice ſeemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the land-ſervice. Hiſt. of his own times.

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About nine, colonel Whetham landed in a bay to the northward of a town called la Bayliffe, where he, likewiſe, met with a vigorous reſiſtance of all the enemy's forces, poſted behind very advantageous breaſt-works, from whence they plied them with their great and ſmall ſhot; notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh did not fire a ſhot till they could lay the muzzles of their muſkets on the enemy's breaſt-works. About noon, they made themſelves maſters of the enemy's intrenchments, and in two hours after, of la Bayliffe, the Jacobine's church, which, they had fortified, and ten pieces of their cannon. About two, the Engliſh took a platform, with three pieces of their cannon, and a redoubt with one. At night, four hundred of the Engliſh, and the marine regiment, attack'd the Jacobine plantation and breaſt-work, all along the Jacobine's river, which the enemy left upon the firing only of two vollies of ſmall ſhot upon them: and the commadore having ordered the Chicheſter, at the ſame time, to fire upon their other batteries, they ſoon quited them, and ſuffered our men to take poſſeſſion of them all. The reſt of the ſoldiers, with 400 ſeamen, being landed, the next day, they marched without any oppoſition, but the firing of the enemy's cannon, and drove them out of the north part of the great town, called Baſſe-terre, forcing them to retire into the caſtle and fort, which they defended till the 3d of April, and then, blowing them up, retreated into the mountains.

A caſtle and fort blown up.

The country ravaged.

They had now nothing to do, but to ſend out parties to burn and deſtroy the enemy's houſes, works, ſugar-canes and proviſions, to ravage the country, and to bring in what cattle and plunder they could find; after which, they burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, took the beſt of the guns on board, and burſting the reſt, made their retreat without the loſs of a man (1). The forces being on board, the ſquadron ſet ſail, and coming off of Montſerrat, the 8th of May, they landed ſome of the ſoldiers there, and came to Mevis, the ſame night, with the reſt; who from thence were ſent to St. Chriſtophers (2).

The ſquadron returns to St. Chriſtopher's

Vice-admiral Graydon arrived, in the mean time, the 10th of April, at Madera, the 12th of May, at Barbadoes, and the 4th of June, at Jamaica, where he made himſelf remarkable for nothing but ſquabling with ſome of the chief of the iſland (3). Having put all her Majeſty's ſhips into a condition for ſailing, or returning home, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received, he left ſeven of his ſmalleſt ſhips to attend the iſland, and two others to convoy home the latter trade; and then ſet ſail, together with rear-admiral Whetſtone, and the reſt of the ſhips, on the 21ſt of June, for Bluefields, where having watered, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with cape Pine, in Newfoundland, the 2d of Auguſt. As ſoon as they were got thro' the gulph, the Trial-ſloop was ſent for intelligence to captain Richards, who commanded at St. John's, and for pilots for Placentia, the attack of which place was the principal deſign of his voyage: but a thick fog, which laſted thirty days, ſo diſperſed the ſhips, that it was the 3d of September before they could come together again. A council of war was then call'd; where all difficulties and obſtructions being maturely weigh'd, together with the good circumſtances the enemy were in, and the aſſiſtance they might have, from their privateers and other ſhips, then at Placentia, they were unanimouſly of opinion, that to make any attempt on that place, at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, was altogether impracticable, and could have no probability of ſucceſs: it was therefore reſolved, to make the beſt of their way for England. After a very bad paſſage, the vice and rear-admirals, with only one fire-ſhip, in their company, arrived, the 22d of October, in the Downs, having, made ſeveral detachments, for different places, and the other ſhips put in, one after another, in different harbors (4).

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Sir George Rooke commands the main fleet.

While theſe things were tranſacting in America, ſir George Rooke, admiral of the fleet, received orders, the 4th of April, to take under his command, that part thereof which was deſign'd for ſervice in the channel: conſiſting of five firſt, ſix ſecond, thirteen third, nine fourth, nine fifth, and one ſixth-rates, together with three bomb-veſſels, ſix fireſhips, and three hoſpital-ſhips. As alſo the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, in caſe it ſhould be found, for the advantage of the ſervice, to put a ſtop to that expedition (5).

The admiral arrived in the Downs, the 12th of April, and there got information, that her Majeſty's ſhips, the Saliſbury and Adventure had met with a ſquadron of French ſhips from Dunkirk,

(1) Father Daniel, tho' he mentions this deſcent of the Engliſh on Guadelupe, conceals all theſe circumſtances to their advantage, and pretends they were repulſed with loſs by the ſieur Auger, governor of the iſland. De Larrey ſays; that monſ. Gabaret arriving at fort St. Mary's, with two frigats, a flute, nine armed barks, and 700 men, to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, they did not think themſelves a force ſufficient to withſtand them, and therefore re-imbarked.

(2) In this expedition were killed, on our ſide, one major, two captains, ſix lieutenants, and one hundred fifty-four ſoldiers; two colonels, ſeven captains, nine lieutenants, and 211 ſoldiers were wounded; two colonels, four lieutenants, three enſigns, and ſeventy-two ſoldiers died, fifty-nine deſerted, and twelve were taken priſoners. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 766.

(3) When he came to the plantations (ſays biſhop Burnet) he acted in ſo ſavage a manner, as if he had been ſent rather to terrify, than to protect them.

(4) And this was the end of an expedition, in which no ſmall part of our navy was imployed, and ſome of it from the year 1698. An expedition which was attended with a continual and vaſt expence, and which coſt the lives of many brave officers, ſeamen and ſoldiers. The fruits of it the reader has ſeen, and what proportion they bore to the coſt and loſſes of it, I leave him to judge. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks freer, and ſays, it ended ingloriouſly, and that many complaints of Graydon's conduct were ſent after him.

(5) Biſhop Burnet introduces his account of the ſea-expeditions of this year as follows: our operations at ſea (ſays he) were ill-deſign'd, and worſe executed: the making Prince George our lord-high-admiral proved, in many inſtances, very unhappy to the nation. Men of bad deſigns impoſed on him: he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſhelter'd themſelves under his name, to which a great ſubmiſſion was paid, but the complaints roſe the higher for that. Our main fleet was ready to go out in May; but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; ſo Rooke was ſent out to alarm the coaſts of France. He linger'd long in port, pretending ill-health; upon that Churchill was ſent to command the fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to ſea, where he continued a month: but in ſuch a ſtation, as if his deſign had been to keep far from meeting any of the French fleet, which ſailed out at that time, and to do the enemy no harm, and not ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their coaſt. At laſt he returned without having attempted any thing. Hiſt. of his own times.

Father Daniel, however, ſays, Rooke appeared before Belle-Iſle, with 7000 men, where he landed his troops, and inveſted the fort; but met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, as ſoon obliged him to re-imbark them again; that he likewiſe attempted, at the ſame time, a deſcent, on the iſland of Grovais; but that the troops and militia gave him ſuch a reception, that his ſhallops were obliged to make towards their ſhips again, without landing a man. And that he had as little ſucceſs in ſeveral other attempts he made. Certain it is, that he was on the enemy's coaſts, and near Belle-Iſle, as well as Grovais, whether he attempted any thing or not. So that in this, at leaſt, the biſhop does ſir George wrong.

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and (as it was feared) had fallen into their hands. Two detachments were hereupon immediately made, one under rear-admiral Byng, to ly in wait, and indeavour to intercept them in their return to Dunkirk, and the other under rear-admiral Beaumont, to cruiſe off of that port, for the ſame purpoſe: but they were ſo fortunate to get in with their prizes (which they took, after the Saliſbury, commanded by captain Cotton, had made a gallant reſiſtance of two hours, againſt ſeven French ſhips) before either of theſe detachments could get up with them. The main fleet put to ſea, ſoon after, from Spithead and St. Hellen's, and joined with admiral Leake off of Plymouth, the 8th of May. They cruiſed about in the chanel, ſoundings, and off the French coaſt, till the tenth of June, without any thing remarkable happening, except the taking of a few prizes. It was then reſolved to return to St. Helens, to be ready for any neceſſary ſervice, and the fleet arrived there, accordingly, the 21ſt of the ſame month (1).

But with little ſucceſs.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's expedition to the Mediterranean.

The 4th of May, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel received his inſtructions to proceed on an expedition to the Mediterranean, to which ſome additions were made on the 7th (2); till the 16th of June he was imploy'd in making the neceſſary preparations for the deſign, and, that day, twelve ſhips of the States-general joined him. There being no proſpect of any more ſhips coming from Holland, he was then ordered to ſet ſail with the firſt opportunity of wind and weather: however, it was thought fit, on the 29th, to re-inforce him with eight Engliſh ſhips more, and, to avoid delay, he was ordered to take them in the condition they were.

The fleet fails.

The 1ſt of July, he ſet ſail from St. Hellens, and indeavored to beat it out of the chanel: but was forced, by contrary winds, to put into Torbay again the fifth.

Several French prizes taken.

Captain John Norris, of the Orford, who had been cruiſing with the Montague, in the Soundings, joined the admiral in Torbay, having, after an hour's diſpute, taken the Philippeaux, of ſix and thirty guns, twelve patereroes, and two hundred and forty men. Her captain behaved himſelf well, and did not ſurrender 'till he had near fifty men killed and wounded, and his ſhip much torn. The Orford had eight men wounded, ſome very deſperately; and her mizzen-maſt, fore-maſt and main-yard, being ſhot thro', were wholly diſabled. The Mountague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, had alſo the good fortune to take the ſhip ſhe had chas'd, of eighteen guns, and one hundred and ten men; but in the purſuit, the French captain threw moſt of her ordnance over board; and the Orford, ſoon after took another French ſhip, which had ſixteen guns mounted.

The 8th, they ſet ſail again for the rock of Liſbon, the place appointed for their rendezvous: in their paſſage thither, ſir Thomas Hardy, in the Bedford, took a French Weſt-India ſhip: and, about the ſame time, the Auguſte, a French ſhip of fifty-four guns, and 420 men, commanded by the chevalier de Neſmond, was taken and brought into the fleet.

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The 24th, the fleet came to anchor off of Caſcais, vice-admiral Leake having joined it with five ſhips from England, two days before, and, the very ſame evening, ſir Cloudeſly ſent ſir Stafford Fairborn, to Liſbon, to acquaint his Portugueſe Majeſty (who was now entered into the grand-alliance) with the arrival of the confederate fleet. Sir Stafford, having had audience of the King, who received him with all imaginable marks of eſteem, returned to the fleet extreamly ſatisfied with the honors done him. The 27th, the Pembroke, Monmouth, Orford, Litchfield, and Hampton-court, (which had been left behind at Plymouth, to clean) and the 29th, the Naſſau, joined the fleet, which having watered, and got wines and freſh proviſions, ſailed the 31ſt from Caſcais. Sir Thomas Hardy was ordered to go, with his own ſhip, the Bedford, Pembroke, Montague and Lizard, along the Chriſtian ſhoar, and call at Lagos, for intelligence, the governor of that place having orders to impart what he could get: and, at the ſame time, captain Norris, with four ſhips more, received orders to look into Cadiz, to diſcover what ſhips were in that harbor.

The fleet arrives at Caſcais.

Sir Stephen Fairborn ſent to Liſbon.

The grand fleet had a fair wind, till they came to the mouth of the Streights, where they met with a ſtrong Levant, which drove them along the coaſt of Barbary. Captain Norris came in with ſome Spaniſh boats, which reported, that they had but eight French gallies at Cadiz, for the ſecurity of that port: but none of their men of war on the Spaniſh coaſts: and ſir Thomas Hardy brought a ſtout Genoeſe ſhip into the fleet, who could give no account of the French.

The 9th of Auguſt, the fleet came to an anchor in Tangier-road, and, the ſame day, the Alcaid of that place ſent a compliment to ſir Cloudeſly, to offer him what refreſhments the country afforded; to which he afterwards added ſeveral preſents to him, and the chief commanders. The fleet continued here three days, during which time, the ſeamen went freely aſhore, and bought freſh proviſions.

The fleet arrives at Tangier.

The 12th, the fleet ſailed from-Tangier-road, and, with a weſterly-wind, got thro' the Streights, that night: but the Levant blowing afrerwards pretty freſh they made but little way; and the fleet begining to want water, ſtretched from Cape de Gat to Cape Hony in Barbary, to get ſome water there; but the Moors not only refuſed it, but fired upon the boat ſent aſhoar, with a flag of truce for that purpoſe, killed one man, and mortally wounded the lieutenant of the Tartar. The want of water increaſing, and many men dying, thro' the exceſſive heat, which the calms had render'd more intolerable, a council of war was held, the 29th, on board the Triumph, to conſider of the moſt proper place to put into; and Altea, in the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, being reſolved upon, the Eagle, commanded by the lord Archibald Hamilton,

Gets thro' the Streights.

(1) Thus ended an expedition, from which very little advantage accrued, whatever might be expected: and, in my poor opinion (ſays mr. Burchett, whom we muſt allow to be a judge) a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips might have had much better ſucceſs.

(2) They were, in ſubſtance, to indeavor to aſſiſt the Cevennois, and to deſtroy the ſalt-works at Peccais. To indeavor to reduce the iſland of Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples, to the obedience of the houſe of Auſtria. To confer with any perſon, whom he might find at Leghorn, appointed by Prince Eugene of Savoy, concerning the deſigns of that Prince, to which he was to be aiding and aſſiſting. To detach ſome ſhips to the coaſt of Barbary, and to authorize the conſuls of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, or other proper perſons, to treat with their governments and conclude a peace. To demand the puniſhment of the governor of Leghorn, for not obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. To take and deſtroy all the enemy's ſhips going in, or coming out at that port, and to exact ſome other conditions from the grand-duke. To demand ſatisfaction for ſome indignities offered, to the Engliſh nation by the republic of Venice, and, in caſe of refuſal, to uſe reprizals; to take care of proper convoys for the ſeveral branches of our trade: to take all opportunities of attacking Cadiz, Toulon, or any of the other enemy's towns, forts, ſhips, gallies or magazines. If proper, to ſend a detachment into the Adriatick, to ſecure the Imperial convoys for Italy; and all theſe, with many other things, mention'd in his inſtructions, he was to do within the ſpace of three months; for he was ordered to return down the Streights, ſome time in September. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 770. ſeq.

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and the Hampton-court were ſent before, but the governor fired upon them, from two guns planted on a tower; but they were ſoon ſilenced and diſmounted by the ſhot from thoſe two ſhips.

Troops landed in Spain.

The 31ſt of Auguſt, the whole fleet came in ſight of the place, and the Flamborough was ſent cloſe to the ſhoar, to cover the deſcent of the regiment of marines, who, to the number of five and twenty hundred men, landed without any manner of confuſion, and were actually drawn up in batalia, upon the ſhoar, before half the fleet was come to their anchors. Brigadier-general Seymour landed with the firſt detachment, and gave ſuch orders, that never a more regular deſcent was made in an enemy's country.

Theſe troops being thus got on ſhoar, a camp was formed, and a meſſage ſent to the governor, that they did not come as enemies, but as friends: to which he anſwer'd: "that he had a great eſteem "for the Engliſh: but, nevertheleſs, was ſorry, he "was not in a condition to oppoſe their landing. "That he would write to the vice-roy of Valen-"cia, and, if his orders ſhould be ſo, the ad-"miral muſt not take it amiſs, if he ſhould fire "upon his men." At the ſame time, the admirals Shovel and Allemonde, cauſed, in their names a ſhort manifeſto (1) to be publiſh'd and diſperſed among the Spaniards: this manifeſto had ſo far a good effect, that all manner of refreſhments and proviſions were brought to the camp, for which the Spaniards were paid read mony; and, upon this occaſion, they ſhew'd a diſpoſition for the houſe of Auſtria, and an averſion to the French. The ſhips being furniſhed, with water and proviſions, the marines return'd on board again, the 3d of September, and, the ſame evening, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Leghorn, where they arrived the 19th.

Indeavors to relieve the Cevennois.

The court of England having reſolved to give relief to the Proteſtants in the Cevennes (2) as we have already ſeen by ſir Cloudeſly's inſtructions, the better to ſucceeded in this enterpriſe, two French refugees were ſent by land into France, to acquaint the Cevennois, with the Queen's good intentions, that they might concur in rendering them effectual; and leſt theſe two perſons ſhould miſcarry, the marquis de Miremont diſpatch'd a third perſon, for the ſame purpoſe. The States of Holland had already ſent them, not only remittances of mony, but officers, which latter, however, moſt miſcarried; and of all the meſſengers ſent, either by the Engliſh or Dutch, none had the good fortune to penetrate into the Cevennes, and return from thence, but the marquis de Miremont's (3). Beſide theſe perſons ſent by land into the Cevennes, there were three French gentlemen, refugees (meſſieurs Portales, la Billiere, and Tempié) commiſſioned to go on board the Engliſh fleet, to be witneſſes of her Majeſty's good intentions.

A council of war, of all the Engliſh and Dutch flag-officers, being aſſembled, the twenty ninth of Auguſt, on board the Triumph, wherein, among other things, it was debated, how to put that enterprize in execution, monſieur Portales was ſent for into the aſſembly, and told by ſir Cloudeſly, that the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, it would be imprudent to hazard her Majeſty's fleet on an unknown dangerous coaſt; but that he would order two men of war to go upon the attempt, with a good quantity of arms, ammunition and mony: and that if they had the good fortune to ſpeak with their friends, it would be eaſy for them to concert matters for a farther relief.

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Two men of war appointed for this ſervice.

Accordingly two men of war, the Pembroke, commanded by captain Arris, and the Tartar, by captain Cooper, were appointed for this ſervice. Theſe two ſhips ſailed a-head from the grand fleet, when they left Altea, and made towards the gulph of Narbonne, having the three French gentlemen on board, and two French pilots. The next day, being the 4th of September, they took, near Ivica, a French tartan of Agde, of about eighty ton, laden with corn, and other commodities, from the maſter of which, they got information, that their whole deſign was diſcovered, and that the French had taken care to ſecure their coaſts. This account very much ſurprized the French gentlemen, who now began to deſpair of ſucceſs. It was ſaid, that this diſcovery was unluckily made by ſome of the French refugees ſent from England to inform the Cevennois of her Majeſty's intention to aſſiſt them.

The 11th, the Pembroke and Tartar took three French tartans, and the 15th they entered the gulph of Narbonne. The 17th, they ſailed in ſight of Narbonne, Vias, and Beſiers; and when they came before Agde, fort Breſcon fired four guns, to alarm the country, which was preſently in arms. Being come before Cette; two French gallies made directly towards them, but ſoon plied their oars to get into harbor again. The ſame day, captain Arris held a conſultation on board the Tartar; and, purſuant to the reſolution there taken, that ſhip was ordered to go a-head, and advance as near the ſhoar as poſſible. The next day, ſhe ſtood in ten fathom water, and the Pembroke in thirteen, at about two miles diſtance from land, and there made the ſignals as directed; but were not anſwered. The eighteenth, two ſeveral conſultations being held on board the Pembroke, and it appearing, by ſeveral circumſtances (to the ſatisfaction of the French gentlemen themſelves) that nothing more could be attempted, it was reſolved to make the beſt of their way to the general rendezvous, and purſuant hereunto they ſailed for Leghorn, where they arrived the 23d.

They make ſignals to the fleet.

But in vain.

They return to Leghorn.

We left the grand fleet arrived, the 19th of this month, at Leghorn-road. The next morning, the town ſaluted the admiral with five guns,

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(1) The ſubſtance of this manifeſto was; that purſuant to the orders of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, and the States-general, they did not deſign to give the leaſt diſturbance to the good ſubjects of Spain, but to protect ſuch of them, who remembring their ancient obligations to the houſe of Auſtria, ſhould ſwear allegiance to their lawful ſoverein, the arch-duke Charles, and indeavor to throw of the yoke of France. And as they would give their aſſiſtance to thoſe of the Spaniſh nation, that ſhould regard their duty, and true intereſt, ſo they would deſtroy the perſons, houſes and goods of ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the effort which ſhould be made, for the deliverance of that valiant and glorious nation of Spain, from the tyranny and oppreſſion of France.

(2) The Cevennes is a mountainous country, in the ſouth part of France, three fourths of the inhabitants of which profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, before the general perſecution in 1685. And notwithſtanding their ſubmiſſion then, moſt of them had ſince ſhaken off the yoke of Popery. Their numbers, and the ſituation of their country, made the French court more jealous of them, than of all the other Proteſtants in France, and conſequently they were more oppreſs'd, to render them uncapable of recovering their liberty. Extorſions, military executions, and many horrid barbarities, made them riſe, at length, in defence of their liberties. The general concern the Engliſh nation expreſſed for the ſufferings of their Proteſtant bretheren, added to her Majeſty's natural compaſſion, moved the Queen to reſolve in council, that the fleet, which was going into the Mediterranean, ſhould indeavor to carry them a ſupply of arms, ammunition and mony.

(3) This meſſenger was mr. David Flotard, who ſtaid ſix days among the Covennois, and having delivered his meſſage acquainted them with the ſignals the Engliſh fleet would make, and how they ſhould anſwer them by other ſignals; and having viewed their troops, the chief officers gave Flotard commiſſion to ſolicit, in their name, all the Proteſtant Princes and States, in their favor, and to aſſure the marquis of Miremont, that they ſhould by glad to have him for their general,

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Disputes about salutes.

of which sir Cloudesly took no notice, nor would he accept the usual present sent him by the governor. The latter desiring to know the reason of it, he made him sensible of the mistakes and, at the same time, sent a message to the great duke of Tuscany, insisting upon a royal salute, as having the union-flag. After some dispute, his highness ordered that the citadel should salute with eleven guns, which was accordingly performed, and sir Cloudesly answered with the like: this done he was complimented by several persons of distinction, and received the extraordinary presents which had been prepared for the count de Thoulouse, who it seems was expected there with the French fleet, before the English: but he never durst stir out of the harbor of Toulon, as long as sir Cloudesly remain'd in the Mediteranean.

The arch-duke proclaimed King of Spain.

Count Lamberg, the Imperial embassador at Rome, having notice of the arrival of the confederate fleet, in the road of Leghorn, his excellency hastened thither. The twenty-eighth of November, he went on board the English admiral, and acquainted him, that the arch-duke of Austria had been declared and proclaimed King of Spain, at Vienna, by the name of Charles III, on the twelfth of that month, N. S. upon which every one of our flag-ships fired twenty-one guns, and all the other ships in the English squadron fired fifteen guns each, and his Catholic Majesty's health was drunk (1).

The fleet sails from Leghorn.

The fleet having got water, and bought what wine and provisions they could find, sailed from Leghorn, the second of October: sir Cloudesly having, before he departed, wrote to the great duke, demanding satisfaction, in her Majesty's name, as he was directed, who promised fair and performed little. The

And returns to England.

27th he got thro' the Streights, having first detach'd squadrons to Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, to renew treaties, and order'd convoys for the trade. The 30th, the Dutch parted with the English, to make the best of their way home; and, the same day, sir Cloudesly detach'd a convoy of five men of war, under the command of sir Andrew Leake, to take up the merchant-ships that were ready to sail for England, from Lisbon, Oporto, Viana, &c. After which, having a fair wind, and good weather, the fleet arrived in the Downs, the 17th of November (2).

A French man of war taken.

The Orford, Warspight and Litchfield, which parted from sir Cloudesly six days before, met soon after with a French man of war of fifty-two guns, and 500 men, coming from Newfoundland, whom they ingaged and took, after an obstinate fight of nine hours.

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Rear-admiral Dilkes's expedition on the coast of Normandy.

Before I conclude my account of the maritime affairs of this year, I must just mention a small but successful expedition of rear-admiral Dilkes, who being order'd, on the 22d of July, to sail, with a squadron under his command, for the coast of Normandy, to destroy a small fleet of French traders, said to be then lying in Cancal-bay, he had the good fortune to meet with them about a league to the westward of Granville, being forty-five merchant-ships, and three men of war; of which only four escaped, the rest being all either taken, burnt, or sunk. To recompense this brave action, and perpetuate the memory of it, a gold medal was struck, and distributed among those who were principally concern'd.

Campain in the Netherlands, and on the lower Rhine.

I come now to the affairs of the continent, and shall begin with the campain in the Netherlands, where we were most immediately concerned, with our troops under the duke of Marlborough. While his grace was busied, in making the necessary preparations for the campain, he had a very heavy domestic affliction to incounter with, I mean the loss of his only son, the marquis of Blandford, who died, the 20th of February, of the Small-pox, at Cambridge. This misfortune happening just as his grace was upon his departure for Holland, put a stop to it for some days; however, nothing was neglected in the mean time: for count Lottum, general of the Prussian troops, having block'd up Rhineburg, it surrendered, by capitulation, the 9th of February; after which, he block'd up Guelders.

Rhineburg taken.

The duke of Marlborough arrives in Holland.

The duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, the 17th of March, N. S. and having held several conferences with the deputies of the States, reviewed the English forces, in their respective garisons, and ordered the troops near Liege to be in a readiness to take the field, he dispatch'd general Cohorn, to make preparations for opening the campain with a siege. Upon his grace's arrival, the Dutch immediately brought their armies into the field likewise, and, by his prudent management, the confederates were inabled to open the campain early, with the siege of Bonn (3). All necessary preparation for the expeditious carrying on of this siege, being made, (4) the duke ordered the place to be

Siege of Bonn.

(1) The count sent a gentleman, with mr. Jourdain, one of sir Cloudesly Shovel's secretaries, to the Dutch admiral, to notify the arch-duke's accession to the Spanish throne. He seem'd surprised, that the Imperial minister should not pay him a visit, on that account, as he had done the English admiral. However, some hours after, he ordered his ships to fire fifteen guns each: and then count Lamberg gave him the visit. Lediard's naval history, vol. II. p. 778.

(2) I shall add to this, bishop Burnet's short account of this expedition in his own words: it was resolved (says he) to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean: It was near the end of June, before they were ready to sail, and they had orders to come out of the Streights, by the end of September: every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended that nothing should be done by it, beside the convoying our merchant ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry (as well he might) that nothing was to be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders; he got to Leghorn, by the begining of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence; and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood, that, by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much mony was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends; who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, that managed so great a force, with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends.

There was also (says the Bishop, in another place) great complaint tho' the whole fleet, of their victualing. We lost many of our seamen, who, as it was said, were poison'd by ill food: and tho' great complaints were made of the victualers, before the fleet went out, yet there was not such care taken to look into it, as a matter of that consequence deserved. The merchants, likewise, complained, that they were ill served with convoys, and so little care had been taken of the Newcastle-fleet, that the price of coals rose very high. It was also said, that there was not a due care had of our seamen, who were taken by the privateers. Many of them died, by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the French service. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those, who had the conduct of them. History of his own times.

(3) Bonn is a very ancient and strong city, in the circle of the Lower-Rhine, and arch-bishopric of Cologn, formerly an Imperial city; but now subject to the Elector of Cologn, and the usual residence of that Prince, who put it, with the rest of his dominions, into the hands of the French, at the begining of this war. It is situate on the Lower-Rhine, fourteen miles almost south of Cologn, twenty-four, S. E. of Juliers, fifty-five almost N. E. of Triers, and sixty N. W. of Mentz. It was anciently a Roman colony, called Colonia Julia Bonna.

(4) These early preparations, to put the confederate army in a condition to act offensively, broke all the projects laid by the enemy, who design'd to have acted offensively, on their side, and to have opened the campain, the 29th of April, with the siege of Liege, for which they actually had provided 15,000 pioneers, 3000 wagons, and other necessaries; not dreaming that the confederates would be so early ready to oppose them. Lediard's life of Marlborough. vol. I. p. 219.

invested,

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invested, the 24th of April; and the 3d of May the trenches were opened and carried on with great success, and a very inconsiderable loss. The troops appointed for the service of this siege consisted of forty battallions of foot, and sixty squadrons of horse and dragoons, with an artillery of above 100 large cannons; and thirty-six mortars, beside 500 small cohorn-mortars.

When the governor saw the terrifying preparations which were making against him, by the allies, who had so vast a train of artillery, he sent a letter to the duke of Marlborough, importing:

The governor's letter to the duke.

"That an agreement had been made, the last "year, between the Electors Palatine and Co- "logn, that the cities of Dusseldorp and Bonn "should not be bombarded, in order to preserve "the churches, palaces, and other public build- "ings. The performance of which he was order'd "to request from his grace: and to declare withal, "unless the same were observed, the elector of "Bavaria would destroy the city of Nieuburg, "belonging to the elector Palatine."

The duke, after having communicated this letter to the elector Palatine, and the generals, return'd this answer:

His grace's answer.

"That it was not his custom nor inclination to "destroy cities or public buildings, out of pro- "pense malice or design, provided the enemy's "conduct did not put him upon such a necessity."

The siege carried on successfully.

The very day the trenches were open'd, the batteries were raised, with great alacrity, and being finish'd by the 8th, the besiegers began to fire with such good success, against both the town and fort, that, the same day, the chain which held the flying bridge, by means of which the fort had a communication with the town, was broken by a canon-shot, and the bridge, which was staved to pieces, carried away by the stream.

The fort taken.

The next day, the battery which played upon the fort, having made a large breach, and the besiegers being informed, that the garison was not numerous, it was resolved to storm it in the evening, which was done with great intrepidity, and the wish'd for success; the commander, with thirty of his men being made prisoners, and all the rest either kill'd or wounded. Being now masters of the fort, a great battery was raised in it, which, on the 12th, began to play on the town, from seventy pieces of heavy cannon, and eighteen mortars, in order to make two breaches, that the place might be stormed (1).

An unsuccessful sally.

The next day, about noon, the besieged, with about 1000 foot, supported by all their horse and dragoons, made a sally upon general Dedem's attack. The besiegers, in the trenches, were, at first, put into some disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repuls'd the French, with the loss of about one hundred men kill'd, and as many wounded, beside a major, and three captains taken prisoners: whereas the loss, on the side of the allies, did not amount to half the number (2).

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All things being now in a readiness to assault the counterscarp, and covered way, on the side of the Prince of Hesse's attack, the onset began about eight o'clock the same night, under the command of major-general Tettau, and brigadier Palandt; and the Prince, being there in person, animated the soldiers with so much courage and resolution, that being seconded by the continued fire, both from the cannon and mortars of several attacks, they forced their way forwards, drove the besieged from their works, and in less than an hour's time lodg'd themselves there. In this warm action, general Tettau was wounded, with about ten other officers, and 150 soldiers killed and wounded, together with the ingineer, who commanded in the works. The French pretend the allies had 300 men kill'd, and 200 wounded, in this action.

The counterscarp taken.

The confederate troops shewed, upon this occasion, so much bravery, and such an astonishing tempest of artificial fire was poured in upon the besieged, that rather than stand another attack, the next day, they beat a parly, and, on the 15th of May, N. S. surrendered the place, on honorable terms, which were sign'd by the duke of Marlborough, and the French governor, monsieur d'Alegre (3).

The city surrenders.

A design of messieurs de Villeroy and Boufflers frustrated.

During this siege, the French marshals de Villeroy and Boufflers, who commanded in Flanders, imbracing the opportunity of the duke's being imployed there, thought to have surprized the confederates, who lay dispersed about Maestricht, and, after having bombarded that place to have fallen upon Liege.

To this end, they advanced, the 9th of May, N. S. at night, unexpectedly, into the neighborhood of Tongeren (4), with an army of about 40,000 men, part, on the one side, under the marshal de Villeroy, and part, on the other, under the marshal de Boufflers, which obliged the confederate troops, who design'd to post themselves there, to retreat under the canon of Maestricht; while the enemy fell upon Tongeren, which they took after a stout resistance of twenty-eight hours. This time gave however opportunity to the confederates to draw together before Maestricht; so that, when the enemy advanced, to attack them, they found, to their great surprize and disappointment, the confederate army, under general d'Auverquerque, drawn up, in order of battle, advantageously posted, and ready to ingage them, tho' much inferior in number (5). About ten, in the morning, they made a general motion of all their troops, and came nearer towards the confederates; but when they were within reach of cannon, they made a halt. In this posture both armies stood gazing on one another, till three in the afternoon: but then the two marshals, finding their attempt was to no purpose, and not daring to attack the confederates, march'd back, the same way they came, to Tongeren, leaving the whole honor of the day, to general d'Auverquerque; who, by his

(1) The marquis de Quincy pretends, that, after the taking of the fort, the allies raised batteries for thirty pieces of cannon, forty mortars, and one hundred hand-grenado-mortars, at the attack, at the Lower-Rhine only.

(2) French accounts pretend to a great advantage, on their side, in this sally: of which the marquis de Quincy, in particular, gives the following account: "About two, in the afternoon, the marquis d'Alegre made a sally, with 1200 men "infantry, and 400 horse, at general Dedem's attack. They at first did very considerable damage to the works, and kill'd all "before them; but the allies having caus'd a great number of troops to advance, they retir'd in very good order, having lost "but thirty men, a captain of the royal grenadiers, and an aid-major of the crown: monsieur de Polastron, colonel of that "regiment, with some other officers, being wounded. They nail'd up ten of the besiegers canon, and six of their mortars, "kill'd fourscore of their men, wounded 160, and took colonel Malsburg, and several other officers prisoners: in short (con- "tinues my author) more than 400 rods of their works were destroy'd." Hist. Mil. de Louis le Gr. Tom. IV. p. 14.

(3) According to father Daniel's account, monsieur d'Alegre defended the place, till the town and all the works were demolish'd by the dreadful artillery of the confederates, and the whole circumference was no more than one continued breach.

(4) Monsieur de Quincy says, the two marshals had the whole French army with them, excepting one man out of every company, and all the guards, which they left behind to secure their camp.

(5) The continator of Rapin, in French, pretends, however, that the confederates were, at least, equal in number, to the French (that is, forty eight batalions, and 120 squadrons) and, for that reason, accuses the marshal de Villeroy of great imprudence in the attempt. B. XXVI. p. 521.

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prudence, experience and valor, prevented the total ruin of this part of the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough rejoins the confederate army.

Bonn being ſoon after taken, as I have already related, the duke of Marlborough re-joined the army of the confederates, which now conſiſted of 136 ſquadrons, and ſixty-ſix battalions, (or, as ſome accounts ſay, of but 130 of the former, and fifty-nine of the latter) and march'd them towards Liege, with a deſign not only to ſecure that place, but to oblige the enemy to decamp from Tongeren, where their army, which was computed to conſiſt of about ſeventy batalions, and one hundred ſquadrons (tho', if we will believe their accounts, they were no more, than ſixty batalions, and little more than one hundred ſquadrons) ſemeed to be poſted in a very advantageous ſituation.

The 25th of May, the duke march'd from Hocke near Maeſtricht, and, having paſs'd the river Jecker, advanced to Hautin, where the enemy deſigned to have foraged that morning; but, upon notice of the duke's approach, they removed to a greater diſtance, and continued upon their arms that night. However, the next day, when the confederates advanced to Nieudorp, they retreated, with great precipitation, to Bockworn, not daring to hazard a battle; and the duke of Berwick, after having blown up the walls and tower of Tongeren, where he commanded, quited that place likewiſe.

The French abandon Tongeren again.

Retire before the confederate army;

The duke followed them, and advanced within half a league of their camp; but the Jecker parted the two armies, and the French had ſecured all the bridges and paſſes of that river; notwithſtanding which, they were far from thinking themſelves ſecure 'till they got to Hannuye. Upon the duke's advancing to Thys and Lamyn, they did indeed drew up in order of battle, and ſent away their baggage, as if they were reſolved to try their fortune in a battle; but their courage again failed them, and they thought it their ſafeſt courſe to retire within their lines.

And ſhelter themſelves within their lines.

Reſolution to attack their intrenchments:

Thus was ſpent the beſt part of the month of June, the duke indeavoring to draw the enemy to a battle, and they as carefully avoiding it. At length, his grace, finding it was to no purpoſe to think of bringing them to an ingagement, on equal terms, took the reſolution to attack them in their intrenchments. The execution of this deſign was intruſted to general Cohorn and baron Spar, who performed it ſucceſsfully, in the country of Waes: while general Opdam (with another part of the army) ſtaid on this ſide the Scheld, in order to make an attempt on the lines before Antwerp. The French, at that time, had two flying camps, one commanded by the marquis de Bedmar, and the other, which hovered about Bruges, by the count de la Motte. The attack was undertaken in two different places: that under the command of general Cohorn, was at a place call'd Hoeck van Callo, where he made himſelf maſter of a reboubt called St. Anthony's Hoeck, and of the Pearl-fort, with little reſiſtance, and an inconſiderable loſs.

Executed by general Cohorn and baron Spar.

The other attack, commanded by baron Spar, was made near the village of Steeken. The baron perceiving, that the count de la Motte obſerved him diligently, fein'd a march towards Bruges, in order to deceive him: but, returning, march'd directly towards the lines, where a vigorious oppoſition was made, by eight battalions of regular foot, and 6000 of the country-people, who made a ſtouter defenſe than the diſciplined-troops, and by their fire, from the houſes of that village, very much gauled the confederates, after they were maſters of the lines: which obliged baron Spar to give orders, that no quarters ſhould be given them. This warm action coſt baron Spar 1200 men of his detachment, killed and wounded, ſeveral of whom were officers of note; in particular two brigadier-generals were wounded, and monſ. de Vaſſy, governor of Sas van Ghent, killed. What number of ſlain the enemy had I do not find, but about eighty of their common ſoldiers were taken priſoners. This action happen'd the 27th of June.

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The duke's deſign was, after the forcing of the lines, to make himſelf maſter of Antwerp, which was gariſon'd by ſome Spaniſh troops, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar: and the firſt ſucceſs made every one, as well at the Hague, as in the confederate army, ſo ſanguine upon it, that it was hardly doubted but that important place would ſoon fall into the hands of the allies: but as nothing is more precarious than the events of war, they ſoon found themſelves deceived in their expectations. The grand army of the confederates, under the command of his grace, and of monſ. d'Auverquerque, was to attack the lines, on the ſide of Louvain and Mechlin; monſ. de Cohorn, with his flying camp, was on the right of the Scheld, towards Dutch-Flanders, to draw the attention of the marquis de Bedmar, on that ſide; while baron Opdam, with another detatchment of the army, of about 10 or 12,000 (ſome accounts and particularly the French ſay 15,000) men, went to incamp between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp; deſigning to act, on that ſide, againſt the lines, which were guarded by the Spaniards. This deſign was excellently well concerted, and would probably have been as well executed, had it not been diſcovered by (or as the continuator of Rapin, in French ſays, betrayed to) the two French generals, who thereupon imagined there would be no other means to fruſtrate this project, but by attacking the body of troops under monſ. Opdam, and, if poſſible, cuting of his retreat. To conceal this deſign, the marſhal de Villeroy made a motion, with the army of the two crowns, and advanced towards Dieſte, upon the intelligence he had of the duke's marching towards Antwerp.

The duke of Marlborough forms a deſign on Antwerp:

Which is fruſtrated by the vigilance of the enemy.

His grace was no ſooner advis'd of this, than he held a council of war, which was unanimouſly of opinion, that the confederate camp at Eckeren, conſiſting only of thirteen battalions, and twenty-ſix ſquadrons, which were hardly cover'd on the right, and it being eaſy for the enemy, with a ſuperior force, not only to cut off their communication with Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, but likewiſe that with Lillo, the beſt thing they could do, would be to ſend (as they did the very ſame night) their heavy baggage to Bergen-op-Zoom, and, upon the firſt intelligence they ſhould have of the motion of the enemy, to change the ſituation of their camp, and retire nearer towards Lillo: which was accordingly done, upon advice that the enemy were come out of their lines, the 30th of June, with a very conſiderable body of troops, and it was not long before the van guard of their left wing perceived them (1). Theſe motions brought on the famous battle of Eckeren: which being a very remarkable as well as a brave action, and redounding much to the honor of the allies, I ſhall give the reader a tranſlation of general Schlangenberg's letter to the States, writen the day after the battle (as we find it in Rouſſet's hiſtoire militaire, &c. tome II. p. 88.)

Reſolutions of a council of war.

Motions preceeding the battle of Eckeren.

(1) This body of troops, as it afterwards appear'd, conſiſted of thirty-three battalions, thirty-two ſquadrons, and forty-ſeven companies of grenadiers, under the command of the marquis de Bedmar, who was afterwards joined and aſſiſted by monſ. de Bouflers, and prince Tſerclaes, with thirty ſquadrons, and thirty companies of grenadiers from the marſhal de Villeroys grand camp. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 238.

wherein

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wherein we have the moſt exact account of it I have ſeen.

General Schlangenberg's account of the battle of Eckeren.

High and mighty lords,

" After that, by order of your highneſſes, the " army commanded by general Opdam was leſſen- " ed to thirteen battalions, and twenty-ſix ſquadrons, " and that it was found good, that this ſmall " army ſhould march from Stabroeck towards " Eckeren, count Tilly and I repreſented the bad " conſtitution of that camp, with ſo ſmall a num- " ber of troops, within three quarters of a league " of the enemy's lines, who, according to general " Cohorn's report, could aſſemble fifty battalions, " from Lier to Oſtend, and that, beſide, they " could be re-inforced from their great army; " whereas we could expect no aſſiſtance in time, " nay, not from general Cohorn. Beſide, I and " count Tilly remonſtrated, that the enemy, be- " ing ſuperior in number, might always cut off " our retreat; and that we underſtood, that the " enemy were ſtronger in their lines, than we were " in our army, and that our great army had paſſed " the Jecker, and that of the enemy advanced as " far as Tirlemont; and beſide, that we had ad- " vice, that the enemy expected more troops in " their lines. Nevertheleſs, we could obtain nothing " by our remonſtrance, but only a reſolution to " ſend our heavy baggage to Bergen-op-zoom.

" This we did, at the ſame time, when monſ. de " Bouflers arrived in the French lines, with a con- " ſiderable body of horſe and dragoons, and, as " priſoners ſay, with ſeventy companies of grena- " diers, and, without loſs of time, ſent all their " troops out of their lines, with the marquis of " Bedmar, Prince T'ſerclaes, monſ. Villeroy's ſon, " and many other general officers; and having " march'd, with incredible diligence, they poſted an " ambuſcade of their dragoons before our left, and " advanced, with the main of their army, to " Cappelle, behind our camp, before we had the " leaſt advice of their deſign or march: nor had we " been informed then, before we had been incom- " paſs'd, but that I, and count Tilly, with ſome " of our major-generals, making the tour of our " camp, met their ambuſcade of dragoons, about " one o'clock, near our grand horſe-guard. Having " thus diſcovered this ambuſcade, we judged the " enemy deſigned to attack us, and immediately " put our troops in arms, and acquainted general " Opdam, with what we had done. One of our " guards, on the ſteeple of the church of Eckeren, " acquainted us, at the ſame time, that the enemy " came with a great body of troops, towards " Capelle, and advanced continually; upon which " general Opdam reſolved to retire under Lillo, " and ordered two ſquadrons of dragoons to poſſeſs " themſelves of the poſt of Houwen, to cover the " march of our army.

" While general Opdam was buſy ordering " their march, we underſtood, that the enemy was " advanced to Houwen, and had repuls'd thoſe " two ſquadrons of dragoons, whereby the road " to Lillo was ſtopp'd. Brigadier Schulemberg " was detach'd at firſt to poſt himſelf at Muiſbrock, " and Getting, below Houwen to cover our re- " treat; but when he came there, he found that " poſt well guarded, by French dragoons and gre- " nadiers; whereupon he began to charge them; " but, they being much ſuperior in number, he " judged a retreat neceſſary, and tried to ſeize the " port of Houteren, but he found the enemy alſo " poſſeſſed of that. This obliged him to draw " up at Watering, betwixt Houteren and Muiſ- " brock, and it was reſolved to attack the French " there, and to make them retire, if poſſible; " but they were ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it " was impracticable. On the other hand, the enemy " advanced upon us, made a vigorous charge on " the troops of Munſter, and began a ſharp battle, " with the foot, about three o'clock. Q. ANN' AN' 1703.

" Perceiving the enemy to be much ſuperior in " number, we were obliged to change our de- " ſign, and to indure a terrible fire of their muſkets. " General Opdam, and count Tilly, who were " upon the road, with the horſe, upon the dike " that goes to Willemerdonck, tried to continue " their march oppoſite to Houteren, along the " dikes of the Scheld, to Lillo, and, when they " arrived, found the enemy poſſeſſed of Houteren, " but were afterwards chaſed from thence by our " troops. Mean while the foot continued the fight, " betwixt Houwen and Eckeren, with a terrible " fire, on both ſides, till eight at night, eſpecially " about and upon the dike between Eckeren and " Willemerdonck, where lieutenant-general Fagel, " and the major-generals Frieſheim and Elberfield " gave ſuch proofs of their conduct and valor, " as cannot be enough admired. Lieutenant-gene- " ral Fagel being wounded in the head and foot, " we not being able to ſuſtain his regiment, and the " enemy perceiving we wanted foot, took the op- " portunity to force our troops at Houteren to " retire, and poſted themſelves there, and at ſome " ſluices betwixt that village and fort la Croix, " and, by that means we were incompaſs'd on all " ſides, having the enemy's lines and Antwerp, " on our rear, and fort Philippine, and the Scheld, " on our left, which obliged me to ſend to general " Opdam and count Tilly, for their advice, how " to get out of that labyrinth. Word was brought " me, that general Opdam had not been ſeen for " ſome time, and count Tilly ſaid, he believed " him either to be killed or taken.

" Upon this, we reſolved to try all courſes with " the utmoſt vigor. Count Tilly detached ſome ca- " valry, under general Hompeſch, to ſuſtain the foot, " who maintained a bloody fight, for a long time, " upon the dike. The French alſo ſent horſe to " ſuſtain their foot, on this occaſion. General " Hompeſch, led on his horſe, with ſo much con- " duct and courage, that he broke ſeveral French " ſquadrons, took ſome of their ſtandards and " drums, routed ſeveral battalions of their foot, " and drove the enemy back a quarter of a league.

" Brigadier Wyke, and the other brigadiers and " colonels, having ſpent all their powder and lead, " ordered their men to put their bayonets on their " muſkets, and purſue the enemy, and the battle " being ſharp and bloody, the dike was covered " with the ſlain and wounded.

" I had then taken poſt on the key of a canal " that joined the dike, where I placed two batta- " lions, and the cavalry behind them, to maintain " that poſt to the laſt extremity, if our firſt troops " happened to be broke, and for the ſecurity of " the reſt of the regiments, that we expected in the " night; but the enemy was ſo diſordered, that " they had no mind to renew the fight, in that " poſt. They indeavored, during the heat of the " charge above-mentioned to fall upon our rear, " having, for that end, charged us with four batta- " lions from Antwerp and fort la Croix, along the " village, and another dike of Willemerdonck; " but found that poſt well guarded, and their men " were forced to retire, by the dreadful fire of our " troops. Night coming on, and finding our " ſelves ſtill incompaſs'd on all ſides, we were " forced to open a paſſage by dint of ſword. The " French had ſeized the poſt of Houteren, and " ſeveral others towards the ſluices, which cut off " our communication with Lillo, upon which " count Tilly, monſ. Hop, and I, reſolved to at- " tack that poſt, with utmoſt vigor, and, our in- " fantry wanting powder and lead, we ordered " them

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" them to advance with their bayonets on their " muſkets.

" Major-general Frieſheim and brigadier Dona " were detached, with four battalions, and march- " ing through a ground full of ditches, waded " up to their middle, to attack the enemy, in that " poſt, on flank and rear. We marched alſo ſome " regiments along the dike, and count Tilly ad- " vanced with ſome dragoons, and after firing ſome " cannon, on that poſt, we attack'd the enemy, " in flank, front and rear, chaſed them from Hou- " teren, took their cannon, and beat them from " the ſluices, where they were intrench'd. We " purſued them fighting, as far as fort la Croix, " which opened our paſſage along the dikes to " Lillo, where we arrived this morning, and are " now incamp'd.

" I can aſſure your highneſſes, that all your " troops, horſe, foot and dragoons, fought with " a ſurpizing valor, and that lieutenant-general " Fagel, and all the other generals, majors and " brigadiers, behaved themſelves in this dangerous " action, with admirable conduct, being only ſorry " that we have loſt ſo many brave men. There " are ſome taken priſoners, and many wounded, " of whom I cannot ſend a liſt till the next. We " have taken ſome ſtandards, drums and colors, " and my regiment has taken one piece of cannon " and a color. I hope your highneſſes will con- " ſider the ſmall number of our troops: that the " enemy was twice as ſtrong as we; that their " loſs is much greater than ours; and that almoſt " all of them retired in confuſion, and left us the " field of battle: whereas we came hither in good " order. It was my opinion, as well as count " Tilly's, and all the generals who were preſent, " that we ought never to have expoſed our ſelves in " ſuch a diſadvantageous camp; however, I hope " it will be no ſmall ſatisfaction to your high- " neſſes, and this action will certainly advance the " reputation of your troops.

" I forgot to tell you, that the count of Eaſt " Friezland, and count vander Nat, diſtinguiſhed " themſelves, on this occaſion, and that colonel " Ivois aſſiſted me with his care, valor and good " advice; ſo that, I doubt not but your high- " neſſes will conſider his merit. General " Fagel is imbarked to day, to have his wounds " better look'd after. General Cohorn came to " Lillo in the night with ſome regiments, after the " battle; but ſent them back immediately, under " major-general Dedem. All our regiments eſ- " pecially the foot, are extreamly weaken'd, ſo " that they cannot act in a body, except your " highneſſes change thoſe, that ſuffered moſt, with " others that are in gariſons. This poſt is not " ſafe, except the ſluices of fort Frederick Henry " be opened, which cannot be while we are here, " becauſe the ſalt water would occaſion diſeaſes. " Monſ. Opdam not being preſent, I have taken " upon me the general command, till I receive " your highneſſes order.

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Lillo, July. 2, 1703. (1).

The States received the firſt account of this action by an expreſs from general Opdam, acquainting them; " That the French, near Antwerp, " having received a conſiderable re-inforcement, " from their main army, came out of their lines, " the 30th of June, N. S. and ſurrounded the " body of the confederate forces, under his com- " mand; which they had intirely routed, and that " he had eſcaped to Breda, with only thirty horſe, " and could give no farther account of thoſe " troops."

The truth was, general Opdam had the misfortune to be cut off from the reſt of his army, at the begining of the ingagement, and fled to Breda, looking upon the army as loſt: and tho' that general had ſerved his country above thirty years, without any imputation on his courage, and his being cut off from his army, was purely an accident, yet he could never afterward recover any tolerable reputation in the army (2).

Upon the arrival of general Opdam's expreſs, all the Hague was in the utmoſt confuſion: but a meſſenger diſpatch'd by monſ. Hop, the deputy of the States in that army, arriving ſoon after, with a quite different account, revived their ſpirits: and, upon the receit of general Schlangenburg's letter, the States came to a reſolution, that thanks ſhould be given to him and the whole army, for the great conduct, zeal, and courage they had ſhewn in the battle of Eckeren (3).

The

(1) According to the beſt computation, the Dutch loſt, in this ingagement, 717 men kill'd, 1003 wounded, 694 priſoners or deſerted, and 376 horſes: whereas the French had near 1600 men kill'd and wounded, beſide 150 officers: and, notwithſtanding monſ. Opdam went off in the midſt of the action, yet the other Dutch generals maintain'd the fight, with ſuch admirable preſenſe of mind, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and march off by night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, towards their lines, The marſhal de Bouflers had, at leaſt 30,000 men under his command; the greateſt part of their choſen troops, a great many general officers, and young French lords accompanied him. The firſt to aſſiſt him and the latter to acquire glory, and ſignalize themſelves: whereas the confederate army did not exceed 10,000 men. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. 1. p. 248.

(2) There ſeems to be a hardſhip, in this gentleman's caſe, which deſerves compaſſion: it is certain, that he ſerved his country above thirty years, with unblemiſh'd fidelity, zeal and courage, nor does their ſeem to have been a want of either, in this laſt action, if the circumſtances he relates, in a juſtification by him publiſh'd, be true; and I never yet found they were contradicted. If he was really cut off by the enemy, and not able to regain his troops, what better courſe could he take, than to keep out of the enemy's power? If he had been ſlain or taken, one of which muſt have been the alternative, what benefit could the allies have reaped by it? What a tickliſh thing is honor, how hardly obtained, and how eaſily forfeited, in the eye of the world! That the merit of thirty years painful ſervice ſhould be ſunk in one error of judgment, by which no one was ſufferer! it is the misfortune of great men, that their actions ly open to the cenſures of the meaneſt, and are but too often judg'd of, not by their true motive, but by the ſucceſs of them. However, it was not general Opdam's fate alone to ſuffer in his reputation on account of this action. Marſhal Bouflers's conduct was juſtly cenſured, and it was thought this finiſh'd his diſgrace: nor was the duke of Marlborough without ſome ſhare of cenſure on this occaſion: for it was pretended, that he ought to have ſent a force to ſupport Opdam, or have made an attempt on Villeroy's army, when it was weakned by the detachment ſent with Bouflers. But mr. Hop, in his letter to the States, allows, that the duke of Marlborough had wrote to him, two days before the battle, to adviſe them to be upon their guard, and that his grace had reaſon to expect from theſe brave commanders, when forewarned, all that men could do, the very circumſtances of this action themſelves ſufficiently evince. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 254.

(3) The French court, to make this action appear with the luſtre of a compleat victory, did not ſcruple to affirm, that the allies were ſuperior in infantry, and advantageouſly poſted, and yet were obliged to abandon the field of battle, as alſo their wounded, tents, baggage, ſix pieces of canon, forty-four mortars (cohorn perhaps) their ammunition, proviſions, 150 artillery waggons, ſeveral colors and drums, with the loſs of 4000 men on the ſpot, and 500 taken priſoners.

F. Daniel goes yet farther, and not only poſitively avers, that the marſhal de Bouflers, and the marquis de Bedmar, deſeated the army under general Opdam, but makes the loſs of the allies conſiderably greater than that of the two crowns. The confederates (ſays he) by their own confeſſion, had 1200 ſoldiers killed or wounded, eight colonels, as many lieutenant-colonels, ſix majors, ſeven and thirty captains, and 166 ſubalterns; 700 were made priſoners, ſix pieces of cannon taken, two large mortars, forty ſmall ones, all their tents, and abundance of military furniture. To all this, the marquis de Quincy adds, 300 artillery and baggage waggons, with a pretty large quantity of plate and coin. And to the priſoners he adds,

madam

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Motions of the confederate army.

The allies being willing to repair the diſadvantages they had lain under by the action at Eckeren (1) join'd all their forces together, with the intent to come to an ingagement with the marſhal de Villeroy, who, incamping near St. Job, rang'd all his forces, in order of battle, and gave out, that he reſolved to ſtay there for the duke of Marlborough. His grace, and monſieur d'Auverquerque, hoping he would be as good as his word, march'd with the army under their command, in ſeveral columns, to Hoogſtraat, within half a league of the enemy's camp, who, to all appearance, were making great preparations for a vigorous action. General Schlangenburg, decamping from Lillo, march'd all night, and arrived early in the morning, between Eckeren and Capella, to attack them, on that ſide; and the duke of Marlborough, with his army, advanc'd in a great plain, over againſt the enemy, and cauſed four pieces of cannon to be diſcharged, for a ſignal to general Schlangenburg, in order for him to begin the attack; but, as he advanced, the marſhal declined the ingagement, and, having ſet fire to his camp, order'd his army to retire within their lines; which they accordingly did with great precipitation. By this means they cover'd the city of Antwerp, which was exactly in their rear, and thereby fruſtrated the duke's deſign.

The duke of Marlborough views the French lines.

The duke failing thus in his hopes of bringing the enemy to an ingagement, being attended by ſeveral general officers, and a guard of 4000 horſe and dragoons, went, the 27th of July, to view the enemy's lines. Lieutenant Benſon, of the Engliſh royal regiment of dragoons, with about thirty Engliſh, being detach'd, fell in with one of the enemy's out-guards of forty horſe, who, after one diſcharge, retired, and were chaſed, by the Engliſh, to the very barrier of their intrenchments, which gave the confederate generals an opportunity to view them, within muſket ſhot; and from that day the duke laid a ſcheme to force them: but the execution of that project was induſtriouſly put off, from time to time, by the deputies of the States-general.

Huy beſieg'd.

The 16th of Auguſt, N. S. the count de Noyelles, with a detachment from the grand army, arrived before Huy; upon whoſe approach, the governor with his gariſon, retired into the caſtle and forts, which were inveſted, and the trenches opened the 17th and 18th. The attack againſt fort St. Joſeph was commanded by the Prince of Anhalt, and that againſt fort Picard, by colonel Frederick Hamilton. The approaches were continued with ſuch ſucceſs, and the batteries, which began to play the 21ſt, did ſuch execution, that, the next day, the gariſons of the forts, would have retired into the caſtle; but, being refuſed admittance, were obliged to come to the town, where they were ſeized and diſarmed. The batteries being then removed againſt the caſtle, and play'd with great fury, they had ſo good effect, that, the 27th, the gariſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. During this whole ſiege, the confederates had not above twenty men kill'd, and thirty-five wounded: but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable.

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And taken.

The duke of Marlborough and ſeveral generals are for forcing the lines.

Three days before, a grand council of war was held at the confederate camp, at Val Notre Dame, in which were preſent, the duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States-general, monſieur d'Auverquerque, monſieur Schlangenburg, the lieutenant-generals, and ſeveral major-generals. The queſtion in debate was, what they ſhould next undertake, after Huy ſhould be ſurrender'd? and, the ſiege of Limburg being propoſed, the duke of Marlborough, who (as I have obſerved above) had, with great care and diligence, informed himſelf of the condition of the enemy's lines, and got the beſt intelligence he could, where they might be forc'd, with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, was againſt the propoſal; and he, together with ſome of the other generals, gave their ſentiments rather for attacking the enemy's lines, between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, as an enterprize that would contribute much more to the glory and advantage of the arms of the high allies: being alſo of opinion, that Limburg might be attack'd, by a detachment, when the ſeaſon was more advanced.

But the Dutch oppoſe it.

The deputies of the States, and the Dutch generals, on the other hand, would by no means conſent to hazard their troops, in what they called a deſperate action, which they ſaid, was, at beſt, very dubious, and which, if attended with ſucceſs, would yield no farther advantage than to find the enemy retired into their fortified towns; whereas, on the contrary, ſhould the French get the victory, the United-provinces would remain expoſed to their incurſions. However, the arguments offered by the duke and his party were very cogent, and beſide theſe, the duke had his private reaſons, founded upon very good intelligence, which he had by his ſpies, of which, an officer who ſerved under him, has aver'd, he had no leſs than three introduced to him in one night (after the fatigue of a hard day's march) in his tent, the officer of his guard having orders to wake him when they came.

The ſiege of Limburg reſolved on.

The project of attacking the lines being thus laid aſide, the reſolution was taken to beſiege Limburg (2); and, to that end, the 5th of September, by break of day, the grand army, under the command of the duke, and with him, monſieur d'Auverquerque, march'd from the neighborhood of Huy, and pitch'd their camp at Hanuye, within about two leagues of the French grand army, which then conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions, and 140 ſquadrons, with upwards of 120 pieces of cannon, and twenty-four mortars, all mounted on their intrenchments and lines in front. The conſe-

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madam de Tilly, who came, that day, to dine with her huſband. The French (according to both) had but 500 ſlain, and 840 wounded. The allies were purſued in their retreat, till eleven at night, and retired in confuſion under the fort of Lillo.

Theſe circumſtances are not only contradicted by general Schlangenburg's account, but by many others: monſieur Rouſſet ſays, the enemy took four pieces of cannon at firſt, but were oblig'd to abandon them again with one of their own, ſome ammunition, ſeveral pair of kettle-drums, two ſtandards of the gens d'arms, ſeveral colors, and a good number of priſoners. The army continued in the field of battle all night, under their arms, and march'd the next morning, from Houteren to Lillo, without any diſturbance or attempt from the enemy. The French King was, however, made to believe, that his troops got the victory, and cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in the cathedral church of Paris: and that upon the bare and only circumſtance of the retreat of general Opdam.

(1) The States, in the mean time, tho' their troops gain'd great honor, in this action, had the mortification to loſe the future ſervices of two brave generals by it: that of general Opdam, for the reaſons already aſſign'd; and that of general Schlangenburg, becauſe, having given offenſe to the duke of Marlborough, by being to free of his cenſure on this occaſion, they were obliged, ſoon after, to diſpenſe with his ſervice, rather than diſoblige his grace, whoſe ſervice they ſtood more in need of: thus this brave officer, who certainly behaved gallantly in this action, loſt by his tongue, the advantnge he had gained by the ſword. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 254.

(2) Limburg is a very ſtrong, tho' not large city, the capital of the duchy and territory of that name, ſituate on a rock, among ſhady woods, on the river Weſdret. It is ſixteen miles, S. E. of Aix la Chapelle, nineteen almoſt E. of Liege, ſorty three almoſt S.W. of Cologn, fifty-four N. of Luxemburg, and ſeventy almoſt Eaſt of Bruſſels.

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derate army then consisted of eighty battalions, and 142 squadrons. The duke with several other generals, with a guard of forty squadrons, advanced out of the front of the camp, within almost cannon-shot of the enemy's lines, to view their situation, which put them in so great a consternation, that they expected nothing less than being immediately attack'd. But how earnestly soever his grace might desire it, his hands were tied. He, therefore returned, in the evening, to the camp.

Limburg invested.

The 6th, the army incamp'd at St. Tron, from whence, on the 8th, the duke detach'd lieutenant-general Bulau, with a body of troops towards Limburg, which place he invested the 10th, with twenty-four squadrons of horse and dragoons. The garison in the town and castle, consisted of four battalions, and they had twelve pieces of cannon and four mortars mounted (1). The 14th, the duke of Marlborough arrived to command the siege in person. Till the 25th, was imployed in making

The trenches opened.

the necessary preparations for opening the trenches, and finishing the batteries, which then playing night and day, with twenty-four pieces of cannon and eight mortars, upon the upper-town, the breach was so wide by the 27th, that the confederates were preparing to give a general assault; but the French, perceiving it, beat a parly. The duke would, however, grant them no other conditions, than, "that the garison should surrender "prisoners of war; that the officers and soldiers "might keep what was their own, and that the "officers should be allowed twelve wagons to "carry their bagage, provided they delivered up "one of their gates, within half an hour after this "agreement."

The garison surrenders prisoners of war.

This being consented to by the besieged, and the garison having laid down their arms, and being march'd out, the besiegers took possession of the place (2).

Thus ended the campain in the Netherlands; which proved glorious to the allies, and particularly to the duke of Marlborough: but it might have been much more so had his grace been allow'd to pursue his own reasonable and well-grounded measures; especially as he had the superior army (3).

Affairs of Germany.

The French, and their new confederates, the Bavarians, had, the whole summer, miserably harrass'd the Emperor and the Empire. The French, on their side, took Fort-Kehl, Old-Brisac (4), and Landau, all considerable fortresses, on the Upper-Rhine, and defeated the Dutch and Germans, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, at the battle of Spirebach, where they surprized the German camp, while the officers were celebrating the festival of St. Leopold, in honor to the Emperor, in mirth and jollitry. And the Bavarians, on the other hand, having been joined, in the spring, by the marshal de Villars, possess'd himself (tho' not without great difficulty) of Ratisbon (5).

The elector of Bavaria takes possession of Ratisbon.

The Emperor having not only refused to consent to the neutrality of Ratisbon, proposed by the Elector of Bavaria, but, instead of that, required the soverein Princes, and States of Germany, to furnish their quota's, and to inable him to prevent the mischiefs that threatned the Empire; their deputies at the diet, who were, indeed, no better than the Elector of Bavaria's prisoners, insisted upon their securities, alleging, that the Imperial court's refusal was out of season, and prejudicial to the authority of the Princes and States of the Empire.

The Queen of England, and the States-general of the United-provinces, press'd, with all possible earnestness, that unweildy and lethargic body, by their ministers, to take effectual measures, to prevent the fatal consequences of the conjunction of the French and Bavarians. But when some of the deputies would have taken into present consideration, the ways and means for every circle to furnish out their shares of men, artillery, and ammunition, for the army of 120,000 men, which the diet had, the year before, resolved to set on foot for the defense of the Empire, others replied, that the consideration of these things was too late for this campain, and too soon for the next.

This supine negligence of the diet, the cause of all the succeeding distractions of the Empire, incourag'd the Elector of Bavaria, to publish a manifesto, wherein he complains, in the first place,

The Elector of Bavaria's manifesto.

"against the Emperor and his allies, accusing them "of exorbitant plundering, extorting contributions, "and burning his country, from thence insinuating, "that he took up lawful arms, in his own defense. "He denies his having had any design (as the house "of Austria gives out) of joining with France to

(1) The officer, who commanded in the place, had orders to abandon it at the approach of the allies, but first to blow up the castle. However, being surprized, he was obliged to make some defense, for his honor's sake. F. Daniel.

(2) By the taking of this place, the allies not only became intire masters of the duchy of Limburg, but secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologn, from the incursions of the French; and before the conclusion of the year, they were likewise masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the surrender of the city of Guelders, on the 17th of December, after it had been long blockaded and bombarded by the Prussian general Lottum, and was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 270.

(3) The French make it a merit in their generals, and heap applauses upon them, for having, with so much conduct, prevented the allies from making any farther conquests this campain; and pretend, notwithstanding what they had attempted at the opening of it, that they never design'd any thing more than to be on the defensive, in Flanders, that they might act with the greater vigor in Germany and Italy. De Quincy, hist. mil. de Louis le Gr. Tom. IV. p. 43.

The continuator of Rapin in French, who is very ready upon all occasions to depreciate the actions of the duke of Marlborough, will hardly allow this campain to be glorious: one might, says he, reasonably have expected something more from such a superiority of force as the intrigues of the English general, supported by the re-iterated sollicitations of the State-general had procured. Without this augmentation, he would have been in a condition to have besieged and taken the three places which fell this campains into his hand: B. xxvi. p. 525. But all this while our author conceals the real reasons why nothing more was done, the non-compliance of the Dutch with the duke's measures.

(4) This place, tho very strong before, was rendered so much the more so, by the fortifications which the famous monsr. de Vauban added during the last war, that it was rendered almost inpregnable: yet the French were masters of it in fourteen days after they opened the trenches. The Emperor, to shew his resentment, caused the count d'Arco, who was governor, to be beheaded, and the deputy-governor, count Marsigli to be degraded with dishonor: and yet (says my author) they could do no more than they did, the place not being provided with necessaries for a defence (a thing very common with the Emperor and the Empire) and beside, the French general having made a feint of besieging Friburg, they had been oblig'd to detach ten men out of every company of the garison, for the security of that place. But the Emperor was obliged to do something, to excuse his own negligence to his allies. Contin' of Rapin in French. B. xxvi. p. 526.

(5) Ratisbon is a very large, rich, and strong city of Germany, in the circle and dukedom of Bavaria; and bishopric of the same name, under the archbishop of Saltsburg; it is famous for the general diets of the Empire, which have been held there ever since the year 1662. It was formerly the capital of Bavaria, and afterwards the residence of the Franconian Emperors; but was, at length, taken from the Bavarians by Emperor Frederick I, in the year 1180, and made a free Imperial city, as it now remains. It has a very fine stone-bridge over the Danube, 1091 foot long, and 32 broad, supported by pillars, and adorn'd with three towers. It has, likewise, a magnificent old cathedral, and a stately castle, where the Imperial diets are generally held. The river, Regen, which falls into the Danube, on one side of it, has given it the name of Regenspurg, by which alone it is known in Germany. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 273.

"attack

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" attack the Empire: and avers, that he left the " Netherlands, and retired to his own country, " meerly to keep himſelf out of this new war, " and to join his indeavors, with thoſe of the cir- " cles of Suabia and Franconia, firmly to eſtabliſh " the peace obtain'd by the treaty of Ryſwick. " He adds, that the miniſters of the crown of " France, having not only by memorials, but " verbally, repreſented to the diet at Ratiſbon, " and the circles of the Empire, that their maſter " was diſpoſed to keep the treaty of Ryſwick in- " violably, and the circles, in their anſwers, ex- " preſſing a like inclination, he had conformably " declar'd, on the ſide of France, and entered " into a treaty with that crown; that he wiſhed, " that the Imperial court, when they began the " war in Italy, for the ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh " Monarchy, had had the conſent of the Empire, " at leaſt of the Electoral college: as alſo, when " they declared againſt the dukes of Savoy and " Mantua, and againſt the Elector of Cologn, " whoſe only crime was, that he would not be " ſubſervient to the deſigns of the houſe of Auſtria. " That his Electoral Highneſs had cauſe ſufficient " to complain of ſuch proceedings of the Imperial " council, but ſmother'd his reſentments, out of " reſpect to the Emperor; but when the circles of " Auſtria, Suabia and Franconia, without wait- " ing for the reſolutions of the diet of the Empire, " entered into the war, and conſequently became " unqualified to give an impartial vote in the " diet, his Electoral highneſs, finding his coun- " try left naked and expoſed, his enemy grown " more formidable, and the houſe of Bavaria in " danger of being oppreſſed, he judg'd it high " time, for his own ſecurity, and for the preſer- " vation of his country, to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome " advantageous poſts, particularly Ulm and Mem- " mingen, to prevent being cruſh'd by the Monar- " chical adminiſtration, till now unheard of in the " Empire." This manifeſto was preſented to the diet at Ratiſbon, by the Bavarian miniſter, with another writing, importing; " that the Elector would " think himſelf no longer oblig'd to evacuate that " town, tho' the Emperor's ratification of the " reſolve of the diet, for a neutrality, ſhould be " ſign'd by his Imperial Majeſty; however, he " aſſur'd the public miniſters reſiding there, that " they ſhould injoy all freedom and ſecurity in the " ſaid place, with which aſſurance he hoped they " would reſt contented, and demand nothing far- " ther."

He invades Tirol.

Marſhal Villars then remain'd on the Danube, while the elector of Bavaria invaded Tirol, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of Inſpruck, and other places, with ſuch rapidity, as amazed all Germany, and very much alarmed the court of Vienna. He made his publick entry into Inſpruck, from which he demanded homage, and a monthly contribution of 120,000 florins, beſide a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions.

In the mean time, the Emperor's force was ſo broken into ſmall armies, in different places, that he had not one good any where; and in Tirol he had none at all. All that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch the motions of the marſhal de Villars. The duke de Vendôme had orders to march from the Milaneſe to Tirol, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria, which, if he had effected, would have reduced the houſe of Auſtria to the loweſt extremity: but the boors of Tirol riſing, attack'd the Elector's forces with ſo much reſolution, that he was forced to retire out of the country, with conſiderable loſs, before the duke could join him, who was, thereupon, likewiſe obliged by the boors to return back without effecting any thing.

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But is obliged to quit it.

The Elector, afterwards, rejoined the marſhal de Villars, and deſign'd immediately to have ſeized on Augſburg, but was prevented by Prince Lewis of Baden; however the French and Bavarians having defeated count Stirum, with a conſiderable body of Germans, near Hochſtadt, the Prince, could no longer keep that place out of the Elector's hands, who was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of it, than he delivered it up to the French (1).

He takes Augſburg.

The Elector, not long after this, turned eaſtward, took Paſſaw, march'd into Auſtria, and made himſelf maſter of Lintz, a very conſiderable city, and capital of the Upper-Auſtria. He even threatned to join Ragotzki, and the Hungarian rebels, who ravaged Auſtria, Stiria, and Moravia, and made incurſions almoſt to the very gates of Vienna, his Imperial Majeſty's ſeat and capital. To this fatal dilemma was the houſe of Auſtria at that time brought; and what would have been the end of it, if the duke of Marlborough had not come to their relief, the inſuing campain, as we ſhall ſee below, is eaſy to gueſs.

Great diſtreſs of the houſe of Auſtria.

It was ſome alleviation of the loſs which the allies ſuſtained, by theſe misfortunes that befell the houſe of Auſtria, that the King of Portugal (as I have ſaid above) and the duke of Savoy, acceeded this year, to the grand alliance. The French King having ſome intimation of the latter, before hand, commanded the duke de Vendôme, to ſeize and diſarm the troops of Savoy, that were in his army. The duke of Savoy, by way of repriſal, commanded ſeveral French officers, who were in Turin, and the French embaſſador himſelf, to be put under arreſt. The duke de Vendôme was hereupon commanded, immediately to invade the frontiers of Savoy, and to tranſmit the following letter to his royal highneſs.

The duke of Savoy comes into the grand alliance.

Sir,

" Since neither religion, honor, intereſt, alliance, " nor even your own hand-writing, are of any force " between us, I ſend my couſin, the duke de " Vendôme, at the head of my armies, to make " known to you my intentions; he will allow you " but twenty-four hours to reſolve what you have " to do. Lewis.

The duke of Savoy, however, continued firm to the allies, and publiſhed a manifeſto, ſeting forth the neceſſity and juſtice of his proceedings, and ſent expreſſes to the Emperor, and the reſt of the confederated powers, to ſollicit their aſſiſtance to inable him to weather the impending ſtorm. (2)

(1) Augſburg (the Auguſta Vindelicorum of the Ancients) is a very large, populous, and rich city, one of the moſt celebrated of Germany, and a free Imperial city, adorn'd with magnificent churches, palaces, magazines excedingly well furniſhed, and ſeveral excellent hoſpitals. It is famous for ſeveral Imperial diets held there, and particularly, in the 16th century, after the reformation in Germany by Luther. Here likewiſe, the then King of the Romans, Joſeph (afterwards Emperor) was elected and crown'd in 1689. It is ſituate at the confluence of the river Lech and Wertach, near the borders of Bavaria. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 278.

(2) The Emperor had his ſhare in theſe negociations, but England and Holland much more. The vaſt ſums which were laviſh'd away, on the duke of Savoy, certainly never came out of the Emperor's coffers. He promiſed him nothing more than the inveſtiture of Montferrat; but left him the care of geting poſſeſſion of it. It muſt have been ſomething more than promiſes, that could determine this Prince to give up 30,000 crowns a month, which he received of France and Spain, for the ſmall aid they had from him. Queen Ann made a liberal uſe of the power given her by parliament, to ſpare nothing in procuring ſuch new alliances, as ſhe might judge advantageous and neceſſary for the common cauſe: Cont. of Rapin in Fr. B. xxvi. p. 528.

The

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The duke of Marlborough visits the King of Spain.

The duke of Marlborough, after having given the neceſſary orders for the diſpoſition of the troops, was informed, juſt as he was preparing to return to England, that the archduke Charles of Auſtria, with the title of Charles III King of Spain, was arrived at Duſſeldorp, in his way thro' Holland and England, for that kingdom; his grace, therefore, went thither, to congratulate his Majeſty, on his acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, in the name of the Queen of Great-Britain (1). The King having had notice of the duke's coming, put on, the day he expected his viſit, a fine rich ſword, that he deſign'd to make a preſent of to his grace, which he did, in the following polite manner: while they were diſcourſing together, his Majeſty took it from his ſide, and giving it into the duke's hand, with a graceful air, My lord (ſaid he, in French) I am not aſhamed to ſay I am but a poor Prince (Je n'ai que la Cape et l' Epée) I have only my cloak and my ſword (alluding to his being a younger brother) the latter may be of uſe to your grace, and I hope you will not think it the worſe for my wearing it one day. So far from it (replied the duke) that it ſhall always put me in mind of your Majeſty's juſt right and title, and of the obligations I ly under to hazard my life, and all that's dear to me, to make you the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendon. And we ſhall find, in the ſequel, his grace was ever mindful of his promiſe, as far as in him lay. His grace accompanied his Majeſty to the Hague, where he arrived the ſecond of November, N. S. and the duke, after ſome ſtay there, to concert proper meaſures for the inſuing campain, went over to England, where he arrived the 30th of October O. S.

He makes the duke a noble preſent.

Rebellion in Hungary.

Before I return to England, it may not be improper to mention, that, as another addition to the Emperor's ill fortune, about the ſame time, the Hungarians, under the famous Prince Ragotzki, broke out into open rebellion, and, poſſeſſing themſelves of ſeveral places, advanced within two leagues of Preſburg, whither count Schlick, the Imperial general, who was ſent againſt them, was obliged to retire: and it was even reported, that count Caroli and count Berezeni, having joined their forces, to the number of 20,000 men, had march'd by Preſburg, and were advancing to beſiege Vienna, which occaſioned a general conſternation there. The 12th of December, Prince Eugene of Savoy ſat out for Preſburg, to give the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of that place, and other frontiers, and to indeavor to bring the male-contents to an accommodation. About the ſame time, Prince Ragotzki, and his adherents, publiſh'd a manifeſto, proteſting; "That they "did not intend to withdraw themſelves from "the allegiance they owed to the Emperor, pro- "vided they might have the free injoyment of "their religion, liberties, eſtates and privileges, "and that the government of Hungary be in the "hands of the natives of that country." However, the Emperor did not ſhew any diſpoſition to grant them theſe terms.

The parliament meets.

The 9th of November, the parliament of England met, at Weſtminſter, and the Queen open'd the ſeſſion, with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I have call'd you together, as ſoon as I thought "you could conveniently come out of your coun- "tries, that no time might be loſt in making "our preparations for carrying on the preſent war, "in which I do not doubt of your cheerful con- "currence, ſince you cannot but be ſenſible that "on the ſucceſs of it depends our own ſafety and "happineſs, and that of all Europe. Q. Ann, An' 1703.

"I hope I have improved the confidence you "repoſed in me laſt year, to your ſatisfaction, and "the advantage of us and our allies, by the treaty "with the King of Portugal, and the declara- "tion of the duke of Savoy, which, in great mea- "ſure, may be imputed to the cheerfulneſs with "which you ſupported me in this war, and the "aſſurance with which you truſted me in the con- "duct of it: and we cannot ſufficiently acknow- "ledge the goodneſs of Almighty God, who "is pleaſed to afford us ſo fair a proſpect, as we "now have, of bringing it to a glorious and ſpeedy "concluſion.

"I muſt therefore deſire you, gentlemen of the "houſe of commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies "as ſhall be requiſite, to defray the neceſſary charge "of the war, in the next year, with regard not "only to all our former ingagements, but parti- "cularly to our alliance lately made with the "King of Portugal, for recovering the Monarchy "of Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, and re- "ſtoring it to the houſe of Auſtria; which treaty "being in it ſelf of the higheſt importance imagi- "nable, and requiring all poſſible diſpatch in the "execution of it, has neceſſarily occaſioned a great "expence, even in this preſent year, tho' not ſo "much as it will require, and for which, I hope, "we ſhall be amply recompenced in the next.

"The ſubſidies which will now be immediately "required, for the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, "will likewiſe occaſion a farther neceſſary charge.

"I muſt take notice to you, that no particular "proviſion was made, in the laſt ſeſſion, either "for the charge of our preſent expedition to Por- "tugal, or for that of the augmentation-troops "deſired by the States-general; yet the funds given "by parliament have held out ſo well, and the "product of the prizes has proved ſo conſiderable, "that you will find the public will not be in "debt, by reaſon of either of theſe additional ſer- "vices.

"I may farther obſerve to you, that tho' the "funds for the civil government are diminiſhed "by the war, I have, in conjunction with the "States-general, contributed out of my own re- "venue towards ſome public ſervices, and parti- "cularly the ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe "firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies, "under the greateſt preſſures, did very well de- "ſerve our ſeaſonable aſſiſtance. And I ſhall ſtill "be careful not to ingage myſelf in any unne- "ceſſary expence of my own, that I may have "the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of my ſub- "jects.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I heartily wiſh ſome eaſy and leſs chargeable "method could be found, for the ſpeedy and "effectual maning of the fleet.

"I muſt alſo recommend to you, to make ſome "regulation for preventing the exceſſive price of "coals: I have examined this matter, and taken "particular care to appoint convoys for that ſer- "vice: but the price has not been in the leaſt "abated, notwithſtanding a very conſiderable quan- "tity has been imported ſince that time. This "gives great ground of ſuſpicion, there may be "a combination of ſome perſons to inrich them- "ſelves, by a general oppreſſion of others, and "and particularly the poor. It will deſerve your "conſideration how to remedy this inconvenience.

"And in all your affairs, I muſt recommend

(1) The duke, among other things, told him: "he was juſt come from puting his Majeſty in poſſeſſion of Limburg;" to which the young Monarch anſwer'd: "that he hoped to be much more indebted to his grace's valor, in the reduction of other "places and territories to his obedience." Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 279.

"to

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" to you, as much diſpatch as the nature of them " will admit. This is neceſſary to make our " preparations early; on which, in great mea- " ſure, depends the good ſucceſs of all our enter- " prizes.

" I want words to expreſs to you my earneſt de- " ſire of ſeeing all my ſubjects in perfect peace and " union among themſelves. I have nothing ſo " much at heart as their general wellfare and hap- " pineſs. Let me therefore deſire you all, that " you would carefully avoid any heats or diviſions, " which may diſappoint me of that ſatisfaction, " and give incouragement to the common enemies " of our church and ſtate".

Addreſs of the commons.

The 11th, the commons attended the Queen with an addreſs, in anſwer to her ſpeech, in which, they returned her Majeſty thanks " for ingaging the " King of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, in " her alliance; for contributing out of her own " revenue to the public ſervice; and for her aſſiſt- " ance to the circle of Suabia: they aſſured her " that they would ſupport her Majeſty in her " alliances, and inable her to carry on the war " with vigor; and, finally, that, according to " her deſire, they would carefully avoid any heats " or diviſions, that might give incouragement " to the common enemies of the church and " ſtate."

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered; " that " ſhe was very well pleaſed with their aſſurance of " ſupporting her in the preſent war, and their " kind acknowlegements of her indeavors to bring " it to a happy concluſion: and that they might " aſſure themſelves, ſhe ſhould always purſue the " true intereſt of the kingdom, and omit nothing " that might promote the general welfare of her " people."

Addreſs of the lords.

The 12th, the lords likewiſe attended her Majeſty with an addreſs; in which, they ſaid, " they ſaw " with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the zeal with which " her Majeſty eſpouſed the public intereſt, even " beyond the obligations of her treaties: that ſhe " might depend upon ſecurity at home, in the love " of her people, and might, therefore, with the " greater ſafety and glory, ſend her fleets and " armies abroad, in defenſe of her allies.

" That the happy declaration of the duke of " Savoy, for the common intereſt, gave her Ma- " jeſty a ſeaſonable opportunity, to ſhew her com- " paſſion and concern, for thoſe Proteſtants in the " ſouth of France, who ly under the heavieſt per- " ſecution and oppreſſion.

" That they ſhould willingly pay their propor- " tion of taxes, incouraged by her royal generoſity, " for the eaſe of her people, and by the frugal " management of what was given. That her Ma- " jeſty might expect a ready compliance with all " her deſires, and aſſured her they ſhould oppoſe " whatever might tend to create any diſquiet or " diſunion among her ſubjects: that they ſhould " not be wanting in their duty to ſupport her Ma- " jeſty's honor, and her allies, not doubting but " GOD would proſper her arms, ſo gloriouſly " imployed, to protect all thoſe whom the am- " bition of the French King would oppreſs."

To which her Majeſty returned the following anſwer.

My lords,

The Queen's anſwer.

" I am extreamly ſenſible of the particular con- " cern you expreſs for me, in this addreſs, and of " your great zeal for the common cauſe of Europe. " I rely very much upon the aſſurance you give me " of your duty and affection, and ſhall always uſe " my beſt indeavors, to eſtabliſh the ſafety and " happineſs of the kingdom."

The 19th, mr. ſecretary Hedges laid before the commons, the copies and tranſlations of ſuch treaties as were not laid before them the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, among which was the defenſive and offenſive treaty with Portugal. Theſe treaties having been examined, in a commitee of the whole houſe, it was reſolved, the 27th, " that the 40,000 men, " which were raiſed, to act in conjunction with " the forces of the allies, and the additional troops, " conſiſting of 10,000 men, ſhould be continued " for the year 1704. That the proportion of " land-forces to act in conjunction with the forces " of Portugal, ſhould be 8000 men, conſiſting of " 1000 horſe and dragoons, and 7000 foot: and " that the ſum of 1,801,006 l. 15 s. be granted " for maintaining the ſaid forces, and the guards " and gariſons of this kingdom, the payment of " invalids, and diſcharging the ſubſidies payable " to her Majeſty's allies." The commons had, two days before, reſolved; " that 40,000 men, in- " cluding 5000 marines, be imployed for ſea ſer- " vice for the year 1704, and that a ſum of 4 l. " per man, per month, for thirteen months, be al- " lowed for maintaining the ſaid 40,000 men, " including the ordnance for ſea-ſervice."

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A ſupply granted.

Addreſſes of the commons.

The 30th, mr. ſecretary Hedges acquainted the houſe, that an addreſs they had made to her Majeſty, relating to the continuance of the ſtop of all correſpondence with France and Spain, having been preſented to the Queen, her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer; " that ſhe thought the continuance of " the ſtop of all poſts, letters, trade, and all other " correſpondence with the enemies, ſo neceſſary for " the public good, that ſhe would forthwith give " orders to her miniſter at the Hague, to inſiſt " upon it, with the States-general, as the commons " deſired." The ſame day, the commons voted an addreſs to her Majeſty, aſſuring her; " that " they would provide for the making good ſuch " alliances, as her Majeſty had made, or ſhould " make with the duke of Savoy."

A violent ſtorm of wind.

The 26th of this month was fatal to England for the moſt violent ſtorm that ever was known in this kingdom, in the memory of any man living, or recorded in hiſtory. It began between eleven and twelve at night, the wind was at W. S. W. and was attended with a roaring noiſe, like thunder at a diſtance, followed by great flaſhes of lightning, continuing with almoſt unrelenting fury, till ſeven in the morning. It blew down a multitude of chimnies, tops of houſes, and even ſome whole buildings; tore up a great number of trees in St. James's park, the inns of court, Moorfields, and other places, by the roots, and broke off others in the middle; beat down ſeveral ſpires off of ſteeples; roll'd up great quantities of lead, like ſcrowls of parchment, and blew them off of churches, halls and houſes. Several people were killed in their beds, particularly the biſhop of Bath and Wells and his lady; ſeveral others were wounded; but far more almoſt miraculouſly preſerved. A great number of veſſels, barges and boats were ſunk in the river of Thames, and the arches of London-bridge were ſtopp'd with the wrecks of them. The damage done in London and Weſtminſter was conjectured to amount to one million ſterling, and that of the city of Briſtol to little leſs than 150,000 l. It would be endleſs to enumerate the loſſes to private perſons, and more particularly at ſea; where the royal navy, which was return'd but a few days before from the Streights, and many of the ſhips not yet got into harbor, had a great ſhare in the misfortune: thirteen of her Majeſty's ſhips, viz. one ſecond-rate, four third-rates, three fourth, four fifth, and one ſixth-rate, were caſt away, and 1519 ſeamen drowned; beſide many more ſhips damaged in ſeveral parts of England and Holland. It was remarkable, however, that the northern parts of this iſland felt but little of the effects of this violent tempeſt.

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Addreſs of the commons on this occaſion.

On this melancholy occaſion, the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved; "that an addreſs be "preſented to her Majeſty, expreſſing the great "ſenſe the houſe had of the calamity fallen upon "the kingdom, by the late violent ſtorm; and "that they could not ſee any diminution of her "Majeſty's navy, without making proviſion to re-"pair the ſame: they therefore beſought her Ma-"jeſty, that ſhe would immediately give direction "for repairing this loſs, and for building ſuch ca-"pital ſhips as her Majeſty ſhould think fit; and "to aſſure her Majeſty, that, at their next meet-"ing, the houſe would effectually make good "that expence, and would give diſpatch in "raiſing the ſupplies alread voted, for making "good her Majeſty's treaties with the King of "Portugal, and all her Majeſty's allies, and would "conſider of effectual ways for promoting trade, "for managing her Majeſty's navy royal, and for "incouraging ſeamen."

A public faſt appointed.

This addreſs being preſented, accordingly, her Majeſty gave a ſuitable anſwer; and, ſoon after, ordered her royal proclamation to be iſſued, "that "a general and public faſt ſhould be obſerved, "throughout all England, on the 19th of Ja-"nuary next inſuing, to deprecate the divine ven-"geance, avert the like judgments for the future, "and obtain the heavenly bleſſing on the forces "of her Majeſty and her allies, both by ſea and "land".

The King of Spain comes to England.

We left Charles III, the new King of Spain, at the Hague, concerting matters with the States-general (1) and preparing for his voyage to England, in order to go to Liſbon, with a fleet of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, which were appointed to convoy him thither. Sir George Rooke, being nominated, by her Majeſty, to command this fleet, ſet ſail with a ſmall ſquadron for Holland, and arrived in the Maeſe the 16th of October.

The troops being imbarked the begining of November, and the King of Spain on board, the admiral ſailed; but the wind being contrary, and blowing hard, his Majeſty thought fit to go on ſhoar, the eleventh, and went, with a ſmall part of his retinue, to the Hague. While he was on ſhoar, happened the great ſtorm of wind, of which I have given an account above, and which very much retarded his Majeſty's voyage, by the damage ſome of our ſhips ſuſtained. When every thing was in a readineſs, their ſailing was, for ſome time, prevented, by fogs and calms; but, at length, the admiral got out, and joined rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, with five Dutch ſhips of war, having four fourth-rates, and one fifth of ours, with which he arrived ſafe at Spithead. There came out but thirteen tranſport-ſhips, the reſt being left behind, the admiral having her Majeſty's expreſs orders, to ſail, with the firſt fair wind, taking with him ſuch of thoſe veſſels as ſhould then be ready.

The King of Spain landed, at Portſmouth, the twenty-ſixth of December: the duke of Somerſet was ſent by the Queen, to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windſor: Prince George met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence. The court was very ſplendid, and much throng'd; the Queen's behavior to him was very noble and obliging; the young King charmed all that were there. He had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modeſty. His behavior was, in all points, ſo exact, that there was not a circumſtance in his whole deportment, that was liable to cenſure. He paid an extraordinary reſpect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatneſs in it. He had an art of ſeeming well pleaſed with every thing, without ſo much as once ſmiling, all the while he was at court, which was only three days. He ſpoke but little, and all he ſaid was judicious and obliging. He took leave of her Majeſty, the evening before his departure, having made ſeveral preſents to ſeveral ladies attending her Majeſty's perſon, and particularly to the ducheſs of Marlborough, to whom he, in a polite manner, gave his ring from his finger, ſaid to be valued at a thouſand pound; but theſe largeſſes were ſufficiently retaliated, by the preſent, it is ſaid, her Majeſty made him of fifty-thouſand pounds. To conclude, his Majeſty approved himſelf a moſt accompliſhed Prince, to a moſt diſcerning and polite court.

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The occaſional conformity bill again rejected.

The parliament had not ſat long, before the bill for preventing occaſional conformity, which had miſcarried in the former ſeſſion, was again ſet on foot in the houſe of commons, where it met with an eaſy paſſage, on the 7th of December: but when it came to the lords, it was rejected, at the ſecond reading, by a majority of twelve or thirteen votes. The reaſons for and againſt this bill, at this time, being much the ſame as they were in the preceeding ſeſſion, I ſhall not detain the reader by repeating them.

The 17th of December, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, and having given the royal aſſent to the land-tax-bill, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech concerning the Scotiſh plot.

"I think proper, upon this occaſion, to acquaint "you, that I have had unqueſtionable information "of very ill practices and deſigns carried on in "Scotland, by the emiſſaries of France, which "might have proved extreamly dangerous to the "peace of theſe kingdoms, as you will ſee by the "particulars, which ſhall be laid before you as "ſoon as the ſeveral informations relating to this "matter can be fully perfected and made pub-"lic, without prejudice. In the mean time, I "make no doubt, but by this ſeaſonable diſcovery, "I ſhall be able to give ſuch directions for our "ſecurity, as will effectually prevent any ill conſe-"quences from their pernicious deſigns.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I am very ſenſible of your great readineſs and "affection for the public ſervice, by preſenting me "ſo early in the ſeſſion, with a conſiderable part "of your ſupplies. I depend intirely upon your "continuing, with the ſame zeal, to diſpatch the "remainder of them, that ſo we may be prepared "to give the readieſt aſſiſtance to our allies, and "to defeat the malicious deſigns of the enemy "who cannot be more induſtrious to contrive the "ruin of this kingdom, and of the Proteſtant re-"ligion, than I ſhall always be vigilant and care-"ful, both for their preſent preſervation, and for "their future ſecurity."

The grounds of this matter.

The foundation of this matter was in ſubſtance as follows: upon the refuſal of the Scots, either to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, or to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the war, as well the French King as the Pretender, entertained great hopes, that

(1) Before this Prince departed from the Hague, his Majeſty repreſented to the States-general; "That being lawful heir of "the Spaniſh monarchy, and the province of Limburg, belonging to that crown, he deſired the States would deliver up to "him the civil government thereof, as a confirmation of their owning his title, and of their real intention to perform their "ſolemn treaties." The States, and their allies, having granted his demand, his Catholic Majeſty appointed count Sinzendorff to take poſſeſſion of the town and duchy of Limburg, in his name; which he did accordingly. Boyer's reign of Queen Anne, p. 100.

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the latter might be restored to the crown of Scotland; and, thereupon, some Scotish gentlemen, belonging to the court of St. Germains, and particularly Frazier and Keith, were appointed to go over to Scotland, and sound the inclinations of the leading men. About the same time, sir John Macclean, the head of a clan in the highlands of Scotland, coming over, with his wife, from Scotland, and landing at Folkstone in Kent, was taken up, by the custom-officers, on suspicion, and afterwards brought up in custody of the Queen's messengers to London. One Keith, nephew to the Keith I have mentioned above, was taken up at the same time; as was mr. Lindsey, who had been under secretary to King James and the Pretender. James Bouchier, who had been aid de camp to the duke of Berwick, was likewise taken, on the coast of Sussex, coming from France: tho' they all pretended, at least, that they come over, proposing to live peaceably at home, under her Majesty's government for the future. The lords apprehending there was a great deal more in this matter than was discovered, or than some of the ministers desired they should be acquainted with, thought fit, the same day, to order the prisoners, who were then in the hands of her Majesty's messengers, to be taken into the custody of the black-rod, in order to be examined by a commitee of their lordships appointing.

The prisoners taken into the custody of the black rod.

The lords appoint a select commitee to examine into them.

The 18th, the lords proceeded, by balloting, to the choice of a select commitee; which fell on the dukes of Devonshire and Somerset, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Sommers, Townshend and Wharton.

The 20th, the earl of Kingston reported their lordships address of thanks for the Queen's late speech, which, the same evening, was presented to her Majesty, and in which, "they acknowleged "her condescension, in promising to communicate "to them, the informations she had received of "the ill practices of her and their enemies in Scotland;" they added, "that they doubted not, "the zeal this house had shewn, for having the "persons secured, and their designs brought to "light, had been very acceptable to her Majesty; "that they relied upon her, that she would give "such directions, as might effectually prevent any "pernicious designs; that they would maintain "the rights of the crown and the church of England, in all such ways as might most promote the "good and happiness of all her subjects:" and concluding; "that they desired not to let their "thoughts go beyond her Majesty's person, to a "future security, but as it was necessary for her "Majesty's preservation, as well as for settling the "minds of all her good subjects, who look'd on "the Procestant succession, as her Majesty's best "security, as well as their own".

The Queen's answer.

In answer to this address, the Queen told the lords; "she was very glad to find, that the com-"munication she had made to the parliament had "been so acceptable to them: that she made no "doubt of the zeal of the house of lords, nor "should her own ever be wanting to secure her "people from dangers, or promote their good "and happiness, to establish the church of England, and the Protestant succession to all posterity".

Address of the commons.

The commons, likewise, waited on the Queen, the same day, with an address of thanks; in which, "they repeated their unanimous resolutions to stand "by and support her Majesty, and the succession "in the Protestant line, against all pretenders, and "all her Majesty's enemies;" assured her, "that "they would dispatch the remainder of the supplies with readiness and zeal;" and concluded, "that they would never have the least mistrust "of her Majesty's vigilance and care for the pre-"servation of the Protestant interest in general, of "the Monarchy, and the church of England as by "law established".

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Her Majesty's answer.

The Queen answer'd, "that she was very well "pleased with their assurances of dispatching the "supplies, and with the other parts of their ad-"dress, in which they express'd so much duty "and readiness to support, and to trust her:" assuring them withal; "that they might depend "upon her willingness, to join her indeavors with "them, in securing the Protestant succession in the "Monarchy, and the church of England as by law "established".

Complaint against the earl of Nottingham:

When mr. St. John reported the above address, on the 17th, the commons resumed the adjourned debate of the day before, concerning a person who was an officer in the late King James's army, and who, having been taken into custody by the governor of Berwick, was afterwards discharged by the earl of Nottingham's allowance, which was not only complain'd of, but several severe reflections were cast upon her Majesty. The debate lasted long; but it was, at last, resolved; "that the earl of "Nottingham, one of her Majesty's principal se-"cretaries of state, for his great ability and dili-"gence, in the execution of his office; for his "unquestionable fidelity to the Queen and her "government, and for his steady adhering to the "church of England, as by law established, had "highly merited the trust her Majesty had re-"posed in him:" which resolution, they directed their speaker, to lay before her Majesty, at the same time when the address was presented: and, to this, the Queen was pleased to say: "she "was glad to find they were well satisfied with the "earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable a post".

The commons clear him.

Address of the commons against the lords examination into the plot.

The commons, who were jealous of the lords having appointed a select commitee to examine the persons suspected, presented, the 23d, another address to her Majesty, on that account; in which, "they represented the just concern they were un-"der to see her prerogative violated: they said, "they were surprized to find, that when several "persons, suspected of treasonable practices, were "taken into custody by her Majesty's messengers, "in order to be examined, the lords, in violation "of the known laws of the land, had wrested them "out of her Majesty's hands, and without her leave "and knowledge, in a most extraordinary manner, "taken the examination of them solely to themselves; "whereby a due inquiry in the evil practices and "designs against her Majesty's person and govern-"ment might be, in a great measure, obstructed. "They desired her Majesty, that she would suffer "no diminution of her perogative, in the exercise "whereof they were resolved to support her, as well "as in carrying on the war.

The Queen's answer.

The Queen told them, in answer; "She had "the satisfaction of finding, that the matter which "might have occasioned this address was now at "an end: that she returned them many thanks for "the concern they express'd for her prerogative, "and for their repeated assurances of making the "supplies effectual, which would be greatly for the "honor and advantage of the kingdom: and that "she would be careful not to give way to any in-"vasions of the prerogative of the crown, or of "the rights and liberties of the people".

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Resolutions of the lords;

The house of peers highly resented the reflection cast upon them by the commons in this address; and therefore, to vindicate their honor, and assert their privileges, their lordships resolved and declared, on the 12th and 13th of Januray, "that, by the "known laws and customs of parliament, they "have an undoubted right, whenever they conceive

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" it to be for the ſafety of her Majeſty and the " kingdom, to take examinations of perſons charged " with criminal matters, whether they be in cuſtody " or not; and to order, that perſons to be exa- " mined, be taken into cuſtody of her Majeſty's " ſworn officer attending their houſe". And, on the 17th, " that the ſaid addreſs of the commons is " unparliamentary, groundleſs, without precedent, " and highly injurious to the houſe of peers, tending " to interrupt the good correſpondence between the " two houſes, and create an ill opinion in her " Majeſty of the houſe of peers, and of dangerous " conſequence to the liberties of the people, the " conſtitution of the kingdom, and the privileges " of parliament". They then appointed a committee to draw up a repreſentation upon the ſaid reſolution, which being done they preſented it to her Majeſty, the next day, and received the following anſwer:

Repreſented to the Queen.

My lords,

" I am very ſorry for any miſunderſtandings that " happen between the two houſes of parliament, " which are ſo inconvenient for the public ſervice, " and ſo uneaſy to me, that I cannot but take no- " tice, with ſatisfaction, of the aſſurance you give " me, that you will carefully avoid all occaſion of " them. I thank you for the concern you expreſs " for the rights of the crown, and for my preroga- " tive; which I ſhall never exert ſo willingly, as " for the good of my ſubjects, and the protection " of their liberties."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The 21ſt, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to an act, granting an aid to her Majeſty, " by continuing the duties " upon malt, mum, cyder and perry, for one year:" and the King of Spain having, in the mean time, put to ſea, but being forced back by a ſtorm (as I ſhall ſhew more particularly below) her Majeſty took notice of it, in the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The misfortune of the King of Spain's being " forced back upon our coaſt, by contrary winds, " which I hope will loſe but very little time, does " yet make it ſo reaſonable, to haſten our prepa- " rations for this year's ſervice, that tho' I am " very ſenſible of your zeal in forwarding all " things relating to mine, and the public ſervice; " yet I cannot but take this occaſion to deſire " you, with all earneſtneſs, that you would give " the greateſt diſpatch to the buſineſs of this " ſeſſion ſtill depending, which is ſo neceſſary " for the good of the common intereſt."

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

The 29th, the earl of Nottingham, acquainted the houſe of lords: " That he was commanded " by the Queen, to lay before them the papers " which contained all the matters hitherto diſ- " covered of the conſpiracy in Scotland: but " that there was one thing which was not yet " proper to be communicated to the houſe, be- " cauſe the making it public might prevent a far- " ther diſcovery of matters of great importance: " but that their lordſhips ſhould be acquainted " with this alſo, ſo ſoon as it could be done with- " out prejudice to the public ſervice.

Papers communicated to the lords.

The lords, hereupon reſolved to addreſs her Majeſty; " That the whole matter, and all pa- " pers relating to the Scotiſh plot, might be " laid before them, with all convenient diſpatch, " that this houſe might not want an opportunity " before the end of this ſeſſion, of inquiring into, " and diſcovering the wicked deſigns and conſpi- " racies of her enemies."

They addreſs for farther informations.

To this addreſs, at which the Queen ſeemed to be offended, her Majeſty anſwered; " That " having ſo lately acquainted them, that ſhe had " communicated to them all the particulars re- " lating to the deſign againſt Scotland, which " could yet be made public, without prejudice to " the ſervice, her Majeſty did not expect to be " preſs'd upon that matter, before it was ſcarcely " poſſible, that the ſtate of it could be altered: " and that her Majeſty made no doubt, but be- " fore the end of the ſeſſion, there might be a " proper time to communicate that, which could " not now be made public, without great incon- " veniency."

The queen's anſwer.

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The 3d of February, the earl of Nottingham delivered to the lords ſeveral other papers, relating to the Scotiſh conſpiracy, which being ſealed up, as the former were, it was ordered, that all the ſaid papers ſhould be opened on the 8th of February, and all the lords ſummoned to attend.

Other papers communicated.

Indeavors were, in the mean time, uſed, to ſtifle the plot, and to prepoſſeſs the Queen and the public, that the whole was a contrivance of the duke of Queenſborough, her Majeſty's high-commiſſioner in Scotland, to draw ſome people into a plot: and for this purpoſe, the famous plotter and counter-plotter, Ferguſon, was a very uſeful inſtrument to the perſons ſuſpected. He came in voluntarily, and, " declared his knowledge of " this matter: he affirmed that Frazier was, in- " deed, imployed by the duke of Queenſborough " (for the uſe I have already mentioned) but that " there was, in reality, no Jacobite plot at this " time; for they were glad to ſee one of the " race of the Stuarts upon the throne; tho' " they hoped matters would be ſo compremiſed, " that the Queen might injoy the crown for life, " and that her brother might ſucceed her." Some days after this his firſt declaration, Ferguſon laid a long narrative before the Queen's privy-council, containing what he had omited in his former declaration, and what he had ſince been able to recollect, chiefly about his conferences with captain Frazier: all which ſeemed calculated either to ridicule or ſtifle the plot.

Methods uſed to ſtifle the plot.

The 8th of February, as appointed, the lords took this matter into conſideration, and in the firſt place read the papers which had been laid before them the 29th of January, the moſt material of which was intitled; " An account of " the conſpiracy in Scotland." This, with many other papers, examinations, &c. were read that day, and the next: and the 14th, the lords having " taken the ſaid papers into conſideration, order'd " the uſher of the black-rod immediately to at- " tach the body of William Keith, and keep him " in ſafe cuſtody, in order to his being examined " by the houſe, and that no perſon be allowed to " ſpeak with him." They then, after having read other papers, and debated farther thereupon, reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, which was reported, the next day, by the duke of Bolton, and with ſome amendments agreed to. In this addreſs, they told her Majeſty; " That " having (according to their duty, and her Ma- " jeſty's royal intention) taken into their moſt ſe- " rious conſideration, the papers laid before them, " by the earl of Nottingham, relating to the " very ill practices, and deſigns carried on in " Scotland, by emiſſaries from France; they " found mention made therein of ſeveral other " papers, not yet brought to the houſe, which " they had reaſon to believe were very material, " as well for ſeting thoſe wicked and dangerous " conſpiracies in a due light; as for forming a " right judgment upon the whole matter."

The lords take this matter into conſideration.

Addreſs of the lords.

They then enumerated ſeveral of theſe papers, which they deſired to have laid before them; and made ſome apologies for this their requeſt, and told

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told her Majeſty, " they remained ſtill in hopes, " that, according to her Majeſty's gracious inti- " mation, there might be a proper time, before " the end of the ſeſſion, to communicate that " matter to them, without inconvenience to the " public." They concluded, with " renewing " to her Majeſty the promiſe made in their ad- " dreſs, of the 16th of January laſt, that no dan- " gers nor reproaches, nor artifices whatſoever, " ſhould deter or divert them, from uſing their ut- " moſt indeavors, from time to time, in diſcover- " ing and oppoſing all contrivances and attempts " againſt her royal perſon and government, " and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by " law.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered, " that ſhe " had ordered ſuch papers to be laid before them, " according to their deſire in this addreſs, as were " now ready, and would have been ordered them " at firſt, had ſhe imagined they would have been " expected: but ſome of the particulars being con- " tained in letters writen to herſelf, which would " require a little time to be extracted, and others " being in the hands of the ſecretary of Scotland, " ſhe was not able to make a full anſwer to their " addreſs, but they ſhould have a more particu- " lar anſwer with all convienient ſpeed".

More papers deliver'd.

The 19th, the earl of Nottingham acquainted the lords, that her Majeſty had now ſent them all the papers deſired in their laſt addreſs, except one, which the duke of Queenſborough had left in Scotland, but was order'd to be ſent for; that there were ſome letters in giberiſh that wanted explanation; and he had lately received a letter, by the diſcovery of mr. Keith, upon which he thought it proper that Keith ſhould be examined.

Repreſentation of the commons.

The 20th, the commons addreſs'd her Majeſty, in anſwer to the repreſentation of the lords: " they " ſaid, their lordſhips thought fit to take offenſe, " at the manner and words of their addreſs, but " they had made uſe of no terms but what were " ſuitable to the occaſion, and ſuch as had been " frequently and reciprocally uſed by both houſes " to each other: and whatever expreſſions their " zeal for her Majeſty and the public might have " inſpired, they could never have offer'd to their " ſoverein ſo ungrateful a remembrance as the de- " ſtruction of the Monarchy, by a deteſtable aſſem- " bly, compoſed of members of both houſes, who " being alike partakers of the guilt, ought equally " to ſhare the reproach: they might with more " reaſon obſerve, that their lordſhips, not con- " tented with prefering their own examinations " to her Majeſty's, and not content with excluding " her and the commons (to whom parliamentary " inquiries properly belong) had appropriated to " their houſe only, the name of a parliament, an " inſtance not to be parallel'd unleſs by that very " aſſembly that ſubverted the Monarchy. That " the queſtion was not, whether their lordſhips " had a power of taking into cuſtody, while under " examination, perſons accuſed of criminal mat- " ters, cognizable in parliament, but that the peers " had a right to take the priſoners of the crown, " and the examination of them, ſolely into their " own hands, without her Majeſty's conſent, and " in ſuch manner as muſt neceſſarily prove an ex- " cluſion of her Majeſty and the commons. This " the commons denied, and the lords had pro- " duced no precedent for it: that when her Ma- " jeſty communicated to the lords the Scotiſh " conſpiracy, with an exception only of ſome mat- " ters not yet proper to be made public, and with " which her Majeſty aſſured them they ſhould be " acquainted as ſoon as it could be done without " prejudice, their lordſhips, notwithſtanding this,

" immediately addreſs'd her Majeſty, preſſing her to " lay before them the whole matter: This could " not but ſenſibly affect her faithful commons, who " earneſtly deſired to ſee both houſes of parlia- " ment, and the whole body of the people, in- " tirely agreed to pay the deference due to her Ma- " jeſty's wiſdom, to confide in her care, and main- " tain her honor and dignity. That the lords, not " ſatisfied with aſſuming this unprecedented power, " indeavored to perſuade her Majeſty of the ne- " ceſſity of it, to prevent the deſigns of ill Princes " and their favorites: but as it was unreaſonable to " begin to practiſe upon a good Prince ſuch me- " thods as were pretended only needful againſt an " ill one; ſo it was their opinion, that the danger " might be much greater, by admiting this prece- " dent, ſhould the lords continue to defend one " another from inquiries and proſecutions. That " had the lords conſulted their own journals, they " would not have affirmed, that a direct appeal to the " throne, without any previous conference, was an " unprecedented practice: nor could they ſo ſoon " forget their addreſs to her Majeſty, the laſt " ſeſſion, on behalf of the biſhop of Worceſter, " and their addreſs to the late King, on behalf of " the four impeach'd lords. That they ſhould " be careful, as far as was conſiſtent with their " neceſſary juſtification, of reviving animoſities; " and how great ſoever the provocation had been, " her Majeſty having declared her uneaſineſs at " theſe miſunderſtandings, they ſhould make no " difficulty of laying aſide their reſentments, but " hoped they ſhould ſtand acquited to the world " and her Majeſty, ſince the zeal they had ſhewn, " and the reproaches they had born, had been " owing to no other cauſe but the defenſe of an " excellent Queen; in whoſe hands GOD had " placed the executive authority over theſe na- " tions.

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The Queen's anſwer.

The Queen " thank'd them for the great con- " cern they expreſs'd for her juſt rights; told them " their diſpatch of the ſupplies was a great advan- " tage to the public ſervice; and that ſhe was very " well pleaſed with the aſſurances they gave her " of their care to avoid any occaſion of difference " between the two houſes, eſpecially at this time, " when there is ſo apparent a neceſſity of ſtrength- " ning ourſelves againſt the malicious deſigns of " our enemies."

The commons, ſoon after, addreſs'd her Majeſty again, " that ſhe would re-aſſume the juſt exerciſe " of her prerogative, and take to herſelf the exami- " nation of the ſaid conſpiracy, and declared, that " the eſtabliſhing a commitee of ſeven lords, for the " ſole examination thereof, was of dangerous con- " ſequence, and might tend to the ſubverſion of the " government."

The Queen " thank'd them for their confidence " in her, and ſaid ſhe would conſtantly exerciſe " her juſt prerogative, for the ſecurity and ſatiſ- " faction of her ſubjects."

Farther repreſentation of the lords,

This did not, however, hinder the lords from going on in their examinations, and, ſome time after, they preſented another repreſentation to the Queen, in relation thereunto, which was fill'd with reflections and inſinuations againſt the commons, and contain'd ſome farther juſtification of their conduct. Among other things, they took notice, " that the " commons ſtop'd the inſuing writ, for filling up " the vacancies in their houſe, whereby they ſaid, " they made themſelves an imperfect repreſentation, " which was a wound to the conſtitution, and that " there were very few things leſs excuſable in that " unhappy houſe of commons which began the re- " bellion, than their refuſing to fill up their body, " and compleat the repreſentation; and that an " ill Prince might take advantage of theſe prece- " dents,

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" dents, and think himſelf juſtified in with-holding " his writs from ſome places, by as good law as " the commons could ſhew for pretending to ſtop " them from iſſuing to others "; and concluded, " expreſſing a juſt ſenſe of her Majeſty's modera- " tion, in not ſuffering herſelf to be prevailed " upon to do any thing to the prejudice of the " conſtitution, from whatever hands the invitation " came."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The Queen anſwer'd; " ſhe hoped none of her " ſubjects deſired to leſſen her prerogative, ſince " ſhe ſhould uſe it only for their protection and " advantage. That any miſunderſtanding between " the two houſes muſt be to the prejudice of the " public; and, therefore, ſhe ſhould not omit any " thing in her power to prevent the occaſions of " them."

The lords continued their examinations, till the 22d of March, when having taken into conſideration the report of their commitee, they came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolutions of the lords;

I. " That it appears to this houſe, that there had " been a dangerous conſpiracy carried on, for the " raiſing a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that " kingdom with a French power, in order to the " ſubverting of her Majeſty's government, both " in England and Scotland, and the bringing in " the pretended Prince of Wales.

II. " That it was the opinion of this houſe, " that nothing had given ſo much incouragement " to this conſpiracy, as that the immediate ſuc- " ceſſion of the crown of Scotland, after her pre- " ſent Majeſty, and the heirs of her body, was not " declared to be in the Princeſs Sophia, and the " heirs of her body, being Proteſtants.

III. " That the Queen would be pleaſed to uſe " her indeavors, by ſuch methods as ſhe ſhould " think moſt proper, to have the ſucceſſion of the " crown of Scotland declared to be ſettled on the " Princeſs Sophia; and to take ſuch meaſures as " might beſt conduce to the diſappointing and " fruſtrating the deſigns of her enemies, who were " ingaged in this conſpiracy againſt her Majeſty " and her government: and,

IV. " That her Majeſty be aſſured, that when " her indeavors ſhall take effect for ſettling of the " ſucceſſion, this houſe would do all in their power " to promote an intire union between the two " Kingdoms, for their mutual ſecurity and advan- " tage."

Preſented to the Queen:

The ſame day, the lord-keeper, by order of the houſe of lords, gave the thanks of that houſe, to the lords of their commitee, for their exactneſs, care and fidelity, in the examination of the Scotiſh conſpiracy: and the above reſolutions being drawn up into an addreſs, it was preſented on the 31ſt to her Majeſty, who was pleaſed to give the following anſwer:

My lords,

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" I have ſome time ſince declared my intentions, " of indeavoring the ſettlement of the Proteſtant " ſucceſſion in Scotland, to my ſubjects of that " kingdom, as the moſt effectual means for ſecur- " ing their quiet and our own, and the readieſt " way to an intire union betwixt both kingdoms; " in the perfecting of which, it is deſirable no time " ſhould be loſt".

Difference between the two houſes in the caſe of Aſhby and White.

Theſe differences between the two houſes were not a little heighten'd, by the lords interpoſing in another affair, the cognizance of which, the commons pretended, was ſolely in them: the caſe, in ſhort, was this; " one Matthew Aſhby com- " menced and proſecuted an action, at common " law, againſt William White, mayor of Ayleſ- " bury, and the conſtables of that town, for re- " fuſing to receive his vote, at an election of bur- " geſſes to ſerve in parliament for the ſaid borough, " but, being caſt, bronght the cauſe, by a writ of " error, into the houſe of lords, who gave judg- " ment in favor of Aſhby.

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Theſe contrary judgments, in the court of King's-bench, and the houſe of lords, were neither of them paſs'd till after great debates. In the court of King's-bench, three of the judges, viz. Powel, Gould and Powis were of opinion the action would not ly, and the lord chief juſtice Holt gave it as his, that every man had a right to ſue the returning-officer (if he had a legal vote) where his vote was refuſed. But there being three againſt one, the defendants carried their point. In the houſe of lords, the judges were ordered to give their opinions: ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas, with ſeveral others, declared it was their opinion, " that the houſe of commons only had a right to " judge of elections, and conſequently who were " the electors, nor had it ever been diſputed ": others anſwered to this, " that a voter had no other " remedy, but in a court of law: for if the perſon " he would have voted for was returned, he had " no pretence to complain to the houſe of commons; " and if they could admit of ſuch a complaint, they " could give him no damages, to make him ſatiſ- " faction for the officer's denying his vote"; and their lordſhips, adhering to this latter opinion, over-rul'd the determination of the court of King's-bench.

The commons, looking upon theſe proceedings as an infringment on their privileges, after having inſpected into the journals of the houſe of lords, reſolved:

Reſolutions of the commons.

1. " That according to the known laws and " uſage of parliament, it was the ſole right of the " commons (except in caſes otherways provided " for by act of parliament) to examine and deter- " mine all matters relating to the right of election " of their own members.

2. " That neither the qualification of any elector, " nor the right of any perſon elected, is cogniz- " able or determinable elſewhere than before the " commons, except as aforeſaid.

3. " That the examining and determining the " qualification or right of any elector, or any per- " ſon elected, in any court of law, or elſewhere, " than before the commons, except as aforeſaid, " will expoſe all mayors, and other returning-officers, " to multiplicity of actions and vexatious ſuits, and " ſubject them to different and independent juriſ- " dictions, and inconſiſtent determinations.

4. " That Matthew Aſhby having brought his " actions againſt White, &c. for not receiving his " vote, was guilty of a breach of privilege.

5. " That whoever ſhall commence or proſecute " any action, indictment or information, which " ſhall bring the right of the electors or elected, " to the determination of any other juriſdiction " than the houſe of commons, except as aforeſaid, " ſuch perſons, and all attornies, ſollicitors, coun- " ſelors and ſerjeants at law, ſolliciting, pleading " or proſecuting, in any ſuch caſe, are guilty of a " high breach of the privilege of this houſe"; and theſe reſolutions were ordered to be fix'd on Weſt-minſter-hall-gate, ſigned by the clerk.

The lords, on the other hand, reſolved:

Reſolutions of the lords.

1. " That by the known laws of this kingdom, " every free-holder, or other perſon, having a " right to vote at the election of members to ſerve " in parliament, and being wilfully denied or hin- " dered ſo to do, by the officer who ought to re- " ceive the ſame, may maintain his action againſt " ſuch officer, and recover damages for the in- " jury.

2. " That the aſſerting, that a perſon having " right to give his vote at an election, and being " hinder'd ſo to do, by the officer who ought to

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" take the ſame, is without remedy for ſuch wrong, " by the ordinary courſe of law, is deſtructive of " the property of the ſubjects, againſt the freedom " of elections, and manifeſtly tends to incourage " corruption and partiality in officers, who are to " make returns to parliament, and to ſubject free- " holders and other electors, to their arbitrary will " and pleaſure.

3. " That the declaring Matthew Aſhby guilty " of a breach of privilege of the houſe of commons, " for proſecuting his action againſt the conſtables " of Ayleſbury, &c. after he had obtained a judg- " ment in parliament for recovery of his damages, " is an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature " in parliament, and is, in effect, to ſubject the law " of England to the votes of the houſe of commons.

4. " That the detering electors from proſecuting " actions, in the ordinary courſe of law, where " they are deprived of their right of voting, and " the terrifying attornies, ſollicitors, counſelors and " ſerjeants at law, from ſolliciting, proſecuting and " pleading in ſuch caſes, by voting their ſo doing " to be a breach of privilege of the houſe of com- " mons, is a manifeſt aſſuming a power to con- " troul the law, to hinder the courſe of juſtice, " and ſubject the property of Engliſhmen to the " arbitary votes of the houſe of commons".

Nor was there the beſt underſtanding at this time, between the lords and ſome of the miniſtry, the latter thinking the former ſeemed to direct the admiſtration, more than was conſiſtent with the royal prerogative, particularly on the following occaſion.

Addreſs of the lords about the navy.

The lords, having made an inquiry into the condition of the navy, found; " that by reaſon the " royal navy wanted 5 or 6000 men, the allowed " complement, for the whole number of ſhips, ne- " ceſſary for the defenſe of the kingdom, could not " be depended upon; they therefore thought it a " duty incumbent on them, to make an humble ap- " plication to her Majeſty, deſiring that ſhe would " be pleaſed to give ſpeedy and effectual orders, " that ſuch a number of ſhips, proper for the home- " ſervice, might be forthwith got ready and " man'd, as might be a competent ſecurity for the " nation, and protect our forein trade: the " Queen taking this as a reflection on the lord high " admiral, her royal conſort, or his council, gave " the following anſwer, on the ſecond of March;

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

My lords,

" I am glad you find no greater number of ſea- " men wanting, at this ſeaſon of the year, to com- " pleat the maning of the fleet; for which I hope " ſuch effectual meaſures are already taken, that " no ſervice ſhall be diſappointed either abroad or " at home, which is neceſſary for the ſecurity and " advantage of the kingdom, or the protection and " incouragement of trade."

Votes againſt admiral Graydon.

This dry anſwer did not deter the lords from carrying on their inquiries into the affairs of the navy; and, on the 17th of March, they reſolved: that vice-admiral Graydon, with a ſquadron of her Majeſty's ſhips at war under his convoy, meeting with four French ſhips, in his paſſage to the Weſt-indies, and leting them eſcape, without attacking them, according to his duty, from the pretenſe of his inſtruction, had been a prejudice to the Queen's ſervice, and a great diſhonor to the nation.

The next day, they reſolved, likewiſe, 1ſt, that admiral Graydon's diſorderly proceedings, in preſſing of men in Jamaica, and ſevere uſage of maſters of merchant men, and tranſport-veſſels, under his convoy there, had been a great diſcouragement to the inhabitants of that iſland, and prejudicial to her Majeſty's ſervice: and, 2d, that admiral Graydon having behaved himſelf ſo ill, in this expedition to the Weſt-indies, was not fit to be imploy'd any more in her Majeſty's ſervice: which reſolutions were agreed to by the houſe; and, together with ſome abuſes in victualing the navy, and other things, laid before her Majeſty, in a long addreſs. With regard to the abuſes in victualing the navy, their lordſhips laid great blame on the Prince's council, for having delay'd the execution of his royal highneſſes order, for a ſurvey of the proviſions complained of, for near three months, and thereby giving great diſcountenance to the complaint, and an opportunity of removing or changing the tainted and ſtinking proviſions complained of; which neglect, among other proofs of it, they ſay was evident, from ſeveral letters which paſs'd between mr. Hoar (one of the complainants) and mr. ſecretary Burchett; the former inſiſting, that the perſons he had deſired to be preſent would not attend at the ſurvey, unleſs they were impowered by the admiralty, and mr. Burchett acquainting him, that ſuch a power was not judged either reaſonable or proper to be given. With reſpect to the expedition into the Mediteranean, the laſt ſummer, which had raiſed ſo great an expectation in the world, and concluded with ſo little advantage to the undertaking, they told her Majeſty; it was their opinion, that the time the fleet ſailed from England, being about the middle of July, under the order ſir Cloudeſly Shovel had to return out of the Streights within the month of September, made it impoſſible to execute the main ſervices, that appeared before the commitee were required to be perform'd by his inſtructions.

The 23d, they likewiſe reſolved; " that an " addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, to remove " admiral Graydon, from all places of truſt in the " government, and that her Majeſty would be " pleaſed to order her attorney-general to proſe- " cute him at law, for the matters laid to his " charge."

The earl of Orford cleared.

The 24th, their lordſhips took into conſideration, the report of the commiſſioners of the public accounts, in relation to the earl of Orford, as late treaſurer of the navy, and reſolved; that he had made up his accounts very fairly.

The lords addreſs about the commiſſions of peace.

The 31ſt, the lords preſented an addreſs to the Queen, importing: that having taken into their " conſideration, the great alterations lately made, " in the commiſſions of the peace; they begg'd " leave to lay before her Majeſty, that it was their " opinion, that no perſon that refus'd to take the " oaths to the late King was fit to be in the com- " miſſion of the peace under her Majeſty; and " beſought her Majeſty, that ſhe would be gra- " ciouſly pleaſed, to order the ſaid commiſſions " to be reviewed, and to give directions, that no " perſon be continued, or put into the commiſſion " of the peace, but men of quality and eſtates, and " of known affection to her Majeſty's title and " government, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and " the church of England, as they were both eſta- " bliſh'd by law; and that ſuch be reſtored, who " were ſo qualified, and had been turned out with- " out juſt cauſe (1).

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs her Majeſty anſwer'd; " that " ſhe always thought it reaſonable, that the com- " miſſioners of the peace ſhould be filled with gen- " tlemen of the beſt quality and eſtates in their " countries: and it was as fit they ſhould be of

(1) The occaſion of this addreſs was an act, impowering juſtices of the peace, to impreſs ſuch men as they ſaw fit (who were not intitled to a vote for members of parliament) for the land-ſervice; to which the houſe of peers objected, that this might be too great a power to be lodged in the hands of juſtices of the peace; eſpecially as ſuch gentlemen had of late been put in commiſſion, as were not acceptable to a majority of that houſe.

" known

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" known loyalty and affection to the government, " to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the church of " England, as eſtabliſhed by law, and ſhe would " give directions according to this rule."

Books ordered to be burnt.

Complaint having been made to the commons towards the latter end of this ſeſſion, of two book, containing ſome heterodox notions; the one aſſerting; " the mortality of the ſoul;" and the other intitled; " the grand eſſay or vindication of " reaſon and religion againſt impoſtures of Philo- " ſophy;" the houſe reſolved, that they contained diverſe doctrines and poſitions, contrary to the doctrine of the church of England, and tending to the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian religion; and ordered the ſaid books to be burnt by the common hangman.

I ſhould have mention'd before, but defer'd it to keep up a connexion of other parliamentary affairs, that on the 7th of February, mr. ſecretary Hedges delivered the following meſſage, from her Majeſty, to the houſe of commons:

Ann, R.

Her Majeſty's meſſage concerning the poorer clergy.

" Her Majeſty having taken into her ſerious " conſideration the mean and inſufficient mainte- " nance belonging to the clergy, in diverſe parts of " this kingdom, to give them ſome eaſe, has been " pleaſed to remit the arrears of the tenths to the " poor clergy: and for an augmentation to their " maintenance, her Majeſty is pleaſed to declare, " that ſhe will make a grant of her whole revenue, " ariſing out of the firſt fruits and tenths, as far as " it now is, or ſhall become free from incum- " brances, to be applied to this purpoſe: and if " the commons can find any proper method, by " which her Majeſty's good intentions to the poor " clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a " great advantage to the public, and very accept- " able to her Majeſty."

St. James's Feb. 7. 1703.

The commons, hereupon, in an humble addreſs, of the 11th of February, returned her Majeſty their moſt hearty thanks, " for her moſt gracious " meſſage, and the great and pious concern her " Majeſty had, for the increaſing the maintenance " of the poor clergy, out of her own revenue; " aſſuring her withal, that they would do their " utmoſt to make her Majeſty's charitable inten- " tio s moſt effectual." Accordingly a bill was brought in, for that purpoſe; and, on the 15th, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation aſſembled, acknowleged the Queen's bounty, in an humble addreſs to her Majeſty, who took that opportunity again to aſſure them, " that ſhe would al- " ways continue to protect the church of Eng- " land." The lower houſe of convocation, likewiſe, return'd their ſolemn thanks to the commons, " for their readineſs to aſſiſt and farther " her Majeſty's charitable intentions, and to eſ- " pouſe the intereſt of the clergy." The 29th, the clergy of the province of York alſo addreſs'd her Majeſty on the ſame ſubject.

Acts paſs'd.

The 24th of February, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to, " an " act for granting an aid to her Majeſty for car- " rying on the war, and other her Majeſty's oc- " caſions, by ſelling annuities, at ſeveral rates, " and for ſuch reſpective terms or eſtates as are " therein mention'd: an act for the increaſe of " ſeamen, and better incouragement of navigation, " and ſecurity of the coal-trade;" and to ſeveral other acts, both public and private.

The heats and animoſities between both houſes continuing, and the parliament having finiſh'd the moſt important affairs before them, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 3d of April, and gave the royal aſſent to twelve public and twenty-four private acts, the chief of which were; " an act " for regiſtring deeds in the weſt-riding of York- " ſhire; an act for making her Majeſty's gracious " intentions, for the augmentation of the mainte- " nance of the poor clergy, effectual, by ina- " bling her Majeſty to grant the revenues of the " firſt fruits and tenths; and alſo for inabling any " other perſons to make grants for the ſame pur- " poſe; an act for diſcharging ſuch inſolvent deb- " tors out of priſon, as ſhould ſerve, or procure " a perſon to ſerve, in her Majeſty's fleets and ar- " mies; an act for the farther explanation and re- " gulation of privilege of parliament, in relation " to perſons in public offices; an act for raiſing " recruits for the land-ſervice and mariners, " whereby three juſtices of peace were impowered " to impreſs men, as has been mention'd already, " &c."

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This done, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without " returning you thanks for the willingneſs which " you have expreſs'd to ſupport and aſſiſt me in " continuing the preſent war.

" And I muſt thank you, gentlemen of the " houſe of commons, very particularly, for the " great forwardneſs and zeal, which you have " ſhewn, both in the early diſpatch of the ſupplies, " and in making them ſo effectual for carrying " on the public expence, without any additional " burdens upon the country: it ſhall be my care " to improve this to the beſt advantage."

My lords and gentlemen,

" At the opening of this ſeſſion, I did earneſtly " expreſs my deſires of ſeeing you in perfect uni- " ty among yourſelves, as the moſt effectual means " imaginable to diſappoint the ambition of our " enemies, and reduce them to an honorable and " laſting peace; and tho' this has not met with " all that ſucceſs which I wiſh'd and expected; " yet, being fully convinced, that nothing is ſo " neceſſary to our common welfare, I am not " diſcouraged from perſiſting in the ſame earneſt " deſires, that you would go down into your ſe- " veral counties, ſo diſpoſed to moderation and " unity, as becomes all thoſe who are joined " together in the ſame religion and intereſt.

" This, I am perſuaded, will ſoon make you " ſenſible, that nothing, next to the bleſſing of " God, can ſo much contribute to our ſucceſs " abroad, and to our ſafety at home,".

The parliament prorogued.

The Queen having ended her ſpeech, the lord-keeper, by her Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament, to the fourth day of July next inſuing (1).

I return now to ſome tranſactions out of parliament.

The duke of Marlborough goes to the Hague.

The States-general having repreſented to her Majeſty, by their envoy extraordinary in London, " Of how great advantage the duke of Marlbo- " rough's coming to the Hague would be, to the " confederacy, by concerting there, with them, " the meaſures proper to be taken at that junc- " ture;" and deſired her Majeſty to give his grace leave to paſs the ſeas, for a few days. Her Majeſty was therefore pleaſed, on the 2d of January, to give directions for that purpoſe. Accordingly, the 15th of the ſame month, the duke imbarked

(1) The moſt remarkable bill brought into the houſe of commons, this ſeſſion, which did not paſs, was, " for recruiting her " Majeſty's land-forces, by obliging the ſeveral pariſhes or corporations, in England, to furniſh a certain number of men:" but this being look'd upon as a copy of what is practiſed in France, and other deſpotic governments, a general diſtaſte appear'd againſt it, and it was drop'd.

on

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on board the Mary yacht, in the river, in order to ſail for Holland, and arrived in three days, at the Hague, where he received the compliments of all the public miniſters, the general officers, and other perſons of quality. He had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States-general, in which there was a ſcheme formed for the operations of the next campain. It was reſolved, that, inſtead of a fruitleſs one in the Netherlands, they would have only a ſmall army there, to ly on the defenſive, which was to be commanded by monſieur d'Auverquerque; but that, ſince the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonn, all up to the Moſel, their main army, which was to be commanded by the duke of Marlborough, ſhould act there. More was not underſtood to be deſigned, except by thoſe few who were let into the ſecret. Upon this, all the preparations for the campain were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine, that every thing might be in a readineſs againſt the duke's return. The true ſecret was in few hands, and the French had ſo little ſcent of it, that they ſeemed to have no manner of apprehenſions tending that way. All theſe matters being ſettled, his grace left the Hague, the 11th of February, and on the 14th arrived at London.

Concerts a plan for the campain, and returns.

The order of the Thiſtle revived in Scotland.

The 31ſt of January, the Queen ſign'd a patent, in order to paſs the great ſeal of Scotland, for reviving and reſtoring there the moſt ancient and noble order of the Thiſtle (1). And the 4th of February, her Majeſty, as ſoverein thereof, received into that order his grace, John duke of Argile, as ſhe did likewiſe, the 7th, John duke of Athol, William marquis, of Anandale, James earl of Dalkeith, George earl of Orkney, and James earl of Seafield. She was alſo pleaſed to give a commiſſion to David Nairne, eſq; to be ſecretary to the ſaid order, and to confer upon him the honor of knighthood.

The play-houſes regulated.

About the ſame time, her Majeſty publiſh'd an order for the regulation of the play-houſes, prohibiting them to act any that was contrary to religion and good manners; and that no woman ſhould come into the play-houſe in a vizard-maſk; a cuſtom very common with the women of the town of that time, who wore maſks rather as a badge of their profeſſion, than to avoid being known.

Proceedings againſt the author of the Obſervator.

John Tutchin, the author of a weekly paper, called the Obſervator, noted for its low ſcurrility, having publiſh'd his remarks on occaſional conformity, a complaint was made againſt him in the houſe of commons, and, upon examination of the matter, it was reſolved, on the 3d of January; "That the Obſervator, from the 8th to the 11th "of December, 1703, contains matters ſcandalous "and malicious, reflecting upon the proceedings "of the houſe, and tending to the promoting of "ſedition in the kingdom: and that Tutchin the "author, How the printer, and Bragg the pub-"liſher of that paper, ſhould be taken into cuſto-"dy of the ſerjeant-at-arms attending the houſe." Tutchin, hereupon, abſconded; but, notwithſtanding the cenſure paſs'd upon him, went on in his licentious way of writing, and made very ſevere reflections upon a ſpeech ſaid to have been made by ſir John Packington, in the houſe of commons, in favor of the bill to prevent occaſional conformity. A freſh complaint being made for this ſecond offenſe, the commons reſolved, on the 14th of February: "that the author, printer, and "publiſher of the Obſervator, having broke the "privilege of the houſe, and ſince abſconded from "juſtice, an humble addreſs be preſented to her "Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to iſſue her royal "proclamation for apprehending, them, promiſing "a reward for diſcovering of them:" which proclamation was publiſhed accordingly, the 24th, offering a reward of one hundred pound for Tutchin, and fifty pound each, for How and Bragg. The former was afterwards proſecuted by the attorny-general, and convicted, but there being ſome error in the proceeding, he got off unpuniſhed.

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The convocation ſat this winter, at the ſame time with the parliament; but the differences between the two houſes ſtill continuing, they ſcarce agreed upon any thing elſe this ſeſſion, but a repreſentation of the want of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the abuſes in the ſpiritual court.

The Engliſh convocation meets to little purpoſe.

Since I have mentioned the convocation here, I ſhall juſt take notice, that the convocation in Ireland being likewiſe ſuffered to ſit this year, tranſmited an addreſs to her Majeſty, in which "they expreſs'd their gratitude for her reſtoring "them, after a long diſcontinuance, to the right "of aſſembling themſelves in a national convo-"cation, being perſuaded, that this inſtance of "her royal juſtice would be no inconſiderable ad-"dition to the glories of her Majeſty's reign:" and as nothing happen'd farther, this year in Ireland, I ſhall only obſerve, that the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, put an end to the ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, on the 4th of March; when having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts, and, of the former, in particular one, "to prevent the farther growth of "Popery," he porogued it to the 3d of October.

Addreſs of the Iriſh convocation.

Soon after the prorogation of the Engliſh parliament, ſeveral changes happened at court. The firſt and principal which was concerted, at leaſt, tho' it did not take effect till ſome time after, was the reſignation of the earl of Nottingham, one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, who was ſucceeded in that important imploy, by Robert Harley, eſq; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons (2). The conſequence, or perhaps condition of this was, that, on the 20th of April, Henry St. John, eſq; was made ſecretary of war, in the room of William Blaithwait, eſq; the 23d the earl of Kent was made lord-chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Jerſey, and Thomas Manſel, eſq; comptroller of the houſhold, in the room of ſir Edward Seymour. A few days after, his lordſhip, mr. Harley, and mr. Manſel were ſworn of the privy-council; and, on the 16th of May, mr. Harley was declared one of her Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Changes at court.

While theſe changes were making, a ſeditious libel appear'd, with the title of "Legion's humble

Legion's addreſs to the lords.

(1) Some hiſtorians pretend, that this order was firſt inſtituted by Achaius, King of Scotland, after having concluded an alliance with Charlemaign: and others tell us, it was inſtituted, or at leaſt renewed, by James IV, who choſe St. Andrew for protector thereof. Be that as it will, the ſaid order was neglected, 'till the late King James revived it; but there was no creation of any knight in the reign of King William. The enſigns of the order are a green ribbon, which the knights wear, in the ſame manner as the knights of the garter wear a blue; and a ſtar, with St. Andrew's croſs. Their Motto is, Nemo me impune laceſſit. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 118.

(2) This gentleman was of an ancient family, tho' moderate fortune, quick parts, good reading, and of an aſpiring genius; who by his unwearied application to buſineſs was early taken notice of, and who, by his plain familiar behavior, flexibility, and unaffected dexterity, had gained ſuch an extenſive intereſt, as to be almoſt unanimouſly choſen ſpeaker of the two former, and of the preſent houſe of commons: add to all this that from his education among the Diſſenters, and the great ſhare he had in the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hanover, he ſeemed to be moſt agreeable to the Whig-party, whom the court now thought fit to cajole, as the moſt able and willing to ſupport the public credit: and hitherto mr. Harley had not made himſelf obnoxious to either party. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 125.

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" addreſs to the lords" wherein the proceedings of the commons, with relation to the Ayleſbury buſineſs, and the examination of the Scotiſh plot, were arrained, in a moſt audacious manner: the firſt were taxed as " arbitrary and illegal, contrary " to the liberties of Engliſhmen, deſtructive of " the rights of elections, and an invaſion of the " judicature of the nation:" and as to the other it was ſuggeſted; that the careſſing of her Majeſty with the title of " a Queen ſiting on the throne " of her anceſtors, by right of ſucceſſion from her " father;" when, at the ſame time, they knew her right depended upon the validity of parliamentary limitation, and was built on the foot of the late revolution, and the act of ſettlement, was a barbarous treachery to the whole nation, an inſolent affront to her Majeſty, an inſinuation of the title of the pretended Prince of Wales, and a vilanous attempt to deſtroy the preſent ſettlement of ſucceſſion, and was conſequently high-treaſon, by their own act of parliament: and that to addreſs her Majeſty to extend her prerogative, and thereby to imbroil her with the privilege of the peers, was the moſt aggravated piece of treachery, that ever houſe of commons was or could be guilty of; the ſame being an affront to her Majeſty, a malicious deſign on her perſon, by perſuading her to enter on that very thing, the exorbitant practice whereof was the ruin of her father and grand-father; an unprecedented attempt upon the liberties of the people, and a medling with what they have no power or right to touch. They (the author or authors, with the aſſumed name of Million) alſo heartily acknowleged their lordſhip's zeal, courage and fidelity, both in vindicating their own undoubted rights, invaded by the houſe of commons, in their diligent care for the ſafety of her Majeſty's perſon, in ſearching after the deeply laid contrivances of her enemies in the late plot, and in their aſſerting the liberties and rights of the people of England, againſt the invaſion and uſurpation of the houſe of commons: and as they look'd upon the lords, as " the ſanctuary and ſafety of this na- " tion, ſo, in the name of the injured freeholders, " and commons of England, they aſſured their " lordſhips, in the concluſion; that they would " firmly adhere to, and faithfully defend their lord- " ſhips, in the farther purſuit of theſe juſt and glo- " rious ends."

The 25th of May, the Queen cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed promiſing a reward of one hundred pound for the diſcovery of the author, and fifty pound for the apprehending of the printer, of this ſeditious paper: tho' I never heard that any one was puniſhed for it.

The Queen goes to Windſor.

The 31ſt the Queen, with her royal conſort, went from St. James's to Windſor, where they paſs'd moſt part of the ſummer-ſeaſon: and here we ſhall leave her Majeſty to take a view of the affairs of Scotland.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Queen having promiſed the houſe of peers, to uſe all proper methods to procure the ſettlement of the crown of Scotland on the houſe of Hanover, in the inſuing ſeſſion of the parliament of that kingdom, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary, for that end, to make ſome alterations in the miniſtry there, and ſeveral Scotiſh councils were held on that account. The marquis of Tweedale was therefore appointed her Majeſty's high commiſſioner there; the earl of Clomarty was made principal and only ſecretary of ſtate, the duke of Queenſborough being ſet aſide; mr. Alexander Weddenburn was made deputy-ſecretary, in the room of ſir David Nairne; the earl of Leven was re-inſtated governor of the caſtle of Edinburg, in the room of the earl of March; James Johnſon eſq; ſucceeded ſir James Murray of Philiphaugh, as lord-regiſter; and the earl of Glaſcow, deputy-treaſurer was removed, but no-body was named to fill his poſt.

Change in the miniſtry.

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The parliament meeting, at Edinburg, the 6th of July, the Queen's commiſſion, appointing the marquis of Tweedale to repreſent her royal perſon, was recorded; and on the 11th, the lord high commiſſioner repreſented to them the Queen's letter, in which ſhe obſerved; " that their unhappy diffe- " rences had proceeded to ſuch a height, as had in- " couraged her enemies abroad, to imploy their " emiſſaries, in order to debauch them from their " allegiance, and render that kingdom a ſcene of " war: but ſhe was willing to hope, that none but " men, who were obnoxious to the laws, or of " mean and deſperate fortunes, had given ear to " them. She was always inclined to believe, that " the late miſtakes did not proceed from any want " of duty or reſpect to her, but only from dif- " ferent opinions, as to meaſures of gover- " ment.

The parliament meets.

The Queen's letter.

" That ſhe was reſolved, for the ſatisfaction of " her people, to grant whatever could in reaſon " be demanded for rectifying abuſes, and quieting " their minds; and, in order to this, ſhe had named " the marquis of Tweedale her commiſſioner; of " whoſe capacity and diſpoſition to ſerve his coun- " try, there could be no doubt, and ſhe had given " him authority to conſent to ſuch laws as they " ſhould think yet wanting for ſecuring their go- " vernment in church and ſtate: and having done " her part, ſhe hoped they would lay hold of this " opportunity of ſhewing the world the ſincerity " of the profeſſions they had made her.

" But the main thing ſhe recommended to them " was, their ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown " in the Proteſtant line, as abſolutely neceſſary for " ſecuring their peace and happineſs. As to the " terms and conditions of the government, with " regard to a ſucceſſor, the commiſſioner was im- " power'd to grant whatſoever could in reaſon be " demanded, for ſecuring the ſovereinty and li- " berties of that kingdom.

" She recommended to them the providing ſup- " plies for their forces and gariſons, the diſcourag- " ing vice, and incouraging piety and trade; and " concluded, that unanimity and moderation, in " all their proceedings, would be of great uſe for " bringing to a happy iſſue, the important affairs " ſhe had laid before them."

The lord-commiſſioner made a ſpeech to the ſame effect, adding only, that the whole buſineſs of the plot ſhould be laid before them, and her Majeſty doubted not but their inquiries into theſe practices ſhould end in their laying down ſolid meaſures for preventing them for the time to come.

Speeches inforcing it.

The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, and the earl of Clomarty, lord-ſecretary, each of them, likewiſe, made a ſpeech to inforce what her Majeſty had inſiſted upon in her letter: the latter concluding, with this aſſertion, which (ſaid he) I think evident without diſcourſe; " that as the " union of Britain is apparently its greateſt politic " good, ſo as certainly, and by the infallible " rule of contraries, a diviſion of Britain is its " greateſt evil: and then it is a neceſſary corollary, " whoever is not for the union of Britain may be " concluded an enemy to it."

The 13th, the parliament ſat again, and the duke of Hamilton made a ſpeech, deſiring that her Majeſty's letter might be conſidered, and likewiſe the nomination of a Proteſtant ſucceſſor; but inſiſted, at the ſame time, that commiſſioners might be named to treat previouſly with England. This overture occaſioned a great debate, on the 17th, and the earl of Rothes having preſcrib'd another reſolve, it was carried by a majority of fifty-five, that the reſolve preſented by the ſaid earl, and that

Reſolutions concerning the union and ſucceſſion.

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that preſented by the duke of Hamilton, ſhould be jointly voted, and they were as follows:

Reſolved, "that the parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a ſucceſſor, unleſs we have a previous treaty with England, for regulating our commerce and other concerns with that nation:" and farther, it is reſolved; "that this parliament will proceed to make ſuch limitations and conditions of government, for the rectification of our conſtitution, as may ſecure the religion, liberty, and independency of this nation, before they proceed to the ſaid nomination." The firſt part of this reſolution was propoſed by duke Hamilton, and the other by the earl of Rothes.

Perſons and papers concerning the late plot call'd for.

The ſame day, the duke of Athol moved, that his grace, the lord-commiſſioner, would be pleaſed to write to her Majeſty, to ſend down the perſons who were witneſſes in the late plot, and all the papers relating to the ſame, that the affair might be examined to the bottom, thoſe who were unjuſtly and falſely accuſed be vindicated, and thoſe who were guilty puniſhed according to their deſerts. The lord chancellor, hereupon, declared, that his grace had written, and would write again for that purpoſe: however, they not coming ſo ſoon as was expected, the parliament drew up an addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſame ſubject: and a majority of that aſſembly ſo much reſented the proceedings of the Engliſh lords, with regard to this affair, that a reſolve being preſented, and propoſed to be read and voted, importing: "That the addreſs of the

Reſolutions againſt the Engliſh lords;

"Engliſh houſe of lords to the Queen, in relation "to the nomination of their ſucceſſor to the crown "of Scotland, and their examination of the plot, "ſo far as it concerned Scotland and Scotſmen, was "an undue intermedling with our concerns, and "an incroachment upon the honor, ſovereinty "and independency of this nation; and that the "proceedings of the houſe of commons were like "thoſe of good ſubjects to the Queen, and good "neighbors to us"; when it was put to the vote, the firſt branch, with relation to the lords, paſs'd by a great majority, tho' the other, concerning the commons, was rejected.

And about the act of ſecurity.

They alſo came to the following reſolution; "that the parliament will proceed to grant two "months ſupply, for ſubſiſting her Majeſty's "forces; and, as ſoon as the act of ſecurity (now "read) has got the royal aſſent, will give four "months more", this motion being oppoſed, the earl of Roxburg preſented the following reſolution, as an expedient, viz. "that there be a firſt "reading mark'd on the act of ſecurity, and that "both this act, and that for the ſupply, be no farther proceeded upon, until his grace, her Majeſty's commiſſioner, receive inſtruments as to "the act of ſecurity; it being then free to the "parliament to proceed to the acts jointly or ſeparately, as they ſhall think fit". This reſolution was approved, and the act of ſecurity was mark'd a firſt reading. The 27th, the parliament adjourn'd to the 3d of Auguſt, in expectation, that the lord-commiſſioner would then have received her Majeſty's inſtructions on that act: and it happened as they wiſhed: for when they met, on the third, the lord-commiſſioner acquainted them, that he was impowered to paſs the act of ſecurity: accordingly both that, and the act for a ſupply paſſed, and received the royal aſſent, the 5th of Auguſt.

The act of ſecurity with that for a ſupply paſs.

Tenor of the act of ſecurity.

By this act of ſecurity it was ſtatuted and ordained; "that in caſe of the death of the Queen, her heirs "or ſucceſſors, the parliament then in being ſhould "ſit; and if the parliament happen'd to be adjourned, then they ſhould aſſemble and ſit, the "20th day after ſuch death; and if there ſhould "be no parliament in being, then the members of "the preceeding parliament ſhould meet at Edinburg, the 20th day after ſuch death, and the ſaid "eſtates of parliament were impowered to adminiſter "the government: and, if the Queen ſhould leave "heirs of her body, or a ſucceſſor be appointed by "the Queen and parliament, the ſaid eſtates ſhould "tender the coronation-oath to ſuch ſucceſſor within "thirty days after their meeting; and if the ſucceſſor "ſhould be under age, then the ſaid eſtates ſhould appoint a regency until he attain'd the age of ſeventeen.

"And if her Majeſty died without iſſue of her "body, or a ſucceſſor appointed as above, the "aforeſaid eſtates were impowered to nominate "a ſucceſſor, and to ſertle the ſucceſſion of the crown "upon the heirs of ſuch ſucceſſor's body; the ſaid "ſucceſſors, and the heirs of his body, being of "the royal line of Scotland, and of the true Proteſtant religion; provided ſuch ſucceſſor be not "the ſucceſſor to the crown of England; unleſs, "during her Majeſty's reign, there ſhould be ſuch "conditions of government inacted, as might ſecure the honor and ſovereinty of this crown and "kingdom, the freedom of parliaments, the religion, liberty and trade of the nation, from Engliſh, or any forein influence.

"It was made high-treaſon to acknowlege any "perſon, King or Queen of Scotland, contrary "to the tenor of this act. Until the meeting of "the eſtates, as above, ſuch members of them, and "of the privy-council, as happen'd to be at Edinburg, were appointed to adminiſter the government: all the Proteſtant heretors and burghs "were to provide themſelves with fire-arms, for "all their fenſible men, who were to be diſciplined, at leaſt, once every month (1).

The parliament prorogued.

The 17th of Auguſt, the lord-commiſſioner told the parliament, "that he was not allowed to give "them any more time, her Majeſty thinking a "ſhort receſs neceſſary: but that it would not be "long before they had another opportunity of doing what ſtill remained to be done; for no diſappointment her Majeſty had met with, could "alter, in the leaſt, her favorable diſpoſitions towards that her ancient kingdom." The parliament was hereupon prorogued to the 7th of October: and, ſoon after, ſome ſmall alterations were made in the miniſtry of Scotland, and a new commiſſion of council was ſent down to that kingdom.

Martime affairs.

I come now to maritime affairs, and ſhall begin with the new King of Spain's voyage to Liſbon, under convoy of a good part of the royal navy. We left his Catholic Majeſty departing from Windſor, to imbark at Portſmouth, and all poſſible haſte being made in fiting out the fleet, the admiral unmoored, the 4th of January: but after being advanced to about forty-ſix degrees and a half, he met with ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that the fleet, diſperſing, was obliged to make for our harbors again, and ſir George Rooke, with the ſhips with him, did not reach Spithead till the 23d.

Sir George Rooke convoys the King of Spain to Liſbon.

His Majeſty went on ſhoar at Portſmouth, where he continued till the fleet was ready to ſail again, which was by the 1ſt of February; tho' contrary winds detained them till the 12th. The 25th, the ſquadron, with the tranſports, arrived in the river of Liſbon, after a fine paſſage, without the leaſt accident to ſo numerous a fleet. In ſailing up the river, the admiral, on board of whom was the King

(1) By this act we ſee, the hopes the Engliſh miniſtry had conceived, before the opening of this ſeſſion, of bringing the Scots over to their meaſures, proved abortive: and it was ſaid, that it was a neceſſary piece of policy of the court, to give into this act, to prevent a rebellion, for which, the Scotiſh nation ſeem'd, at that time, pretty ripe.

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of Spain, was ſaluted by all the forts and caſtles, with a triple diſcharge of all their cannon, ſtriking their flags three ſeveral times, before they fired.

His arrival.

The fleet anchored below Belem, a league ſhort of the King's palace, where mr. Methuen, the Engliſh embaſſador's ſon (his father being confined with the gout) went on board, and welcomed his Majeſty, in the name of the Queen of England, as did the duke of Cadaval, the ſame evening, in the name of his Portugueſe Majeſty. His Catholic Majeſty ſent, the ſame night, the Prince of Lichtenſtein, to return the compliment, and to condole with his Portugueſe Majeſty for the loſs of the Infanta, his eldeſt daughter, whom the King of Spain was to have married; but ſhe died a few days before his arrival.

His Catholic Majeſty's reception by the King of Portugal.

All things being ready, and the ceremonies for the reception of the King of Spain being adjuſted, the 27th, his Majeſty, on board the Royal-Catherine, admiral, with the reſt of the men of war, came up, and anchored over againſt the royal palace, the caſtles, on both ſides the river, continually firing. Between four and five, in the afternoon, the King of Portugal, accompanied by the two Princes, his eldeſt ſons, with ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality, imbarked on a very noble brigantine, rowed by forty men, clad in crimſon velvet laced with ſilver, attended by the reſt of the nobility, in barges and felucca's, and went on board the Royal-Catherine. When his Majeſty came by the ſhip's ſide, he ſtruck his flag, and when he came into the ſhip, ſir George Rooke ſtruck his flag, and let fly his ſtreamer, and ſaluted him with twenty-five guns, which was taken by the whole fleet, and anſwered from on ſhoar. His Catholic Majeſty received the King of Portugal, at the ladder-head, which upon this occaſion was made very commodious, and waited on him to his cabin, giving him the right hand, while he was in the ſhip. After a ſhort ſtay there, the two Kings went into the brigantine. When they put off, both ſhips hoiſted their flags, which had remained ſtruck while the King of Portugal was on board the admiral, and ſir George gave two ſalutes of twenty-five guns each, which was followed by the reſt of the fleet. The King of Spain had the right hand on board the brigantine, and both Kings landed under a triumphal arch, which was erected at the head of a very magnificent bridge, built for this purpoſe, and adorned with ſeveral triumphal arches, which run a good way into the river, from the palace-gate. At landing, the King of Portugal, gave his Catholic Majeſty the right, and taking him by the hand, led him along the bridge to the palace, and to the royal chapel, where Te Deum was ſung, on account of his Majeſty's ſafe arrival. I forbear a recital of the farther ceremonies, to return to the fleet.

And here, not to detain the reader with a tedious account of the cruiſings of our ſeveral ſquadrons under ſir George Rooke, ſir John Leake, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and ſir Stafford Fairborn, with their ſeveral ſucceſſes in taking a good number of the enemy's ſhips, I ſhall confine myſelf to the two principal naval tranſactions of this year, the taking of Gibraltar, and the ſea-fight off of Malaga, in which I ſhall be the more particular. Sir George Rooke, who, with the ſquadron under his command, after having cruiſed ſome time on the coaſt of Portugal, had been up the Streights, and, together with the Prince of Heſſe, had made a fruitleſs attempt on Barcelona, return'd down the Mediteranean. In his way, he had a ſight of the French Breſt-ſquadron, under the count de Thoulouſe, who was come into the Mediteranean in order to join that of Toulon: but, they being too nimble for him, and to windward, he could not come up with them: he therefore bent his courſe towards the Streights, and join'd ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, with the ſquadron he commanded, off of Lagos. Sir George having orders from the Queen, not to attempt any thing on the coaſt, without the approbation of the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and it being their opinion, that ſomething might be attempted on the coaſt of Andaluſia, a council of war was called, the 17th of June, on board the Royal Catherine, the united fleet being then about ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of Tetuan: and the reſolution was to make a ſudden attempt on Gibraltar (1).

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The ſiege of Gibraltar.

According to this reſolution, the fleet ſailed over from the Barbary-ſhoar, the 20th, in the night, and the 21ſt got into that bay. The ſame afternoon, at three o'clock, the marines, both Engliſh and Dutch, to the number of 1800, with the Prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhoar, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. His highneſs, having poſted his men there, ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place for the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty; which he rejecting with great obſtinacy, alleging, that the gariſon had taken an oath of fidelity to their natural lord King Philip V, and that, as faithful and loyal ſubjects, they would ſacrifice their lives, in defenſe of the city; the admiral gave orders, the 22d, in the morning, that the ſhips which had been appointed to cannonade the town, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the South-Mole-Head, commanded by captain Hicks, of the Yarmouth, ſhould range themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not poſſibly get into their places till the day was ſpent.

In the mean time, to amuſe the enemy, captain Whitaker was ſent in, with ſome boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns, at the old Mole. The 23d, ſoon after break of day, the ſhips being all placed, the admiral gave the ſignal for begining the cannonade, which was performed with very great fury, above 15000 ſhot being made in five or ſix hours time, againſt the town, inſomuch that the enemy were ſoon beat from their guns, eſpecially at the South-Mole-Head.

The admiral hereupon conſidering, that by gaining this fortification, they ſhould of conſequence reduce the town, ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to indeavor to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which was performed with great expedition; but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the Mole, had puſhed on ſhoar with their pinaces, and ſome other boats, before the reſt could come up; whereupon the enemy ſprung a mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the Mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about ſixty: however, our men kept poſſeſſion of the great platform, which they had made themſelves maſters of, and captain Whitaker landing, with the reſt of the ſeamen, which had been ordered upon this ſervice, they advanced, and took a redoubt, or ſmall baſtion, half way between the Mole and the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many of the enemy's cannon. It being Sunday, all the women were at their devotion, in a little chapel, about four miles from the town; ſo

(1) They were twelve third-rates, and four fourth-rates, with ſix ſhips of the Dutch.

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that our men were between them and their huſbands, which was a very great inducement to the citizens, to oblige the governor to capitulate. The admiral then ſent in a letter to the governor, and, at the ſame time, a meſſage to the Prince of Heſſe, to ſend him a peremptory ſummons, which his highneſs did accordingly; and, on the 24th, in the morning, the governor deſiring to capitulate, hoſtages were exchanged. The capitulation being concluded, the Prince marched into the town, in the evening, and took poſſeſſion of the land and North-Mole gates, and the outworks (1).

The town ſurrenders.

They found the town extreamly ſtrong, with a hundred guns mounted, all facing the ſea, and the two narrow paſſes to the land; and it was well ſupplied with ammunition. But the gariſon conſiſted of about 150 men only; ſome accounts ſay leſs (2): however, in the opinion of officers, who have ſeen the works, fifty men might have defended them againſt thouſands. The attack made by the ſeamen, was brave almoſt beyond example. We had only ſixty men killed, of which were two lieutenants, and one maſter: and 216 wounded, among whom were one captain, ſeven lieutenants and a boatſwain.

The important city and fortreſs of Gibraltar being thus in the hands of the confederates, the united fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of Barbary, to water; returning from thence the 9th of Auguſt, and ſtanding out of Tetuan-bay, within ſight of the high lands of Gibraltar, the Centurion-ſcout made a ſignal of ſeing the enemy's fleet, to windward, as it appear'd their ſcouts did of ſeing ours. It was reſolved to lay to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, to receive them; but they (3) indeavoring to avoid the fight, were purſued, the 10th, and the 11th, by the report of their ſignal guns.

The enemy's fleet diſcovered.

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The 12th, about noon, they diſcovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the weſtward, near cape Malaga, going away large, and bore after them, in a line of battle, all that night (4).

The 13th, in the morning, they were within three leagues of the French, who then brought to, with their heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, and, forming their line, lay in a poſture to receive them, in their diviſions. In the Engliſh line, ſir George Rooke, with the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes were in the center; ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and ſir John Leake, led the Van, and vice-admiral Callemberg, with rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, commanded the Dutch ſhips, in the rear (5).

The ſea fight off of Velez-Malaga.

We have ſeveral accounts of this action, which, tho' they differ in ſome circumſtances, agree pretty well in the whole. I ſhall keep to that publiſh'd by authority, as brought by captain Trevor, commander of her Majeſty's ſhip the Triton, from ſir George Rooke, to his royal highneſs: making ſuch remarks, and additions, in the notes, as I ſhall judge proper. And this being the only general ingagement, which happened during this whole war, I ſhall be the more particular.

On Sunday, the 13th of Auguſt, in the morning, (ſays this relation) we bore down upon the enemy, in order of battle, till a little after ten o' clock, when being about half gun-ſhot from them, they ſet all their ſails, at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch a-head, and weather us, ſo that our admiral was obliged to put the ſignal out, and begin the battle (6), which was continued with very

(1) Biſhop Burnet, who upon all occaſions is pretty forward in ſpeaking to the diſadvantage of ſir George Rooke, will hardly allow him any honor or merit, in the taking of this important place. "Rooke (ſays he) that he might ſeem to attempt "ſomething, fell upon Gibraltar; where he ſpent much powder, (bombarding, or rather cannonading it) to very little purpoſe, tho' there was no reaſon to hope, that he could ſucceed. Some bold men ventured to go aſhoar, in a place where it "was not thought poſſible to climb up the rocks; yet they ſucceeded in it. When they got up, they ſaw all the women of "the town were come out, according to their ſuperſtition, to a chapel there, to implore the virgin's protection. They "ſeized on them, and that contributed not a little to ingage thoſe in the town to ſurrender." Hiſt. of his own times.

The circumſtance of ſome bold men climbing up the rocks, I find mentioned by none of our hiſtorians before the biſhop; I have, however, myſelf, ſpoken with ſome, who have pretended, at leaſt, that they were of the number. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 790.

(2) Father Daniel, who is for throwing the blame of this misfortune on the Spaniards, for having ſo ſlender a gariſon, ſays: "It was an aſtoniſhing piece of negligence in Spain, to have a gariſon of but 100 men, in a place of ſuch importance."

(3) The reaſon was, becauſe they had then but few of their gallies with them, and the rendezvous of the reſt of thoſe veſſels being at Velez-Malaga, they plied up to that place where they joined them. This likewiſe gave the confederate-fleet the leiſure to ſend for half of the 1800 marines, they had left at Gibraltar.

(4) Tho' the French indeavored, at leaſt, to avoid the battle, as we have ſeen above, yet they had, in many things, the advantage over our fleet: they were ſuperior in force, having, at leaſt, ten three deck ſhips more than the confederates; all their ſhips were clean and full-man'd; they had the advantage of fighting on the coaſt, and near a harbor of their ally; and had the benefit of a large number of gallies. The confederates, on the contrary, beſides the remoteneſs of ports and ſuccour, in caſe of adverſe fortune, and the great diſadvantage of ſuch a ſuperior ſtrength againſt them, were conſcious of many defects, which the enemy could not (and happy for us they did not) ſo well know. Such as, the fleet's being thinly manned, a great deficiency of ſtores and proviſions, both naval and military; one the effect of a long voyage, the other occaſioned by the great expence of ammunition at the taking of Gibraltar; and the foulneſs of their ſhips, of infinite prejudice, in a day of battle, ſince it would hinder them both from purſuing an advantage, and from avoiding a misfortune: but notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the confederates reſolved rather to ſeek, than to ſhun, an engagement. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 793.

The continuator of Rapin, as much a friend as he is to France, is oblig'd to own, that this action ſhew'd an exceſs of bravery in the Engliſh. He allows the inferiority of their force, and the diſadvantage of their having been ſo long at ſea, as well as their having no place of refuge in caſe of misfortune: and yet (ſays he) they came off with honor. B. XXVI. p. 578.

(5) The confederate fleet conſiſted together of fifty-three ſhips of the line, and eighteen ſmall craft; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and the Panther, two fourth-rates, with a fifth-rate, a ſixth-rate, and two fire-ſhips, to lay to the windward of him, that if the enemy's Van, ſhould puſh thro' our line, with their gallies and fireſhips, they might give them ſome diverſion.

The French fleet conſiſted of fifty ſhips, that might be call'd of the line, but were in general, much larger than thoſe of the Engliſh, eight frigats, nine fire-ſhips, and two flutes: and beſides theſe they had twelve French, and eleven Spaniſh gallies; in all ninety-two ſail: eleven of the gallies were placed on the ſecond line of the white and blue ſquadron, under the command of the duke of Turſis; four, under the command of the marquis de Roye, behind the count de Thouloufe, in the center, and the other eight commanded by the marquis de Ferville, behind the marquis de Langeron, in the rear. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 791, 792.

(6) The fight was properly begun between ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and the marquis de la Villette, the former bearing down upon the enemy, with the Van of the confederate fleet, and the latter hoping to cut him off. But admiral Shovel having diſcovered the enemy's intention, immediately clap'd upon a wind, and ſir George Rooke foreſeing what would be the conſequence, if his Van was intercepted, bore down upon them, with the reſt of the confederate fleet, and put out the ſignal for the fight, which was immediately begun by admiral Shovel. The French accounts own, that in this part of the ingagement, between the marquis de Villette, and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, the former was obliged to bear out of the line to repair, his ſloop being blown up by a bomb, and his ſhip ſet on fire, and in danger of blowing up likewiſe; and that the ſame happened to monſieur de Belle-Iſle's ſhip, he himſelf being before kill'd.

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great fury on both ſides; but about two in the afternoon, the enemy's Van gave way to ours, which was commanded by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, and led by ſir John Leake; as their rear did to the Dutch, towards night. But their body being very ſtrong, and ſeveral of the ſhips of the admiral's, rear-admiral Byng's, and rear-admiral Dilkes diviſion's being forced to go out of the line, for want of ſhot, the battle fell very heavy on the admiral's own ſhip, the St. George, and the Shrewſbury (1). This want of ſhot was occaſioned by our great expence of it at Gibraltar; and tho' every ſhip was ſupplied to have twenty-five rounds, two days before the battle, which was judged ſufficient, and would have been ſo, if we could have got ſo near the enemy as the admiral intended; (tho' the French pretended it was they who indeavor'd to fight cloſe; but the Engliſh avoided it;) yet every ſhip, that was on that ſervice, wanted ammunition before night.

The enemy's Van and Rear give way.

The Engliſh want ammunition.

The battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the Leeward. In the night, the wind ſhifted to the northward, and, in the morning, to the Weſtward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by, all day, within three leagues of one another, repairing our defects, and, at night, they filed, and ſtood to the northward.

The enemy retreats.

On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of us; but, a little before noon, we had a breeze of wind, eaſterly, with which we bore down on them, till four o'clock, in the afternoon. It being too late to ingage, we brought to, and lay by, with our heads to the northward all night (2).

On the 16, in the morning, the wind being ſtill eaſterly, hazy weather, and having no ſight of the enemy, or their ſcouts, we filed, and bore away to the weſtward, ſuppoſing they would have gone away for Cadiz, (3). But being adviſed from Gibraltar, and the coaſt of Barbary, that they did not paſs the Streights, we conclude they have been ſo ſeverely treated, as to oblige them to return to Toulon, which may prevent any attempt upon Gibraltar, this winter, the ſending any ſuccor into Cadiz, or the inſulting the coaſt of Portugal, and conſtrain them to a winter-paſſage to Weſt-France, if they intend any of their ſhips thither this year (4). We have not yet the particulars of the enemy's loſs. The marquis de Villadarias, marching with his army to beſiege Gibraltar, ſent a letter to the Prince of Heſſe, governor of that place, that the French have burnt eight of our ſhips, taken ſixteen, ſunk ſeven, and he allows the French have loſt four men of war, and one gally, and that the count de Thoulouſe is wounded. During the action, we ſaw two of the enemy's gallies ſink, and many of their ſhips ſo diſabled, that they were towed off by their gallies, and we have reaſon to believe ſeveral of them periſhed; whereas there was not one of her Majeſty's ſhips loſt, and the Dutch loſt only their admiral called the Albemarl, of ſixty-four guns, which blew up by accident, the 16th, in the afternoon, after we had loſt ſight of the enemy, and had only nine men ſaved. We loſt, beſide, 695 men killed, among whom were two captains, ſir Andrew Leake, of the Grafton, and captain Cow, of the Ranelagh; and 1663 wounded, among whom were three captains, captain Mynge of the Namur, captain Baker, of the Monmouth, and captain Jumper, of the Lenox. Of the Dutch, captain Liinſlager was killed, and they had 400 men killed and wounded (5).

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Vain glory of the Spaniards.

Loſs of men on both ſides.

Our fleet having intirely loſt ſight of the enemy, ſir George call'd a council of war, in which it was determined to repair, with the fleet, to Gibraltar; and having ſtaid eight days there to refit, and ſupplied that place with men and proviſions, he ſailed from thence the 24th of Auguſt. The 26th, being out of the Streights-mouth, he gave the neceſſary orders to ſir John Leake, and admiral Vanderduſſen, who with a ſquadron left under their command, were to protect the coaſts of Portugal, and relieve Gibraltar, if it ſhould be beſieged, as it was apprehended. He then continued his voyage, with thoſe ſhips, which were in a condition to come home; and arrived at Spithead, the 25th of September. The 29th, he waited on the Queen and Prince, at Windſor, who received him very graciouſly, and expreſsed themſelves very well ſatisfied with his conduct.

The Engliſh loſe ſight of them.

As ſir George Rooke expected, with reſpect to Gibraltar, ſo it happen'd; for, in the month of October, the French and Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de Villadarias, inveſted that

The French attempt Gibraltar, in vain.

(1) This being obſerved by ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, he like a good and valiant officer, immediately back'd aſtern, and indeavored to re-inforce the admiral. This act, both of valor and good ſea-manſhip, had two uſeful effects; firſt it drew ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips from our Center, which, was ſo hard preſs'd, by a great ſuperiority, both of ſtrength and number, and drove them at length out of the line: for after they had felt the force of this ſupply, from ſome of the ſhips of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel's diviſion, which were a-ſtern of him, they found it not ſafe to advance along his broadſide; but being clean, and better ſailers, they ſet their ſprit-ſails, and with their boats a-head towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging a ſingle broad-ſide, with them. Theſe were the vice-admiral of their white, and the rear-admiral of their white and blue, with part of their diviſions: and tho' the count de Thoulouſe was ſuſtained by the beſt ſhips and commanders in the center, and aſſiſted by the greateſt officers, for quality, experience and courage, (who were placed as counſellors near him) yet he ſhared at length the like fate as his van, and about ſeven o'clock, was obliged to tow out of danger. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 794.

(2) The confederates braved the enemy to conceal their own weakneſs, for neither ſide had any great inclination, nor, indeed, were in a condition to come to a ſecond ingagement; they were, therefore, glad to loſe ſight of one another Ib.

(3) They kept on their couſe towards the Spaniſh coaſt, and the confederates made uſe of the ſame opportunity to bear away to the weſtward, and ſo got into Gibraltar.

(4) Tho' both parties claimed the victory, yet, in the opinion of all impartial judges, neither had a very clear title to it. For as there was not one ſhip, either burnt, ſunk or taken, (the French gallies excepted) on either ſide, (the Dutch ſhip blew up, by accident, two days, after the fight) ſo was the loſs of men near equal on both. The Engliſh and Dutch, however, carried their point, which was to diſable the French fleet, from aſſiſting the Spaniards, in retaking Gibraltar, which, together with the vaſt diſproprotion of ſtrength, with which they ingaged the enemy, makes their advantage little leſs, than a compleat victory. Beſides, whatever they may pretend, it is certain, that the iſſue of this general ingagement deprived them of the inclination to hazard another: for, after this, they never ventured their fleet at ſea; but contented themſelves with ſending out ſquadrons to diſturb the commerce of the confederates, by attackiug their convoys: and for this fleet, in particular, it is certain it ſuffered ſo much, in this action; and went into Toulon ſo diſabled, that the ſhips could not be put into a conditon to go to ſea again in many months. Tho' the number of the ſlain and wounded on both ſides were pretty equal, yet the French, by their own account loſt many more officers, and perſons of note. They name thirty-eight perſons of note killed, among whom were monſ. de Belle-Iſle, a flag-officer, and the count de Chateau-Renaud; and 112 wounded; among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly, the count de Thoulouſe, commander in chief, monſ. du Caſſe, a flag-officer, the count de Relingue, a lieutenant-general, the count de Sept Ville, and the marquis de Chateau-Renaud. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 795.

(5) I ſhould now, as I have hitherto done, with regard to other actions at ſea, give the enemy's account, but as they differ little or nothing from our relations, and even F. Daniel, and the Paris Gazet, allow every circumſtance of them, (except what I have above remarked) during the action, I have only to obſerve that tho' they have no farther title to a victory, than the account the reader has ſeen above (which agrees with their own) can give them, yet they laid claim to it, upon the only, and evidently falſe, pretence of our fleet having left them maſters of the place of battle, and Te Deum was ſung, on that account, in Paris, by the King's command, with as much ſolemnity, as if they had gained the moſt compleat victory.

place,

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place, and open'd trenches before it. However, ſir John Leake arriving there from Portugal, with a ſquadron of men of war, under his command, and throwing ſupplies into the town, from time to time, not only defeated their deſign for this year, but extreamly harraſs'd the beſiegers, and reduced them to great miſery and want.

Affairs on the continent.

Having thus given an account of our ſucceſs, this year, at ſea; I come now to the proceedings of our armies on the continent, and particularly in Germany, where ſuch glorious actions were perform'd, to the eternal honor of the Engliſh nation, that they deſerve all the notice which can poſſibly find place in a general hiſtory: but to be withal as brief, as the nature of the ſubject will allow, I ſhall confine my ſelf to the bare relation of facts, from the moſt genuine accounts I have been able to procure, refering the reader, for the confirmation of them, to the more particular relations, letters, and other documents, on which they are grounded (1).

Deplorable ſtate of the Emperor and Empire.

The affairs of the empire were (as I have already obſerved) in a very deſperate condition. The Emperor was reduced to the laſt extremities: the Elector of Bavaria was maſter of the Danube, quite down to Paſſau, and the male-contents in Hungary were making a formidable progreſs. The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a defenſive war long on both ſides: nor was he able to make any oppoſition againſt them at all, ſhould they have once come to act in concert. Thus his affairs had a very dark appearance, and his utter ruin ſeem'd to be approaching.

Vienna was in apparent danger of being beſieged, on both ſides; and it was but in a very indifferent ſtate of defenſe. Prince Eugene, under theſe emergencies, wiſely propoſed, that the Emperor ſhould implore the protection of the Queen of Great-Britain; which being agreed to, count Wratiſlau, his Imperial Majeſty's miniſter, managed the negociation at our court. with great application and ſecrecy (2), and on the 2d of April, preſented a memorial to her Majeſty (3), importing: "that having, "at ſeveral times, repreſented to her Majeſty's "miniſters, by word of mouth, the preſſing ne"ceſſities of the Empire, by the breaking in of a "conſiderable army of French into Bavaria; which, "together with the Inſurrection in Hungary, had "reduced the Imperial Hereditary countries "into an incredible perplexity and confuſion; ſo "that, it was to be feared, an intire re"volution and deſolation of all Germany would "follow, if ſome ſpeedy aſſiſtance were not ap"plied, proportionable to the great danger they "were now threatned with: he was extreamly well "ſatisfied with the zeal her Majeſty's miniſters had "for the common cauſe, and with the attention "they gave to his repreſentations; but nothing "being as yet reſolved on, tho' the ſeaſon was far "advanced; and the final reſolution, on the ſeveral "ſchemes that had been preſented, being deferr'd, "'till the arrival of the duke of Marlborough at "the Hague, this envoy thought himſelf obliged, "before his grace's departure, to do his laſt indea"vor, by repreſenting, in writing, the danger "wherein the Emperor and empire were at pre"ſent involv'd, that her Majeſty, out of the ſame "zeal for preſerving the liberties of Europe, "for which ſhe was ſo much fam'd, among the "Potentates in alliance with her Majeſty, would "be pleaſed to order the duke of Marlborough, "her captain-general, ſeriouſly to conſult with the "States-general, of the ſpedieſt method for aſſiſting "the empire; or, at leaſt, to conduct part of the "troops in her Majeſty's pay beyond ſea, to pre"ſerve Germany from a total ſubverſion; it not "being juſt in it ſelf, nor any ways advantageous to "the common cauſe, that her Majeſty's troops "ſhould tarry on the frontiers of Holland; which "were not in the leaſt threatned by the enemy, and "were defended by great rivers and ſtrong places, "whilſt the empire was deſtroyed by the French "troops, by fire and ſword. In the concluſion, "count Wratiſlau ſaid, that the deſire he moſt "humbly preſented was grounded on the alliance "concluded between the Emperor, England and "Holland; purſuant to which he hoped, that her "Majeſty would give thoſe orders, which were "neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of Germany; by the "want of which, he foreſaw the miſchiefs which "would inſue to the common cauſe; eſpecially "if the orders of the States-general, to recall their "troops from the empire, ſhould take place, "in a time when France indeavor'd to ſend a "powerful aſſiſtance to their army in Bavaria".

The Emperor implores the Queen's protection.

Count Wratiſlau's memorial to the Queen.

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Her Majeſty's anſwer.

To this memorial, the Queen was pleaſed to return an anſwer, by mr. Secr. Hedges, importing, "that "the duke of Marlborough, captain-general of "her armies, had received orders from her Ma"jeſty, to take the moſt effectual methods with the "States-general of the United-provinces, her good "allies and confederates, to ſend a ſpeedy ſuccor "to his imperial Majeſty, and the Empire, and "to preſs the States to take the neceſſary meaſures "to reſcue Germany, from the imminent danger "it was expoſed to (4)."

The duke of Marlborough goes for Holland.

Purſuant to her Majeſty's commands, the duke imbark'd at Harwich, the 8th of April, O. S. with his brother, general Churchill, and ſeveral other officers of note, and came the 21ſt. N. S. to the Hague. The 23d, he had a preliminary conference, with the deputies of the States, about the meaſures he thought moſt proper to be proſecuted this ſummer. The 2d of May, his grace had another long conference with the deputies of the States-general, in which he declared to them the project he had long before concerted, and of which he had only given ſome hints, to ſuch of them as he had moſt confidence in, when, at the deſire of the States, he went laſt to the Hague. He told them withal, that his marching into Germany would moſt conduce to the

(1) It may be proper to inform the reader, that I hear mean ſuch authentic and more extenſive relations, documents, and letters, as are here and there diſperſed in more voluminous hiſtories, both domeſtic and forein, and in the lives and memoirs of particular perſons; eſpecially Lediard's life of Marlborough, which contains many ſuch, never before made public.

(2) The Duke of Marlborough ſaw the neceſſity of undertaking his relief, and reſolved to uſe all poſſible indeavors, to put it in execution. When he went into Holland, as I have ſaid above, he propoſed it to the penſionary, and other perſons of the greateſt confidence: they approved of it; but it was not adviſeable to propoſe it to the States, at that time; many would not have thought their country ſafe, if their army ſhould be ſent ſo far from them: nothing could be long a ſecret, that was propoſed to ſuch an aſſembly, and the main hope of ſucceeding in this deſign lay in the ſecrecy, with which it was conducted. Therefore, under the pretext of carrying the war to the Moſel, every thing was prepared, that was neceſſary for executing the true deſign. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 285,

(3) I have thought it neceſſary to inſert this memorial at large, as it fully juſtifies our conduct (and the neceſſity of it) in this glorious campain, which, ſucceſsful as it proved, has not been free from cenſure: but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more below.

(4) Either the foregoing memorial was but matter of form, or the Emperor's envoy was then unacquainted with the great project, which the duke of Marlborough had already formed to deliver the empire; and which, it is ſaid, he had communicated to three perſons in England only, viz. the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the lord-treaſurer; not to above two perſons more in Holland; and not to any of the Imperial-court, before he was ready to put it in execution. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 287.

advantage

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advantage of the confederacy, and the annoyance of the common enemy, and doubted not but the States-general would readily concur with him, in the ſame opinion. After the States-general had debated this matter a whole day, the duke had, the next morning, a conference with them, and the council of ſtate, to whom he made a very lively repreſentation, of the imminent danger, which threatned the whole empire, and with that, all Europe, if an immediate check were not given to the progreſs of the French and Bavarians in Germany; adding, that, being now entire maſters of the Maeſe, and all the Spaniſh Guelderland, a ſmall number of forces were ſufficient to ſecure their frontiers. Some of the members of theſe illuſtrious bodies were apprehenſive, that, by dividing their forces, they might loſe, in one ſummer, the advantages they had gained in the two former.

The States concur in the duke's meaſures.

However, the reaſons alledg'd by the duke, and the reputation and credit he had with them, added to the influence of thoſe, with whom he had truſted his ſecret, made ſo great an impreſſion in their minds that all affairs, relating to the operations of the inſuing campaign, were happily determined and adjuſted, in this conference, after which, his grace took his leave of them, and, on the 5th of May, went in a yacht to Utrecht (1).

The duke of Marlborough's march into Germany.

The next day, the duke's coaches met him at Utrecht, with which he proceeded to Ruremond, where he arrived the 8th, and, the ſame evening, gave orders for building a bridge, over which the Engliſh, and other troops deſign'd (as it was induſtriouſly reported) for the Moſel were to paſs. The 18th, the duke march'd to Bedburg, where he was joined by general Churchill, with the Engliſh forces and the artillery (2). The 20th, he advanced to Kerpen, and the next day to Kalſecken, where he received an expreſs from Prince Lewis of Baden, giving it as his opinion, that the French might force their paſſage thro' the black foreſt, and re-inforce the Elector of Bavaria, which was confirmed by the opinions of the Prince of Heſſe, monſieur Bulau, and baron Hompeſch. About the ſame time, he received advice from the Netherlands, that thirty-five battalions, and forty-ſix ſquadrons, were order'd to march from the French army there, to the Moſel; being yet perſuaded the duke's intention was to act on that ſide.

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Upon theſe advices, the duke preſs'd the march of his army, with all poſſible aſſiduity, and to prevent the ill conſequences that might attend a conjunction of the French and Bavarians, he advanced himſelf with the horſe, and left his brother to follow him with the Infantry. Notwithſtanding this diligence, he had the diſſatisfaction, on the 23d, being then near Bonn, to hear, that the recruits for the French army, in Bavaria, with farther re-inforcements, had actually joined the Elector, the 20th, at Villingen (3). This incident did, indeed, greatly increaſe the difficulties our illuſtrious general had to incounter with, but could not ſhake his ſteady reſolution. The eyes of all Europe were, by this time, fix'd on the duke, who, notwithſtanding this junction, was, on account of the number of the troop's, which the French left behind them, and by the marſhal de Tallard's marching back, with the reſt of his army, towards the Rhine, confirmed in his opinion, "that the enemy was yet wholly ignorant of his true deſign: he, therefore, continued his march, with unwearied diligence.

Junction of the French and Bavarians.

The 31ſt, the army paſs'd the Mayn, at Caſſel, over againſt Mentz, and the duke continued his march towards the Neckar, and came the 2d of June to Ladenburg, where the troops paſs'd that river. His grace, having gained the advance of ſome days march of the French, wrote to the States, and thought he might now let them know the whole ſecret, that he had the Queen's order, to march to the relief of the empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their troops to ſhare in the honor of that expedition. He had their anſwer, as quick as the courier could carry it, by which they approved of the deſign, and of his carrying their troops with him; ſo that now the whole army was at his command without controul (4). The duke having given orders to his foot and

The duke continues his march.

(1) The conſumate wiſdom of the duke of Marlborough, in the management of this important affair, on which the fate of all Germany, I may ſay of all Europe, depended, cannot be ſufficiently admir'd. The plan of it was intirely his own, and was long treaſur'd up in his breaſt only. When matters were ripe for that purpoſe, and the way prepared, he open'd his deſign to his ſoverein, whoſe approbation and conſent was primarily neceſſary; but truſted none elſe with the ſecret, but the lord treaſurer, in whom he knew he could confide, and who muſt neceſſarily have a knowlege of it. Having the Queen's conſent, he was ſenſible that of the States was likewiſe requiſite, as ſo large a body of their troops were under him, to be inſtrumental in the execution of it. He then open'd ſome part of his mind, to one or two only of the aſſembly of the States, in his firſt voyage to Holland, but prudently kept the main deſign yet a ſecret. At his return to Holland, theſe his confidents having prepar'd the way, he open'd ſo far of his mind, to the whole aſſembly of the States, and by force of argument obtain'd their conſent to act with their troops, in Germany, that is, on the Moſel; but they had yet no knowlege of his real deſign to march into the heart of the Empire, and ſtrike at the root of the evil, which threaten'd, and muſt have brought to paſs its intire ruin, without this ſeaſonable and ſalutary relief. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 289.

(2) The French, in Flanders, began, by this time, to be alarm'd; tho' they were far from ſuſpecting the duke's real deſign. His marching towards Coblentz, and the great preparations which were making, in that place, made them believe, that his grace deſigned to open the campain, with the ſiege of Traerbach, and indeavor to advance, along the Moſel, into France. Upon this ſuppoſition, they detach'd eight battalions, and ſixteen ſquadrons, towards that river, and gave out, that they intended the ſiege of Huy, vainly imagining, that, by this report, they might ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh general. This feint was too thinly gloſs'd over, to have any effect on the duke; and, beſide, he very well knew, that the forces he had left in Flanders, under the command of monſ. d'Auverquerque, were ſufficient to fruſtrate any attempt the French could make on that ſide; he, therefore continued his march. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 292.

(3) The conduct of the Imperialiſts, on this account, was very much cenſured, as well for truſting the guard of the important paſſes of the Black-foreſt, to the militia alone, as becauſe they did not take the opportunity of fighting the elector of Bavaria, when they might have done it to advantage. The duke of Wirtemberg, the margrave of Bareyth, and count Stirum, who had a fine army, conſiſting of ninty-nine ſquadrons, and forty-two battalions, had reſolved to attack the elector of Bavaria, the 17th, near Villingen: but Prince Lewis of Baden ſent them poſitive orders, not to ſtir from their camp till he arrived. He came, indeed, the 19th, and it was reſolved, to attack the enemy, the next day; but it was then too late, and the opportunity was neglected: and tho' the army march'd, according to the reſolution taken, they found the enemy ſecure, and out of their reach. They had, however, another opportunity afterwards, which was as ſhamefully neglected. Prince Lewis being joined the 24th, by 7000 men, from the lines of Stolhoffen, moved towards Stockach, and thither the Bavarians were marching, likewiſe, it being the only paſs thro' which they could retreat: inſtead of ſecuring this paſs, the Imperialiſts amus'd themſelves with cannonading the enemy, who in the mean time eſcap'd, thro' a defile ſo narrow, that only two men could go in front, and taking the advantage of the night, between the 25th and 26th in the morning their whole army was got thro'. The Bavarians were three days without bread, and had the Imperialiſts ſecured this paſs, they muſt of neceſſity have laid down their arms and diſbanded themſelves. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol I p. 298.

(4) The duke's bending his march towards the Danube was a terrible ſurprize to the French, who, after their firſt miſtake in their conjectures, that the field of his graces action was to be, on the Moſel, had ſurmiſed, that he would advance to the Upper-Rhine, and that he might have a deſign on Landau. This jealouſly was confirm'd, both by his grace's march to Mentz, and by the governor of Philipſburg's making a bridge over the Rhine. Upon this ſuſpicion, marſhal Tallard, repaſs'd the Rhine, the ſecond of June, at Altenheim, in order, either to join the marſhal de Villeroy, or to oppoſe the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over that river. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 303.

artillery,

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artillery, which had paſs'd the Mayn to follow with the re-inforcement of horſe and foot, which was marching from the Maeſe, under the duke of Wirtemberg, his grace decamp'd from Ladenburg, the 6th, and continued his march to Great-gardach.

First interview between Prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough.

The 9th, the duke march'd, with the horſe, from Great-gardach to Mondelſheim, where he halted the next day, and, in the morning, received advice, by an adjutant-general, that Prince Eugene of Savoy, with count Wratiſlau, were on the road to his camp, intending to dine with his grace. About three in the afternoon, his highneſs arrived, at the duke's quarters, at Mondelſheim, where he was received with all the marks of honor and civility due to his rank and quality.

A ſketch of their characters.

Poſterity, as well as the preſent age will, without doubt, be curious to know, what paſs'd at the firſt interview of theſe twin-conſtellations in glory, the two greateſt generals of this age, equal in their merit and fame, as well for their courage and conduct in military exploits, as their prudence in council; their dexterity and addreſs, in the managment of affairs; and their politeneſs, temper and affability. What is come to my knowledge, I ſhall faithfully relate, and wiſh it were in my power to gratify the reader farther. After dinner, which was as magnificent as the circumſtances of time and place could admit of, the remaining part of the day was ſpent in conſultations, on the preſent poſture of affairs, which laſted ſeveral hours together, and the mutual ſatisfaction and opinion they, at that time, conceived, at and of each others prudence and capacity, muſt have been very great; ſince the reciprocal eſteem, they before had, grew, from thence forward, into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip and confidence, as very much contributed to the glorious ſucceſſes, which atttended the arms of the allies, during the whole war. The reſult of their conſultations then was, that the two armies ſhould join, and that the duke of Marlborough, and Prince Lewis of Baden, ſhould command, each, day, alternately, and that Prince Eugene ſhould head a ſeparate army on the Rhine.

They hold a conſultation.

Reſult of it.

Compliments paſs'd between the Prince and the duke.

The next day, his highneſs marched with the duke to Great-Heppach, where his grace having ordered his army to be drawn up, in Battalia, before the Prince, his highneſs expreſs'd his ſurprize, to find them in ſo excellent a condition, after ſo long and ſpeedy a march: upon which occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid; "my lord, I never ſaw bet-"ter horſes, better cloaths, finer belts and accoutre-"ments; yet all theſe may be had for mony; but "there is a ſpirit in the looks of your men, which "I never yet ſaw in any, in my life". His grace, who could not but be extreamly pleaſed with the compliment, was not, however behind-hand with his highneſs in politeneſs, but is ſaid to have anſwer'd: "ſir, if it be as you ſay, that ſpirit is in-"ſpired in them by your preſence."

Prince Lewis of Baden comes to the duke of Marlborough.

The 12th, advice was brought from the army commanded by Prince Lewis of Baden, that three regiments of horſe march'd from thence, the 8th, to the lines of Stolhoffen; and that, the 10th, they were followed by 9000 men of the Pruſſian forces, in order to oppoſe the French, on that ſide. The 13th, in the morning, the duke was informed by count Wratiſlau, that Prince Lewis of Baden was coming poſt to meet his grace: upon which the duke ſent colonel Cadogan, with a compliment to his highneſs, whom he found at Eſlingen, with Prince Lobcowitz, his nephew, and conducted them to Great-Heppach.

Expreſſions of civility which paſs'd betwext them.

Among other expreſſions of civility, which paſs'd between Prince Lewis and the duke of Marlborough, his highneſs ſaid; "that his grace was come to ſave "the Empire, and give him an opportunity to "vindicate his honor, which he was ſenſible was, "in ſome manner, at the laſt ſtake, in the opinion "of ſome people." To which his grace is ſaid to have replied: "that he came to learn from him, "how to do the empire ſervice; for they muſt "want judgment who did not know, that the Prince "of Baden had not only, when his health would "permit him, preſerved the Empire, but extended "its conqueſts, as well as ſecured its own." Mutual compliments being over, a conference was held between the generals, wherein it was reſolved, "that the Auxiliary troops, in the neighbourhood, "ſhould join the army on the Danube, for ſome "days, and that Prince Lewis, and the duke of "Marlborough, ſhould have each his day of com-"mand alternatively, as long as they continued to-"gether; while Prince Eugene ſhould repair to-"wards Philipſburg, to defend the Paſſage of the "Rhine, the lines of Stolhoffen, the country of "Wirtemberg, or act otherwiſe, according to the "motions of the French".

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A conference between the generals.

The next morning early, the horſe march'd from Great-Heppach, while his grace ſtaid there, to entertain Prince Lewis and Prince Eugene at dinner, after which, the former returned to his army on the Danube, and Prince Eugene went poſt for Philipſburg, to command the army on the Rhine. In the Evening, the duke joined the troops under his command, in the camp at Eberſpach, where the Prince of Heſſe, with monſ. Bulau, and baron Hompeſch attended, to acquaint his grace, that the troops were all in the neighbourhood, ready to march to their appointed rendezvous. The 21ſt, the army incamp'd between Launſheim and Urping, and, on the 22d, made a motion, in order to join Prince Lewis of Baden at Weſterſtetten.

A farther motion of the army.

They join with that under Prince Lewis of Baden.

In the mean time, the Elector of Bavaria ſent a conſiderable detachment, to Dillingen and Lawingen, with intent, that upon the advance of the confederate army, towards the Danube, his whole army might poſſeſs themſelves of that camp. The 23d, Prince Lewis and the duke, continued in the camp, near Launſheim, to form the line of battle; and, the ſame day, his grace reviewed the twelve regiments of foot, which came into thoſe parts, the preceeding year, under the command of lieutenant-general Goor, with the four battalions of the duke of Wirtemberg's troops, in the pay of the States, which appeared compleat, and in very good order. The next day, the army, march'd from Launſheim and Weſterſtetten, and incamp'd, with the right at Elchingen, near the Danube, and the left at Languenau, where they halted three days. The 28th, they march'd again, and incamp'd, with the right at Herbrecting, and the left at Gingen, on the river Brentz, within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army, which lay between Dillingen and Lawingen, with the Brentz between the two armies.

Motions of the united confederate army.

The 29th, the Engliſh foot and artillery, under the command of general Churchill, who had been joined in their march, by a battalion of the King of Pruſſia's forces, arrived in the camp, and took their poſt in the line, where an interval had been left for them: ſo that all the forces the duke of Marlborough expected had now join'd him, excepting the Daniſh horſe, which were detach'd after him, from the Netherlands. The whole army then conſiſted of ninety-ſix battalions of foot, and 202 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, having with them forty-four field-cannon, four hawbitzers, and twenty-four pontons. The ſame day, the generals held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to draw near Donawert; Whereupon, the laſt day of June, the confederate army march'd from Gingen, and Herbrechting, and incamp'd, with their right, at Landhauſen, and their left, at Balmerſhoffen: They marched ſo near the enemy's camp, that lieutenant-general Bulau, was ſent out, the

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night before, with a detachment of 2000 horſe and dragoons, to ſecure the avenues, by which they might have diſturb'd the march of the allies, who, by theſe means, proceeded without any oppoſition. The enemy's army was then computed to conſiſt of eighty-eight battalions and 160 ſquadrons, having ninety peices of canon, forty mortars and hawbitzers, and thirty pontons. The firſt of July, the confederates continued their march, in ſight of the Elector of Bavaria's army at Dillingen, and incamp'd, with their right, at Amerdingen, and their left at Onderingen. The camp being pitch'd, the duke of Marlborough, with a guard of ſixty ſquadrons, advanc'd a little in the front of his army, to take a view of the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, and returning ſoon after, gave the neceſſary orders for preparing every thing during the night, in order to attack the enemy's intrenchments, the next day. Some officers were of opinion, that after ſo tireſome a march, the troops ſhould have ſome reſt before the attack, but the duke would hear of no delays.

The fight at Schellenberg, near Donawert.

The Elector of Bavaria rightly judging, from the duke's march, that he intended to attack Donawert, ſent a conſiderable detachment, of his beſt troops, to re-inforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenberg, a riſing ground, near that place, on the north-ſide, where he had already caſt up great intrenchments, and imploy'd ſome thouſands of pioneers, for ſeveral days, to perfect thoſe works, which covered Donawert, on that point between the rivers Brentz and Danube: but notwithſtanding that great advantage, the duke of Marlborough reſolved to drive the enemy from that important poſt. The neceſſary orders being, accordingly, given to the army, his grace advanced, the 2d of July, at three in the morning, with a detachment of 6000 foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Goor, and thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch cavalry, beſide three battalions of Imperial grenadiers; the reſt of the army, under Prince Lewis, following, with all poſſible diligence; but the way being very bad and long, the detachment led by his grace, could not come to the river Wernitz, which runs by Donawert, till about noon, and it was three in the afternoon, before the bridges were finiſh'd, to get over that river, with the artillery. About five, the duke had paſs'd it, at the head of the cavalry, and riding up as near to the intrenchments as was neceſſary viewed them, and then made the neceſſary diſpoſition for the attack. In the mean time, the Engliſh and Dutch artillery began to thunder againſt the enemy, who anſwer'd as briſkly from their batteries for about an hour.

All things being ready for the attack, the Engliſh and Dutch foot, ſupported by the horſe and dragoons, commanded by lieutenant general Goor, and brigadier Ferguſon, made the onſet, with unparallel'd valor and intrepidity, before the Imperialiſts came up, and met with ſuch a vigorous defence, that, having the greateſt part of the enemy's forces to deal with, they were twice repulſed, but, after an ingagement of near an hour and a half, the Imperialiſts being, by that time, come up, their cavalry broke into the intrenchments, and the Engliſh and Dutch forcing their way in, about the ſame time, the confederates made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy, purſuing them to the very Danube, where a great part of them followed the example of the count d'Arco, and other general-officers, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over that river. They took ſixteen pieces of the enemy's canon, with all their ammunition, tents and baggage, and thirteen colors, beſide count d'Arco's plate, with other rich booty, which was diſtributed among the victorious ſoldiers.

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The enemy's intrenchments forced.

A rich booty taken.

All the confederate troops that ingaged, behaved themſelves with a great deal of bravery and reſolution; and the horſe and dragoons ſhared the glory of the day, with the infantry: but the firſt attack being begun by a battalion of the Engliſh foot-guards, and the regiments of Orkney and Ingoldſby, they ſuffered more than any others (1).

The enemy's forces conſiſted of two battalions of the Elector's life-guards, one of grenadiers, thirteen other bavarian battalions, five French, four regiments of Cuiraſſiers, of 800 men each, and three ſquadrons of dragoons, making in all about 18000 men, (tho' ſome accounts make them 32000) all choice troops, commanded by count d' Arco, field-marſhal of the Elector of Bavaria's forces, lieutenant-general Lutzemburg, and count Maffey, generals of Battalia, beſide two French lieutenant-generals. The duke of Marlborough gain'd great honor in this action, giving his orders with the greateſt preſence of mind imaginable, and expoſing his perſon to the greateſt danger (2): nor was Prince Lewis of Baden wanting, in performing the part of a brave and great general. The loſs of the enemy, killed, wounded, priſoners and deſerters was computed at five, ſome accounts ſay 6000 men; nor was that of the confederates much leſs (3), which, however, was abundantly made up, by the gaining ſo compleat a victory as gave them a free entrance into the duke of Bavaria's country, and forced that Elector to retire under the canon of Augſburg.

Loſs on both ſides.

The next day, the Bavarian gariſon quited Donawert

(1) The French, tho' they could not deny the confederates the honor, of this victory, indeavor'd to leſſen the advantage of it, by pretending their works were not near finiſh'd, and exaggerating the loſs of men and officers, this action coſt them. The allies (ſay their writers) tho' we loſt but 1000 men, in the action, had 6000 men kill'd, in their ſeveral attacks, and a far greater number wounded, and ſome of their regiments were almoſt intirely cut off. Several of their generals were killed or wounded, and the count de Stirum died of his wounds after the battle. In the former part of their account, they go exceedingly beyond the truth. But for the latter, it is certain the confederates loſt a great number of brave officers; and, indeed, it could not naturally be otherwiſe, in ſo deſperate an attempt.

(2) The continuator of Rapin, in French, who, on other occaſions, is very ready to rob the duke of Marlborough of his merit, is oblig'd to confeſs here, that the victory was wholly owing to the activity, and courage of the Engliſh general. "If (ſays he) the duke had defer'd the attack 'till the next day, as he was advis'd, it is certain he would never have ſucceed-"ed, the enemy would have been re-inforced, and have perfected their intrenchments". B. xxvi. p. 568.

(3) An officer, then in the army, has given us the following general liſt of the kill'd and wounded, in this action:

	Kill'd	Wounded
Lieutenant-generals	6	5
Major-generals	2	2
Brigadiers	—	1
Colonels		7
Lieutenant colonels	7	9
Majors	3	15
Captains	26	62
Subalterns	46	181
Soldiers	1329	3599
	1423	3981
		1493
Total kill'd and wounded		5474

Among

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wert (1), upon the approach of the confederates, and broke down the bridges: but had not time to destroy their ammunition and provisions, as they intended (2).

During the whole time of action, the confederates stood to their arms, in a readiness, either to assist the assailants, if occasion had required, or to oppose the Bavarian army, if they had attempted any thing against the camp, in the mean time; and the whole army, excepting those troops that had been imployed in the attack, rested on their arms all night.

The elector of Bavaria quits his camp,

The Elector of Bavaria was no sooner informed of the defeat of his troops at Schellenberg, than he quitted his advantageous camp, between Dillingen and Lawingen, and came to the other side of the Danube, over against Donawert, the third, in his march to the river Lech, to prevent the confederates cutting of his retreat to his own country.

And intrenches his army under the cannon of Augsburg.

The confederate army pas'd the Danube, the 5th of July, over several bridges of pontons, near Donawert, and incamp'd at Mertingen, in the dominions of of the Elector of Bavaria, whose army had retired to the other side of the Lech, and intrench'd themselves under the canon of Augsburg.

A thanksgiving observed.

The 6th was observed as a day of thanksgiving for the late victory, throughout the whole army; and te deum was sung in Prince Lewis of Baden's camp, and in all the towns adjacent.

Newburg taken.

The duke, to improve this advantage, and not to suffer the enemy to recover out of the consternation they were under, immediately commanded his troops to pass the Lech, upon which the garison of Neuburg abandoned that place, and retired to Ingoldstadt. The duke, thereupon, sent a detachment to take possession of that place, and general Herbeville, who commanded a body of three or 4000 men, on the other side of the Danube, was ordered to remain there for it's security, the importance of it being great for drawing of provitions out of Franconia. The enemy having, likewise, left a garison in Rain, a small town in the circle of Bavaria, about half a league on the other side of the Lech, the confederate generals resolv'd to attack it, and it was invested accordingly.

The marshals de Villeroy and Tallard pass the Rhine,

The 13th, the count de Vehlen, general of the Palatine-horse, came to the confederate camp, with advice from Prince Eugene, that the marshals de Villeroy and Tallard, with an army of 45,000 men, had pass'd the Rhine, about fort Kehl, and gave out, that they were resolved to succor the Elector of Bavaria, and it was not doubted but one of them, at least, would attempt it, his highness, therefore, desired a re-inforcement of horse might be sent him, to inable him the better to observe the enemy's motions. Prince Maximilian, of Hanover, (the late King George's brother) was thereupon detach'd, with thirty squadons of Imperial horse, with orders to join Prince Eugene, with all possible diligence; and the duke of Marlborough sent, likewise, an express, to acquaint the latter, that, if he thought necessary, a larger number should follow.

A re-inforcement sent Prince Eugene.

The same night, the trenches were opened before Rain; the garison seemed, at first, resolved to defend it to the last extremity: but the besiegers playing upon the town, with twenty seven pieces of canon; and the approaches being carried on, with good succes, the 16th, in the morning, the garison desired to capitulate, and, the articles being agreed on, they marched out, the next day, being about 400 foot, commanded by the count de Merci, a brigadier general, and were conducted by a party of horse to the Elector of Bavaria's camp, near Augsburg. Four hundred men of the allies took possession of the place, in which they found twenty-four brass-canon, with some ammunition, and a great quantity of provisions.

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The army decamp'd, the same day, from Burcheim, and came, with the right to Holtz, and the left to Oosterhausen. The 18th, the allies being incourag'd by the prosperity of their arms, and willing to push forward their conquests, continued their march, and incamp'd, with the right, at Kuepach. and the left at Aicha, a very fine town. Here the enemy had a garison of eight or 900 Bavarian Boors, who, refusing to submit, were part of them put to the sword, the rest made prisoners of war, and the town permited to be plunder'd by the soldiers. Here likewise the generals took their quarters, and caused a magazine to be erected.

Aicha taken.

The Emperor writes to the duke of Marlborough.

The Emperor, no sooner received advice of this succes of the confederate army, which might justly be called his delivery from apparent ruin and desolation, than he was thoughtful how to shew the grateful sense he had of the signal service done him by the duke of Marlborough; and, therefore wrote a letter of thanks to his grace, on occasion of the victory at Schellenberg.

Count Wratislau, upon the delivery of this letter, told the duke, "that the Emperor desired he "would accept of the honor intended him, of "the title and dignity of a Prince of the Empire;" which his grace, at first, declined, 'till, at length, the Queen, at his Imperial Majesty's request, laid her commands upon him to accept of it. The 22d of July, the enemy abandoned Friedburg, of which the confederates immediately took possession.

Friedberg taken.

The elector of Bavaria cut off from his dominions.

The 23d, the army marched again, and incamp'd, with the right, at Wolfurtshausen, and the left at Oostmaring; the town of Friedburg being in the center of the line, and within a league of Augsburg, under the canon of which the Elector of Bavaria had so advantageously posted the remains of his army, that it was impossible to attack him, or to force him out of his shelter; however, by this march, the duke of Marlborough had intirely cut off all communication between him and his country, which his grace had now wholly in his power.

Proposals of an accommodation, first accepted;

It was now believed, the Elector of Bavaria was reduced to such a condition, that he would readily imbrace any favorable dispositions that might be shewn him; terms of accomodation were, therefore proposed him (3) and in a manner agreed on: but upon advice, that the marshal de Tallard had

Among whom were the following of distinction: Prince Lewis of Baden, general Thungen, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-cassel, Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, the Prince of Saxony, count Horn, lieutenant-general, the major-generals Wood and Palland, and brigadier Bedmar, slightly wounded: lieutenant-general Goor, the Prince of Homburg, the Prince of Beveren, the counts van Erbach and Schulemberg, and major general Beinheim kill'd, and count Stirum died, not many days afterwards, of his wounds.

It is to be recorded to the immortal glory of the lord Mordaunt, son to the earl of Peterborough, that of a detachment of fifty grenadiers, of English guards, which he led on to the attack, he escaped unhurt, with only ten of his men. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 323.

(1) Donawert is a city of Germany, on the confines of Suabia, Neuburg, and Bavaria, once Imperial, situate on the river Danube; twenty five miles north of Augsburg, seventeen west of Neuburg, and forty-four north east of Ulm.

(2) The neglect of the officer, who commanded in Donawert, made this conquest of the confederates the more easy: for he might have put the three battalions, which were in that place, in the covered way, that joined the left of the intrenchment; and, as the allies made their first attack on that side, he might have gaul'd them terribly, from that post. French writers lay great stress upon this neglect, as the occasion of their misfortune; and count d'Arco, the Bavarian general, in his letter to the Elector, attributes it solely and wholly thereunto.

(3) Bishop Burnet says, the duke of Marlborough went so far as to offer paying him the whole charge of the war, if he would immediately break with the French, and send his army to join the Imperialists, in Italy. History of his own times.

passed

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passed the Black-forest, and was coming to join him, he sent his minister, to acquaint count Wratislaw, "that since the King of France made such "powerful efforts, to support him, he thought "himself obliged, in honor, to remain firm in his "alliance."

But afterwards rejected by the Elector.

The country of Bavaria ravaged.

This insincerity of the Elector was so highly resented, by the duke of Marlborough, that he detached thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons, to plunder and burn the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of his capital city of Munich; upon which deputations came, from several places, to his grace; offering to pay contributions, to save them from military execution, to whom the duke answer'd: "that the Queen of England's forces were not come "into Bavaria to get mony; but to bring their "Prince to reason": and the orders for burning and ravaging that country were accordingly put in execution, with the utmost severity; to the destruction of more than 300 towns, villages and castles (1).

The Elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Marsin, having evacuated Ratisbon, were forced, in the mean time, to keep close within their strong camp and intrenchments at Augsburg, in expectation of another army from France, under the marshal de Tallard; who, according to the advice the duke received from Prince Eugene, arrived, the 18th, at Villingen. The marshal battered this place, for six days together; but, upon advice, that Prince Eugene was advancing, he adandon'd his design upon it, and continued his march.

The siege of Ingoldstadt resolved on.

The duke of Marlborough and Prince Lewis of Baden, finding that the Elector of Bavaria was still inflexible, and that it was not possible to attack him in his fortified camp, under the canon of Augsburg, without infinite disadvantage; and considering, beside, that the marshal de Tallard was advancing, with a large body of troops, they resolved to attempt the reducing of the strong places of Bavaria, and to begin with Ingoldstadt, the most important place the Elector had, in which his great magazines were laid up. Prince Lewis took upon him to command and carry on the siege, with the Imperial troops, and the duke of Marlborough undertook to cover it, with the auxiliary forces, which, in case of need, might be joined by those under Prince Eugene, who, by this time was advanced to Dillingen.

Monsr. de Tallard joins the Elector of Bavaria;

The marshal de Tallard, with about 22,000 horse and foot, being come, the 4th of August, to Biberach, the Elector of Bavaria left eight Battalions and four squadrons in Augsburgh, and march'd, the 5th, with the rest of his forces, to join these new auxiliaries at that place.

And Prince Eugene the duke of Marlborough.

The 6th, Prince Eugene came to the duke's army, to confer with him and Prince Lewis of Baden, where it was agreed, that Prince Lewis should continue the siege of Ingoldstadt, while Prince Eugene and the duke observed the Elector of Bavaria. Prince Eugene, being returned to his army, received intelligence, the 10th, that the enemy had pass'd the Danube, and had a design to fall upon him separately; upon which he dispatch'd an express to the duke, to desire him to march and join him. This express return'd, the 11th, with an account, that his grace had received the same advice, and had been upon the march ever since two that morning; and that twenty Battallions, which he had sent before, under the command of general Churchill were very near. These troops came accordingly, that morning into Prince Eugene's camp, and, in the evening, the duke arrived, with his whole army; when the two armies being thus joined, they incamp'd between the villages of Munster and Erlinghoven, and that of Appershoven. Q. Ann, An' 1704.

Preparations for attacking the enemy.

The 12th, the confederate generals spent in taking a view of the enemy's camp, and from an eminence, which is by the corner of the wood, near Wolperstette, they saw their whole army in motion. At one, in the afternoon, they perceived their quarter-masters setting up their camp-standards, and marking a camp, from Blenheim to Lutzingen (2).

The generals, being returned to the army, ordered the necessary passages to be made, and bridges of communication to be erected over a rivulet, near Thiffingen. The pioneers were hardly got to their work, when the enemy's advanced guards came so near, as between Schweinigen and Thiffingen, and their Hussars obliged the pioneers to retire: but the duke coming that way, with the whole piquet, and some other troops, they found the enemy not only retired, but returning full gallop to their main army.

Situation of the enemy's army.

At four in the afternoon, they plainly discovered, from the tower of Thiffingen, the enemy's camp their tents being set up; and saw, that they were possess'd of a very advantageous post on a hill; that their right flank was covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim, and their left by the village of Lutzingen; and that they had before them a rivulet, whose banks were high, and the bottom marshy; so that it was believed at first to be unpassable, as, indeed, it was afterwards found to be, in several places. They had, beside, the village of Oberklau, in the center of their army, and the village of Unterklau, on the opposite side of the rivulet; and two mills towards the mouth of the rivulet, which secur'd the passage on that side, and served as redoubts for the defense of the river of Blenheim. In these circumstances, it was thought a very hazardous enterprize, to attack so numerous an army, in so advantageous a post, which the Confederates could not approach, but by filing off, and by passing, in view of the enemy, a marshy rivulet, which could not be done in good order. But, on the other hand, there seemed to

Reasons which induced the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene to attack the enemy in their advantageous post.

(1) The desolation of so fine a country could not but very much affect the Elector, tho' it was not an effectual cure for his obstinacy: he wrote a letter to the duke of Marlborough, intreating him to put a stop to these ravages: he said, he could not believe such violences, so opposite to true glory, were commited by his graces's orders, or those of Prince Lewis of Baden, and that, if they were continued, he should be obliged to make reprisals. The duke answer'd; it was in his power to put an end to them, by a speedy accommodation: but the Elector, being buoy'd up, by the near approach of the marshal de Tallard, replied haughtily; that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he had thrown away the Scabard. Rousset hist. mil. tome, II. p. 99.

(2) It will be highly necessary here, in order to give the reader a better idea of what follows, to give a particular account of the situation and circumstances of the spot of ground which was then between the two armies, and upon which they were encamp'd. It is a plain of near two leagues long, but of an unequal breadth, the entrance into it not being above the breadth of a canon-shot, but widening soon after to the breadth of about a league. It is border'd on one side by the wood of Schellenberg, and on the other by the Danube, and three or four rivulets cross this plain, in their course to the Danube. This, with the inconvenience of several marshes, together with the villages and hamlets, which are scatter'd here and there, in this plain, to the number of above twenty, render'd the march of the confederate army, to attack the enemy, very troublesome. The little town of Hochstadt (which gave name to this battle) is situate at the other extremity of the plain, opposite to the confederate army, on the north-side of the Danube, and at the mouth of a rivulet, which, runing by the village of Oberwemingen, there falls into this river. Here it was the confederate generals intended to have form'd their camp, but the enemy were before-hand with them, and had taken possession of the whole space between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and had placed their advanc'd guard on the other side of the rivulet, which was on the front of their camp. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 360.

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be an indiſpenſable neceſſity of falling immediately upon the enemy, before they had time to fortify themſelves, in that poſt: for not only the confederate army would have wanted forage, much ſooner than Ingoldſtadt could have been taken; but the generals had very good information, from intercepted letters, that the marſhal de Villeroy had orders to leave monſ. de Coigni, in the camp near Offenburg, with a body of troops, ſufficient to keep thoſe of the allies within the lines of Biehl, and was ready, with the remainder of his army, to make an irruption into the country of Wirtemberg. That army might then have acted in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, and have been re-inforced by detachments from that prince's army, to fall afterwards on the rear of the lines of Biehl; ſo that, thereby, the French armies would have eſtabliſhed a free communication from the Rhine to the Danube, and have forced all to ſubmit to them, as far as the Mayn. In the mean time, the Elector, from his camp at Hochſtadt, might have ruined a great part of the circle of Franconia, and have brought things to that paſs, that the auxiliaries, under the duke of Marlborough, would not have been able to find, either ſubſiſtence, or winter-quarters, on the Danube, and in the Upper Germany; tho', on the other hand, that great and ſeaſonable ſupply, could not have left the empire, in the winter, without expoſing it to the very brink of ruin, from which they had ſo lately, and ſo happily retrieved it, and without leaving a very great ſuperiority to the enemy (1). Theſe reaſons had their due weight with our generals; for, that very night, all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for the attack, and the bagage was ſent to Rietlingen, a village between Munſter and Donawert.

The duke's unſhaken reſolution.

Several general officers came, in the mean time, and repreſented to the duke of Marlborough the difficulties of the deſign, in their moſt lively colours: but they had no effect on his ſteady reſolution, which he had not fixed, without weighing every circumſtance, and the conſequences which might, or could poſſibly attend them. He knew that the poſt which the enemy poſſeſs'd was capable of being put, in a very ſhort time, out of all danger of future attacks: and, on the other hand, duly conſidered, that even a defeat it ſelf could hardly be more fatal than lying ſtill and doing nothing: he, therefore, only told them, that he was ſenſible of all theſe difficulties; but the attempt was abſolutely neceſſary: upon which, the orders that were diſtributed, throughout the whole army, were received with ſuch alacrity and chearfulneſs, as gave a happy preſage of the glorious victory that enſued.

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The battle of Blenheim or Hochſtadt.

The 13th, before one, in the morning, the general was beat, about half an hour after one the aſſembly, and at two the march; upon which the whole confederate army was in motion, and, by three, they began to paſs the rivulet, call'd Keſſel, on ſeveral bridges, which had been prepared the night before. They filed off, in eight columns, of which two, of Imperial foot, marched quite to the right of all, towards the height, along the wood, having two columns of Imperial cavalry to their left. The left wing, which was compos'd of the auxiliaries, march'd, likewiſe, in four columns, viz. two of foot, on the left of the Imperial horſe, and two of horſe, on the left of all. Thus the whole army proceeded as far as the rivulet, near Thiffingen, where the advanced guards were ordered to return to their reſpective bodies, and the two brigades of Heſſian infantry, which had been left in that village, under the command of major-general Wilks, with fifteen ſquadrons, which the duke of Marlborough commanded out, formed a ninth column, on the left of all, and thus they march'd towards Schweiningen (2).

The whole army marches.

The nine columns, being arrived between that village and the wood, made halt, to obſerve the enemy, who ſeem'd unconcerned, and did not make any great motion: about ſix, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who had poſted themſelves on a riſing ground, called all the generals to them, and gave them the neceſſary directions, for the attack, after which the army advanced into the plain, where they were drawn up in order of battle (3).

The enemy begins to be in motion.

About ſeven, before the confederate army was quite drawn up in Battalia, the enemy, at the approach of their vanguard, gave a ſignal, by firing two pieces of canon, to call in their foragers. They, likewiſe, ſet fire to the villages of Unterklau, Wolperſtette, Weiler, Berghauſen, and Schweinenbach, and their whole army was perceived to be in motion. They then beat the General, afterwards the Aſſembly, and the Confederates ſaw them in arms before their camp, their generals, with their Aids de Camps, galloping to and fro, to put all things in order (4).

A detachment of the confederates advances.

On the confederate ſide, two brigades of foot, com-

(1) Theſe were prevalent arguments to engage the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene to hazard a battle, tho' under greater diſadvantages: yet there were not wanting thoſe, who accus'd theſe two great generals of raſhneſs in the attempt, and inſinuated, that they would not have been ſufficient to have excuſed them had ſucceſs been wanting. The Engliſh (ſay they, in particular) would not have pardon'd the duke for hazarding the lives of their countrymen, in favour of the Imperialiſts. But here theſe remarkers ſeem to be under an undeniable miſtake; for we certainly were in an humour, at that time, to have ſacrificed more in favour of that nation, which, in the opinion of many, has not ſince ſhewn the greateſt marks of gratitude in return. It is, indeed, true, that ſucceſs generally covers a raſh action, and, on the contrary, ill ſucceſs is as often the cauſe, that temerity is not forgiven. The grounds, however, upon which theſe arguments were founded, ſeem inconteſtable. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 364.

(2) The confederate army conſiſted of ſixty-ſix battallions and 178 ſquadrons, amounting to about 50, or 52,000 men, and had fifty-two pieces of canon, That of the enemy was near 60,000 men ſtrong, conſiſting of eighty-two battallions, and 160 ſquadrons, with ninety (or, as ſome ſay, 100) pieces of canon, ſome of which were twenty-four pounders. We have various other accounts of the force of both armies: this, however, is certain, that the united army of French and Bavarians was conſiderably more numerous, than that of the allies, under the duke and Prince Eugene; and the marſhal de Tallard, himſelf confeſs'd them to be ſo, by about 4000 men. Their right wing was commanded by the marſhal de Tallard, with the French re-inforcements, and, on the left, was the Elector, with the Bavarians, and the marſhal de Marſin, with the troops under his command. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 365.

(3) The left wing, which was under the immediate care of the duke of Marlborough, conſiſted of forty-eight battalions, and eight ſix ſquadrons, whereeof fourteen battalions and thirteen ſquadrons, were Engliſh troops; twenty-two ſquadrons, Daniſh; fourteen battalions, and nineteen ſquadrons, Dutch; thirteen battalions, and twenty-five ſquadrons, of the forces of Lunenburg; ſeven ſquadrons of the troops of Heſſe; and ſome troops of Wirtemberg. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 368.

(4) The marſhal de Tallard, in particular, having made all his diſpoſitions, on the enemy's right, where he commanded, gave orders to monſ. de Surlauben, who commanded the right of the cavalry, to have a watchful eye on the motions of the confederates, and that as ſoon as a certain number of them had paſs'd the rivulet, he ſhould charge them. Monſ. de Clerambault had orders to remaim in the village of Blenheim, and there to withſtand the enemy's attack, with all his might. This done, the marſhall gallop'd to the center, where he found the Elector, and the marſhal de Marſin, who had juſt been making the neceſſary diſpoſitions on the left, and were ranging their infantry in the beſt poſture they could, to withſtand the attack of the allies. Monſ. de Tallard gave his electoral highneſs an account of what diſpoſitions he had made, with which he ſeem'd perfectly ſatisfied, and embracing him, told him, he hop'd he ſhould do it, with a yet greater ſatisfaction, in the evening.

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commanded by the lord Cutts, lieuteuant-general, the major-generals St. Paul and Wilks, and the brigadiers Row and Ferguſon, and ſupported by fifteen ſquadrons, under the command of major-general Wood, were ordered on the left to poſſeſs themſelves of the two Water-mills, near Blenheim, which the enemy immediately ſet on fire.

Bridges laid over the moraſs,

The Confederate army, in the mean time, advanced into the plain; four columns march'd to the left, towards the village of Greynheim, and four, of the Imperial troops, took the right, towards the village of Schweinenbach, leaving Wolperſtette and Berghauſen to the left. About eleven, the whole army being in battalia, in two lines, except ſome ſquadrons, which made a body of reſerve; and the moraſs heing found unpaſſable for the infantry, they quickly made five bridges, with the planks of their pontons; and repaired the bridge, on the high road, which the enemy had deſtroyed. Prince Eugene cauſed the right wing to march, at the ſame time, along the wood, to fall on the flank of the Elector, who extended his left, in proportion, to prevent it, and to face the Prince.

Canonading on both ſides.

To prevent the Confederates from gaining the flank of their right wing, the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of the village of Blenheim, and poſted twenty-eight battallions of foot, with twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, in the place. They alſo poſted ſome infantry in the village of Oberklau and Lutzingen (1). The two brigades of foot, commanded by the lord Cutts, were ordered to go over the rivulet, to favour the paſſage of the left wing, and they poſted themſelves, for that end, in a bottom, near the village of Blenheim, where, for ſeveral hours, they ſtood the fire of ſix pieces of canon, with wonderful reſolution. The enemy fired, at the ſame time, very briſkly, on the bridges, which the confederates had laid for the paſſage of their infantry; but they ſoon returned the compliment from two of their batteries (2). Every thing was ready for the attack, on the left wing, about noon, and, by that time a good part of the infantry, of the main battalia, of the confederate army had poſted themſelves in and about the village of Unterklau, and the Prince of Holſteinbeck poſſeſs'd himſelf of that of Weiler, or Schonbach, and cauſed a counter-battery to be erected there.

The general attack made.

Theſe preparations being all made, the duke of Marlborough gave orders for a general attack, which was begun, on the left, a quarter before one. Major-general Wilks made the firſt onſet, with the five Engliſh battalions of How, Ingoldſby, Marlborough, Row, and North and Gray, and four battalions of Heſſians, ſupported by the Lord Cutts, and major-general St. Paul, with eleven other battalions; and the fifteen ſquadrons of horſe, under the command of major-general Wood. The five Engliſh battalions, led on by brigadier Row, who charged, on foot, at the head of his own regiment, with unparallel'd intrepidity, aſſaulted the village of Blenheim, advancing to the very muzzles of the enemy's muſkets; and ſome of the officers exchanging thruſts of ſwords, with the French, thro' the palliſadoes: but being expos'd to a fire much ſuperior to theirs, they were ſoon forced to retire, leaving behind them near one third part of their men, either killed or mortally wounded, and amongſt the latter, brigadier Row himſelf. Q. Ann, An' 1704.

The Engliſh infantry on the left repulſed.

In this retreat, they were purſued by thirteen ſquadrons of the French Gendarmerie and Carabiniers, who would have entirely cut them in pieces, had not the Heſſian infantry ſtop'd their career, by the great fire they made upon them.

The French retreat in their turn.

The French, being repulſed in their turn, were chaſed by five ſquadrons of Engliſh horſe; till a ſuperior number of freſh brigades charging them with great vigour, obliged many of them to repaſs the rivulet, with precipitation. In the mean time, Ferguſon's brigade, commanded by himſelf, attack'd the village of Blenheim, on the left; but, after ſeveral attempts, with little ſucceſs, it was found impracticable to force the enemy in that poſt, without entirely ſacrifizing the infantry.

The forcing of Blenheim found impracticable.

The Engliſh foot having begun the engagement, on the left, the horſe, of the ſame wing, paſs'd the rivulet, pell-mell, over againſt the center, or main battalia, of the enemy. The horſe of the right wing, likewiſe, paſs'd the rivulet, having made ſeveral paſſages, with diverſe pieces of wood, which they found at hand, and a good number of faſcines. In a word, all paſs'd and drew up, in order of battle, as well as the ground would permit, on the other ſide of the rivulet. The enemy gave them all the time they could deſire, for that purpoſe, remaining quietly on the hill, without deſcending into the meadow towards the rivulet; ſo that even the ſecond line of the confederates horſe had time to form themſelves (3).

The whole army paſſes the rivulet.

The two armies come to a cloſer engagement.

At length, the cavalry of the confederates left wing marching up, towards the hill, that of the enemy began to move, and charged them, with a great deal of fury. The French infantry, which was in the village of Blenheim, made, at the ſame time, a terrible fire, from behind ſome hedges of that village, on the flank of the confederate cavalry, which were advanced too near; ſo that the firſt line of horſe, of their left, from the head of the line, to the three regiments of the troops of Hannover, viz. the electoral regiment, that of Voigt, and that of Noyelles, was put into ſuch diſorder, that part of them retired even beyond the rivulet. Hereupon, lieutenant-general Bulau, commander in chief of the troops of Lunenburg, brought up his own regiment of dragoons, and two of the troops of Zell, viz. that of major-general Villers, and that of brigadier Bothmar, from the ſecond line, which charged the enemy's

evening. The marſhal ſtaid in the center to obſerve the diſpoſitions of the Confederates; and took that time to dine, with three or four general officers who were with him. He was prevail'd upon (as monſ. de Quincy ſays, much againſt his Will, and in a very wrong time) to go to the left, that he might be the better judge of the diſpoſitions made there.

(1) The making theſe detachments extremely weakened their main battalia, and was thought to be one of the principal cauſes of their defeat.

(2) The French, who own they had ninety pieces of canon advantageouſly placed, in a line, before the whole front of their army, pretend they did great execution from their batteries, and that the allies loſt 2000 men, before the battle began: but if it had been ſo, it redounds to their own ſhame, to be ſo totally routed as they were, in the end, after ſo advantageous a begining. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 371.

(3) To this capital fault, of the French, ſome principally aſcribe the victory which enſued. It has been ſaid, with what truth or grounds I ſhall leave un-determined, that this neglect proceeded from an ill-timed haughtineſs and preſumption of the marſhal de Tallard, who being informed, that the allies were laying bridges on the rivulet, uſed this expreſſion; "if they "have not bridges enough, I will lend them ſome:" and when they told him, that our troops were actually coming over the rivulet, is reported vainly to have ſaid; "let them paſs, the more there come over, the more we ſhall have to kill and take "priſoners." But others, who make it their buſineſs to excuſe that general, aſſure us, on the contrary; "that he had "given poſitive orders, not to let the enemy paſs the rivulet, but to charge them as they paſs'd, which orders were not "executed:" monſ. de Quincy ſays, orders were given to monſ. de Surlauben (as I have obſerved above) to charge when a certain number of them were paſs'd, and that monſ. de Clerambault ſhould remain in Blenheim, which ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to favour the report of the marſhal's preſumption.

horſe,

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The enemy's cavalry routed.

The cavalry of the confederates left wing, having by this ſucceſs, gained the advantage of forming themſelves intirely, in order of battle, advanced leiſurely to the top of the hill, where they charg'd the enemy's horſe ſeveral times, and, at every charge, gain'd ground. Monſ. de Tallard, hereupon, cauſed ten of his battalions to advance to fill the intervals of his cavalry, in order to make a laſt effort; which the allies, on their ſide, perceiving cauſed three battalions, of the troops of Zell, to come up, to ſuſtain their horſe, and then returned to the charge: but the ſuperior fire of the enemy's infantry put their firſt line into ſome diſorder, and made them retire about ſixty paces, where they remained ſome time.

Ten of the enemy's battalions cut in pieces.

The allies, at length, renewed the charge, with ſo much vigor and ſucceſs, that having broken and routed the enemy's horſe, the ten batalions, who were now abandoned by them, were intirely cut in pieces; excepting a very few ſoldiers only, who threw themſelves on the ground as dead (1). Monſ. de Tallard rallied his broken cavalry behind ſome tents, and now thought it time to draw off his dragroons and infantry from the village of Blenheim. To this end, he deſired the marſhal de Marſin to face the allies with ſome troops, on the right of the village of Oberklau, to keep them in play: but this general let him know, he was in no condition to favor his deſign, and was ſo far from being victorious, on his ſide, that he had enough to do to ſtand his ground.

The French intirely routed.

Lieutenant-general Ingoldſby made the Prince of Heſſe, and the lieutenant-generals Lumley and Hompeſch, in the mean time, ſenſible, that the French cavalry might, with eaſe, be intirely defeated, by charging them on the right flank: and this advice being followed, it happened ſo accordingly, and their rout was compleat. Part of them indeavored to gain the bridge they had on the Danube, between Blenheim and Hochſtadt: The other part, among whom were the Gens d'armes, were cloſely purſued by the dragoons of Bothmar, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter threw themſelves into the Danube, where moſt of them were drowned (2). Thoſe who fled towards Hochſtadt rallied once more, and made a ſhew as if they deſigned to ſuccor the reſt; but the regiment of Bothmar faced them, and kept them in awe, for ſome time, 'till being, at length, joined, by ſome other regiments, the enemy fled full gallop towards Hochſtadt.

The Marſhal de Tallard was ſurrounded by the Fugitives, and taken near a mill, behind the village of Sonderen, not far from the Danube, by monſ. Boinenburg, a lieutenant-colonel of the troops of Heſſe, and aid de camp to the Prince of Heſſe-caſſel: the marquis de Montperoux, general of horſe, de Seppeville, de Silly, and de la Valiere. Majors-general; monſieur de la Meſſiliere, St. Poüange, de Ligondais, and ſeveral other officers of note, were likewiſe made priſoners, in this defeat (3). Q. Ann, An' 1704.

The marſhal de Tallard taken priſoner.

The village of Oberklau attack'd; with ſucceſs.

During theſe tranſactions, at the village of Blenheim, and in the center, the duke of Marlborough cauſed the village of Oberklau, which was the marſhal de Marſin's quarters, to be attack'd, by the brigade of Berenſdorff, conſiſting of ten battalions. The Prince of Holſtein-Beck, who commanded them, as major-general, and who came to the army but the day before, paſs'd the Rivulet, at the head of two battalions, with great reſolution; but, as the Imperial cavalry, which was to have ſupported him, were wanting in their duty, and kept above two Muſket-ſhot from him, he was hardly got over, when ſeven or eight of the enemy's battalions, fell on him with great fury, before he could form his two battalions; ſo that one of them, that of Goor, was almoſt intirely cut in pieces, and the Prince himſelf deſperately wounded and taken priſoner. They put the Prince, wounded as he was, upon a waggon, in order to carry him away; but fortune, afterwards, ſhifting hands, he was retaken in that condition, with three or four bleeding wounds on him, of which he afterwards died. Notwithſtanding this firſt ſhock, theſe battalions were no ſooner ſupported, by ſome Daniſh and Hanoverian cavalry, than they charged a ſecond time; but with no better ſucceſs: 'till upon the third charge, the duke of Marlborough, having himſelf brought up ſome ſquadrons, which were ſupported by others of the body of reſerve, made them advance with ſome battalions beyond the Rivulet; whereupon the enemy began to retire. His grace thought it now time to repair towards the attack of the horſe, where he, indeed, found the action already decided in his favor, as we have ſeen above. He came, however, time enough to have his ſhare of puſhing the thirty ſquadrons of French horſe and gens d'Armes, into the Danube.

The enemy obliged by the duke to retire here likewiſe.

Farther ſucceſs of the duke of Marlborough.

As ſoon as the duke had perform'd theſe conſiderable ſervices, the action in the center being now decided, in favor of the confederates, his grace cauſed part of his victorious cavalry to halt, to obſerve the motion of that part of the enemy,

(1) It may not be improper to obſerve, in this place, that the French themſelves are oblig'd here to allow the ſuperior conduct of our Britiſh hero. "During all theſe charges (ſays monſ. de Quincy, and we find the ſame remark, in other French hiſtorians) "the duke of Marlborough, having found the poſt of Blenheim impracticable, only made a ſhew, (of attacking that poſt) with "a front of battalions, out of muſket-ſhot. Theſe he caus'd to advance by Platoons only, who, having diſcharg'd their fire-arms, "retir'd, and gave way to others who reliev'd them, and did the ſame. This was done, during the ſeveral charges of their "cavalry, in order to keep all the troops, which were in the village, in action, while the duke of Marlborough march'd the "ſtrength of his troops oppoſite to the center of monſ. de Tallard's army, where he had obſerv'd, there was no infantry. If "this had been perceiv'd (continues my author, and that it was not, is an inconteſtable proof of our general's ſuperior conduct) "it would have been eaſy to have prevented it, by marching thither all the troops which were in the ſecond line of the village, "where they were of no manner of ſervice; but, unhappily for us, we did not diſcover it, and the allies knew how to take "advantage of our neglect".

(2) In this particular, it is, that the French accounts differ the moſt from ours: they allow but a very few to have been drowned in the Danube (monſ. de Quincy reduces the number to leſs than fifty) but they, at the ſame time, own, that part of the gens d'Armes, with ſeveral general officers, were ſurrounded by the confederate cavalry, and that of thoſe, who attempted to fight their way thro', a great many were taken priſoners.

(3) It may not be forein to obſerve here, what a power fear and conſternation can have over a body of troops, when they are once poſſeſs'd with it, of which we have a flagrant inſtance before us. Theſe troops, which compos'd the right of the French army, not only fled before the victorious Engliſh, but did it in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, without any regard to the command of their ſuperiors, or obſerving whither or which way they fled. They look'd upon themſelves as loſt beyond hopes of recovery, and giving way to deſpair, ſuffer'd themſelves to be drove to perdition, like a flock of ſheep to the ſlaughter. A whole body of their cavalry, the beſt and moſt renown'd of their whole army, ſeiz'd with the ſame pannic, hurried away the marſhal de Tallard, with them, in their flight, and, void of all thought, threw themſelves, by whole ſquadrons, into the Danube, men and horſes, officers and troopers. Some few had the good fortune to eſcape, but much the greater part, to avoid an uncertain death, which, at worſt, could but have overtaken them in the field of battle, and laid them down, in the bed of honor, ruſh'd upon a certain and ignominious death in the river. The impotent marſhal, not capable of ſtemming this torrent of deſpair, was obliged to ſurrender priſoner of war, with ſeveral other general officers, who were in his company. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 379.

which,

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which, by this time, was drawn up beyond the Moraſs of Hochſtadt. During this halt, the Elector of Bavaria was perceived making his retreat from the village of Lutzingen; upon which, a meſſenger was diſpatch'd to general Hompeſch, (who, with ſeveral ſquadrons, was purſuing the enemy towards Morſelingen, and who had already overtaken two of their battalions, and forced them to lay down their arms,) with orders to face about, and march to join thoſe who halted; as well to prevent the Elector's falling upon Hompeſch's rear, as to form a body, in order to charge that Prince, who march'd in great haſte, but in pretty good order, with his ſquadrons on the left, and his battalions on the right.

His great prurdnce.

Before general Hompeſch returned from his chace, the right wing of the confederate army was perceived at ſome diſtance behind the Elector; and appearing to be part of his army, marching in ſuch manner as might eaſily have flanked them, had the duke of Marlborough immediately charged him, his grace, with great prudence, ſent out a party to view them. During this time, the Elector continued marching off, with great precipitation, till he reach'd the Moraſs of Morſelingen.

The French, in Blenheim, ſurrender priſoners.

The French horſe being intirely defeated, and the confederates maſters of all the ground, which was between the enemy's left, and the village of Blenheim, the twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, which were in that village, found themſelves cut off from the reſt of their army; and deſpairing of being able to make their eſcape, after a weak attempt to repulſe the whole infantry which ſurrounded the village, they, at length, capitulated, about eight, in the evening, laid down their arms, deliver'd their colors and ſtandards, and ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war, on condition, that the officers ſhould not be ſearch'd.

Only two battalions of the whole French infantry eſcape.

By this, it appears, that of the whole French Infantry, which the marſhal de Tallard had brought to the aſſiſtance of the Elector of Bavaria, conſiſting of forty battalions, all Veterans, and the very choice of the French infantry, only two battalions eſcaped; ſince twenty-eight were here made priſoners, and ten were intirely cut in pieces, as we have ſeen above (1).

Prince Eugene's ſucceſs on the right.

Having given an account of the ſucceſs on the left wing, I am now to relate what paſs'd on the right, under the command of Prince Eugene, who labor'd under great difficulties, having to deal with the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Marſin, both old generals, of great courage, conduct and experience; eſpecially the former, who had commanded in all the wars of Flanders, in King William's time, and had, before that, commanded the Imperial army, in Hungary, and, particularly, in the year 1688, took the famous city of Belgrade, from the Turks. Such generals, I ſay, Prince Eugene had to deal with. The infantry of this wing conſiſted only in ſeven battalions of Daniſh, and eleven of Pruſſian forces; but his cavalry was ninety-two ſquadrons of the troops of the Emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the circle of Suabia and Wirtemberg, and other Princes and ſtates of the Empire; tho' his foot, in the end, proved moſt victorious, as we ſhall ſee below. The enemy, on their ſide, had, in their left wing, thirty battalions, and tho' I do not any where find the preciſe number of ſquadrons they had in this wing; yet by the number we find monſ. de Tallard had in the other wing, and the general account we have of their whole force, their number, on this ſide, muſt have been about ſeventy or eighty; and they had poſted fourteen battalions in the village of Oberklau, the attack of which the duke of Marlborough had taken upon him, (as I have ſaid above) with his infantry.

Force of the confederates right, and enemy's left wing.

The horſe of the right wing of the confederates were poſted, moſt of them, over againſt Oberklau; but the eighteen battalions, who were to the right of all, had a great way to march before they could get up the hill; and, beſide, the paſſage of the Rivulet being very difficult, the attack could not begin, on that ſide, ſo ſoon as Prince Eugene could have wiſh'd. Moreover, the troops of the right, which poſted themſelves in a bottom, not far from Lutzingen, were obliged to remain expos'd, during three hours, to the canonading of the enemy, without being able to uſe their artillery, 'till, at length, a counter-battery was raiſed, near the wood.

The infantry of the right wing ſucceſsful.

Tho' the right could not charge 'till half an hour after the left had begun the attack, yet they were pretty ſucceſsful at firſt; for the infantry, notwithſtanding they were much inferior in number, to that of the enemy, ſtood their ground againſt them, with great firmneſs and reſolution, and the cavalry broke that of the enemy's firſt line; but they were ſo vigorioufly repuls'd by that of their ſecond line, that part of them were driven, in great confuſion, beyond the Rivulet; and the Infantry, having no more horſe to ſuſtain them, was obliged, notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance they made, to retreat, with conſiderable loſs, 3 or 400 paces; eſpecially the two battalions, which were in the flank; inſomuch that things were now in a very bad condition, on that ſide. The infantry ſtood firm, near the wood, and Prince Eugene having rallied the horſe, brought them up again to the charge, but they were repulſed a ſecond time.

The cavalry repuls'd.

They were rallied once more, and the enemy gave the confederates time to place their troops advantageouſly, after which they charged a third time. The cavalry had, at firſt, ſome advantage over that of the enemy, but were afterwards forced to retreat a third time: whilſt the infantry broke and overthrew that with which they were ingaged, tho' they could not march up to them, but thro' a moſt difficult ground, where a ſmall number of troops was ſufficient to ſtop a greater. Upon this, Prince Eugene left his Cavalry, ſeing little likelihood of being able to rally them again, and put himſelf, at the head of the infantry, who improving the diſorder, into which they had put that of the enemy, purſued them over hills, dales, rocks and woods, and, having charged them again,

The infantry victorious.

(1) The fate of the ten battalions, which were intirely cut off, and whoſe ſlaughter thoſe in Blenheim could not but know, without doubt brought a pannic upon them, which, in ſome meaſure, cauſed this tame ſurrender, for which their commanders were ſeverely (and, indeed, juſtly) cenſur'd, even by their own country-men, as having ſo quietly given up the choiceſt infantry of France. One of their own generals, ſpeaking of their puſillanimity, ſays: monſ. de Clerambaut (who commanded thoſe dragoons and infantry in chief) without taking a reſolution worthy of his name, with a powerful body, which was yet intire, as ſoon as he ſaw the rout of our cavalry, cauſed his poſtillion to ſound the Danube, and, throwing himſelf into it, was drowned. The marquis de Quincy, to excuſe this puſillanimity of monſ. de Clerambault, ſays, it was reported, that his horſe, being frighten'd by a canon-ball which paſs'd near him, threw his rider into the Danube, where he was drowned. The ſame author draws, likewiſe from hence, an argument to excuſe the tame ſurrender of theſe troops "who (ſays he) if they had not loſt their "commander, might eaſily have retreated; but the marquis de Blanzac, who commanded under him, knowing nothing of "this misfortune, waited for his orders". The ſame general farther adds: the duke of Marlborough, judging rightly, that there were old troops, in that place, the overcoming of which would coſt him dear, made uſe of monſ. Deſnonville, his priſoner, to exhort them to accept of their lives. This (the truth of which we have no reaſon to doubt, the French themſelves allowing it, in their accounts) is another mark of the duke's conſummate prudence, in not unneceſſarily hazarding the lives of the troops under his command, and expoſing them to apparent danger, when the ſame end was to be attained by other means.

intirely

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intirely routed them, and continued the chace for above an hour's march, as far as the village of Lutzingen. Here Prince Eugene cauſed his victorious foot to make a ſtand, to give time to his Cavalry, which had rallied a great way behind, to rejoin them. The Imperial horſe having joined their foot, the whole wing continued the chace, for the ſpace of an hour, and followed the enemy as far as the villages of Morſelingen, and Teiſſenhoven, where they made a ſhew as if they would ſtand their ground, that they might gain time to paſs a great moraſs, and reach Dillingen and Lawingen.

The whole wing purſues the enemy: And compleat the victory,

As ſoon as the action, on the left wing, was decided, the duke of Marlborough diſpos'd himſelf to march, with part of that wing towards the village of Oberklau, to charge the left of the enemy on their flank, and to ſuccor their own right, under Prince Eugene; but he was inform'd by the way, by one of that Prince's aids de camp, that there was no farther occaſion for it; that all was recovered, on his highneſs's ſide, and that the enemy had abandoned the villages of Oberklau, and Lutzingen, after having ſet them on fire.

Thus this ſtupendous battle, which, during near five hours, was fought with dubious fortune, ended, at laſt, in a moſt compleat victory, on that ſide, which, before the ingagement, had a viſible diſadvantage; and the ſucceſs of this great day, under the bleſſing of the all-rulling providence, may juſtly be attributed to the invincible courage and intrepidity of the confederate troops, and to the conduct and bravery of their generals; tho' the enemy themſelves, as I have ſaid above, were guilty of ſome overſights, which did not a little facilitate their overthrow (1) I might now give ſome account of what French writers have ſaid of this battle: but their relations (I mean thoſe of their writers of any reputation; for that of the Paris gazeteers is too ridiculous to deſerve our notice,) differ ſo little from ours, in material circumſtances at leaſt, that it would be ſuperfluous; eſpecially as I have already remark'd, wherein their difference chiefly conſiſts.

Juſt Encomium of the generals, officers, and troops.

As the whole action was chiefly managed and directed by the duke of Marlborough; ſo the greateſt ſhare of the glory is certainly his due: and indeed it was, at that time, accordingly, aſcribed to him, both by friends and enemies (2). Juſtice, however, obliges me to allow, that Prince Eugene's ſhare of the glory of this great day, tho' not equal to that of the duke, did not fall very ſhort of it: and it is acknowledg'd, on all hands, that they both performed the parts of conſummate generals. Both gave their commands with all the clearneſs and compoſedneſs imaginable; expoſed their perſons, wherever their preſence was neceſſary, with the greateſt unconcernment; and preſerved their temper and preſence of mind, in the moſt preſent dangers. The duke, for his part, very narrowly eſcaped being killed by a cannon-ball, which grazed under the belly of his horſe, and cover'd him with dirt. The Prince, was always in the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, and yet had the good fortune to come off unhurt.

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The other generals of the confederate army, diſcharged their reſpective commands with great prudence, activity and valor: but, among the reſt, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the Prince of Hanover, generals; Lumley, Hompeſch, and Bulau, lieutenant-generals; Wood and Villers, major-generals of horſe; the lord Cuts, the lord Orkney, and Ingoldſby, lieutenant-generals: the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, Wilkins, and St. Paul, major-generals; and Row, Ferguſon and Bernsdorff, brigadiers of foot, deſerve particularly to be mentioned, for their great bravery and prudent conduct.

All the troops, in general, fought with valor and unconcernedneſs; tho' their courage may have differed in ſome circumſtances, according to the particular temper of the ſeveral nations, which compoſed the confederate army. The Engliſh foot ſhew'd their natural fire, briſkneſs and intrepedity, in their ſeveral attacks of the village of Blenheim; the Pruſſian and Daniſh infantry, their innate firmneſs and reſolution, on Prince Eugene's ſide, where they recovered all; and the German horſe perform'd wonders in the center, particularly Bothmar's regiment of dragoons.

Praiſe and cenſure of the enemy.

Having thus recorded the deſerved praiſes of the generals and ſoldiers, on the ſide of the confederates, hiſtorical juſtice and impartiality call upon me to give the enemy likewiſe their due; and here I am obliged to allow, that as many of their troops as ingaged fought with vigor and courage; inſomuch that had their generals performed their parts, with anſwerable prudence and forecaſt, it is probable the fortune of that day might have remained undetermined. The Elector of Bavaria, it it true, maintained his reputation of a brave and experienc'd commander; nor was he ill-ſeconded by the marſhal de Marſin; but then the marſhal de Tallard, and the generals of the enemy's right wing, were guilty of two inexcuſable faults; firſt in throwing ſo great a number of their men, into the village of Blenheim, whereby their center was extreamly weakened; and, ſecondly, by ſuffering our troops to paſs the rivulet, without any conſiderable oppoſition, as I have already obſerved more at large above.

Compliments between the duke of Marborough and the marſhal de Tallard.

The ſame night, the marſhal, with two or three more, were carried in the duke's coach, to the Prince of Heſſe's quarter, where his grace, making him a viſit, the next day, told him, he was ſorry, that ſuch a misfortune ſhould fall perſonally on one, for whom he had ſo great an eſteem. Monſieur de Tallard returned the compliment, by telling his grace, that he had the honor of having vanquiſhed the beſt troops in the world: to which the duke wittily replied; he thought his own troops were

(1) The victory being thus compleatly gain'd, beyond all human poſſibility of the enemy's making any farther ſtand, the duke, even while he was in hot purſuit of the fugitives, and had then been ſixteen hours on horſeback, thought his happineſs not compleat, tell he had diſpatch'd a meſſenger to England, that his royal miſtreſs, and the whole nation, might pertake with him, in the univerſal joy, occaſion'd by this ſucceſs: he, therefore, ſent away colonel Park, one of his aids de camp, with the following lines to his dutcheſs, written on horſeback, with a black-lead pencil, on a leaf torn out of his pocket-book.

Aug. 13, 1704.

"I have not time to ſay more, than to beg of you to preſent my humble duty to the Queen, and to let her Majeſty know, "that her army has had a glorious victory. Monſ. Tallard, and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the "reſt. The bearer, my aid de camp, colonel Park, will give her Majeſty an account of what has paſs'd. I ſhall do it in a "day or two, by another more at large.

Marlborough.

(2) Prince Eugene himſelf was not more forward in ſending relations of this wonderful ſucceſs, to the ſeveral courts of Germany, than he was in attributing it chiefly to the valor and conduct of the duke of Marlborough; I, my ſelf, have ſeen one of them to the court of Zell, in which he is very ſanguine in his praiſes of our Engliſh Hero.

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the beſt in the world, ſince they had conquered thoſe, which the marſhal accounted to be ſo (1).

The loſs of the enemy, in this battle.

The enemy's loſs, according to their own confeſſion, in ſeveral intercepted letters, amounted to near 40,000 men, in which number they included 4 or 5000 men they loſt in their precipitate retreat to the Black-Forreſt, either by deſertion, or by the purſuit of the Huſſars and Peaſants, who made a great ſlaughter of the ſtragglers. And, indeed, if it be conſidered, that after an exact computation, the number of the priſoners the confederates made, exceeded 13,000 men, (ſome accounts ſay, 14,000) of which above 1200 were officers, that they cut in pieces ten French battalions, on their right, and overthrew, into the Danube, near thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, moſt of whom were drowned, that their left wing did alſo ſuffer very much, eſpecially the foot; that, beſides ninety-five officers, who were found at Hochſtadt, Dillingen, and Lawingen, the number of the wounded, whom (as it has been ſaid, from good authority) they brought off from Ulm, exceeded 7000 men, of which 1000 were officers, and the great number of officers found buried in the villages thro' which the army afterwards marched. If all this, I ſay, be conſider'd, it muſt be own'd, that thoſe letters ſpoke within compas (2).

Tho' the French have been induſtrious enough in concealing their particular loſſes; yet it is known, that the count de Verue, general of the horſe was kill'd, monſieur de Buſen, and count de Clerambaut, lieutenant-generals drown'd in the Danube; that meſſieurs de Blainville and Sallaube, lieutenant-generals, died of their wounds; that monſieur de Marillac, brigadier, only ſon to the counſellor of ſtate of that name, the duke d'Humieres, brother to the duke d'Aumont, the marquiſſes d'Arpajou, de Hautefort and de Beringhen, were either killed or drowned, and that the marquis de la Baulme, only ſon to the marſhal de Tallard, was mortally wounded, and died a few days after the action.

The leaſt computation made of the loſs of the French, which can be ſaid to be any ways impartial, allow it to have been 30,000 men, viz. 14,000 killed and wounded in the field of battle, and drowned in the Danube, 13,000 priſoners, and 3000 deſerted, or otherwiſe loſt in the action and precipitate retreat.

The priſoners of note, beſides the marſhal de Tallard, were the marquis de Montperoux, Maitre de Camp, general of horſe; monſieur de Hautefeuille, Maitre de Camp, general of dragoons; marquis de Marivaux, lieutenant-general; marquis de Blanſac, marſhal de Camp of foot; monſ. de Valſeme, marſhal de Camp, marquis de la Valiere, marquis de Silly, brigadier-general of horſe; monſieur Deſnonville, monſieur d'Amigay, chevalier de Croſſi, monſieur de St. Second, monſieur de Signey, monſieur de Montfort, brigadiers-general of foot; monſieur Jolly, brigadier-general of dragoons, marquis de Seppeville, monſieur de la Maſſeliere, brigadiers-general of the Gens d'Armes; marquis de Saſſenage, Aid de Camp, and ſon-in-law to the marſhal de Tallard; marquis de St. Pouange, the chevalier de Ligondais, colonels of horſe; marquis de Nonan, colonel of the regiment of Provence, count de Tavannes, connt de Schack, monſieur Bliancourt, monſieur Sauboeuf, count de Lionne, marquis de Laſſy, baron d'Elſen, colonels of foot; marquis de Vaſſy, marquis d'Aurival, colonels of dragoons, Prince Maubecq of Lorrain, captain of horſe; marquis d'Auvet, captain of the Gens d'Armes; monſieur de Carman, ſecond lieutenant of the Gens d'Armes, and colonel; monſieur d'Ovillars, enſign of the Gens d'Armes; monſieur Suiſſac, Guidon of the Gens d'Armes: and the ſieurs de Breuil, and la Morcelaire, commiſſaries of the artillery.

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Beſides the priſoners, the confederates got many other enſigns of a compleat victory, as above one hundred pieces of canon, great and ſmall, twenty-four mortars, 129 colors, 171 ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, 3600 tents, thirty-four coaches, 300 laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontons, twenty-four barrels, and eight caſks of ſilver.

Loſs of the confederates.

This ſucceſs coſt the allies 4485 men kill'd, 7525 men wounded, and 273 loſt, or made priſoners. A great number in it ſelf, but an inconſiderable price for the infinite advantage which the allies gained by their victory. They loſt few men of note, except the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, and brigadier Row, who died of their wounds after, and Philip Dormer, lieutenant colonel of the Engliſh guards, major Frederick Cornwallis, lieutenant-colonel Dallyel. lieutenant-colonel Fetherſtonhaugh, major Creed, colonel John White, lord Forbes, captain, major Chenevix, who were killed in the fight. The principal perſons among their wounded were, the lord North and Gray, who loſt his right hand; the lord Mordaunt, who had his left arm ſhatterd, colonel Hamilton, lieutenant-colonel Levingſton, lieutenant-colonel Peyton, major Granville, major George Morgan, lieutenant-colonel Britton, major Armſtrong, and major Ketley.

Retreat of the Elector of Bavaria.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Marſin, made an orderly retreat, with the left wing of their army, behind the moraſs of Hochſtadt, where they reſted ſome hours, and, that night,

(1) This victory, tho' as great and compleat in itſelf, as any ever was gained, was ſtill greater in it's conſequences. It was introductory to all the ſucceſs which follow'd, during the courſe of this war, either in Italy or Flanders; and certain it is, that had it not been for this victory, the Emperor could not have maintained himſelf, in his dignity and eſtates, and muſt, this very year, have been forced from his capital; for the Hungarians were now almoſt univerſally in rebellion; and whilſt the Elector of Bavaria penetrated into Upper-Auſtria, and had taken Lintz, the chief town thereof, the Hungarians ravaged the Lower-Auſtria, and even threatned Vienna itſelf: for the rebels, at this time, wanted nothing but artillery, and other neceſſaries for a ſiege, to have taken both that, and the ſtrongeſt towns in Hungary; which deficiency would ſoon have been ſupplied by French mony, had not the glorious day of Blenheim prevented it, and obliged the monarch of France to employ his treaſures in recruiting his forces, and filling his magazines, where it was more immediately neceſſary. The Emperor was, alſo, at this time, ſo low, that his forces in Italy, upon the Po, were almoſt dwindled into nothing, and the poor remains of them had been obliged to retire into the Trentin, while the duke of Savoy was very hard preſs'd, by the duke de Vendome, and his whole country in great danger of being made an abſolute conqueſt: but this great and unexpected ſucceſs gave a new turn to the poſture of affairs, on every ſide; and Lewis the Great had afterwards ſuch a train of ill ſucceſs, that he had, in the courſe of this war, as much reaſon to complain of the frowns of fortune, as he had before to exult in the ſmiles thereof. And tho', in all the advices, which we received from the Emperor's territories, before this battle, great care was taken to put the beſt color upon every thing, in favour of his imperial Majeſty, and to gloſs over his deplorable circumſtances; yet, in his letter of thanks to the duke of Marborough, on account of this victory, he owns them pretty freeely. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 393.

(2) This alſo agrees with what monſieur de Marſin wrote to the King of France ſoon after, viz. that the Elector of Bavaria, and himſelf had, the night before, conducted to Ulm thirty-one battalions, and ſixty-two ſquadrons, which is all that I can find eſcaped from this battle of the French and Bavarians, except Stragglers: and we need not doubt, but monſieur de Marſin, made the beſt of his ſtory to the King, as well in this, as when he told him, in his letter, that they had loſt 10,000 men, beſides what were taken, and very many wounded. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 396.

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caused their bagage to pass the Danube, and sent their horse towards Ulm: the next morning, before break of day, they march'd, with their infantry, and pass'd the Danube, at Lawingen: and the Elector sent orders to his troops in Augsburg, to quit that city, and join him at Ulm. The night after the battle, the confederate army lay upon their arms, on this side the morass of Hochstadt, over against the Elector of Bavaria, and, the next day, the army made a small motion, and came to Steinheim, where they remained encamp'd four or five days, to look after their wounded men, and take care of their prisoners (1).

Motions of the confederate army.

The face of affairs being now wholly changed in these parts, the generals resolved no longer to amuse themselves with the siege of Ingolstadt, which, with the whole country of Bavaria, they were sensible must now fall of themselves; but to join all their forces to streighten the enemy as much as possible, and oblige the French to quit Germany and repass the Rhine. The 16th of August, the French garison in Augsburg quitted that place, which, thereupon, desiring the protection of the duke of Marlborough, his grace sent a detachment to take possession of it: and Memmingen, a free imperial city of Suabia, soon after, followed the example of Augsburg.

Augsburg and Memmingen submit to the duke of Marlborough.

Farther proceedings of the confederate army.

The 17th, a thanksgiving was celebrated thro'-out the whole confederate army: and, the next day, the repartition of the prisoners being made (2), the marshal de Tallard, with most of those of distinction, were sent from Hochstadt towards Francfort, under a guard of forty English horse. The 21st, the confederate army came to Sefelingen, near Ulm, from which place the Elector of Bavaria was retired, up the Danube, towards the Iller, having left a garison of four French and five Bavarian battalions; and the 24th, Prince Lewis of Baden came to confer with Prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough.

The 25th, these three generals had a long conference, wherein they concerted the farther operations of the campain; and it was resolved; "that, seeing the enemy were returning towards "the Rhine, all the confederate forces should likewise march that way, except twenty-three battalions and some squadrons, which should be left, "under the command of general Thungen, to "carry on the siege of Ulm, and that count "Wratislau should continue in the camp before "that place, to manage the negociations with "the Electress, who made some overtures, to deliver, not only Ulm, but the whole Electorate "of Bavaria, upon certain conditions".

The French having repass'd the black forest, and afterwards retired over the Rhine; the confederate army followed them: and, the 12th of September, Prince Lewis marched with the troops which were appointed to besiege Landau, to that place, in order to invest it; while the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene took possession of the camp of Crone-weissemburg, on the little river Lauter, to cover the siege. The same night,

Landau invested.

Ulm surrender'd.

the duke of Marlborough received an express from general Thungen, with advice that Ulm surrendered the 11th (3).

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The trenches were opened before Landau the 16th; but that place holding out longer than was expected, the duke of Marlborough march'd, with part of the army, towards Triers, and arrived, the 28th, at Hermerskel, within six leagues of Triers, where three deputies of that city waited on his grace, and acquainted him, "that as the French "had still 300 men, in the fort of St. Martin, they "were apprehensive of some ill usage, if his grace "did not prevent it". Upon this account, the duke marched, the 29th, before break of day, with all the horse, and four battalions of foot; and, about eleven o' clock, his Vanguard appearing in sight of Triers, the French abandoned the fort, having thrown their ammunition, and some corn into the Mosel. The duke's dragoons pursued them to the banks of the river, and took part of their bagage, with some prisoners. The enemy had no sooner pass'd the river, than they burnt the bridges, and, in all probability, would have done more mischief, if the duke had not come so suddenly to dislodge them.

The duke of Marlborough's expedition on the Mosel.

His grace being thus possessed of that important post, he summoned a great number of pioneers, to work on the fortifications of Triers. He went, the next day, to view the ground about Saar, and caused a camp to be mark'd at Consarbrück, on that river, for the horse to cover those that work'd on the fortifications of Triers, whither the cavalry march'd accordingly, the first of November, N. S. The same day, the duke made the repartition of the winter-quarters, to the several generals under him, and, in the afternoon, went towards Traerbach, accompanied by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and other generals. They lay, that night, at Fels, the next Day, at Nimeguen, and came to Bern-cassel, the third of November, about noon. His grace went immediately to the rising grounds, near Traerbach, to take a narrow view of the place, and re-view'd the Dutch, which were lately arrived, in the neighbourhood, from the Maese; and having given the necessary directions for the siege of Traerbach, the care of which was committed to the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, his grace set out, the next day, early, on his return to the camp at Crone-Weissemburg.

His grace came, that night to Kern, the next day to Kayserslauteren, and, the 6th, at night, to the camp before Landau, where he found the besiegers masters of the counterscarp, on which they had raised some batteries; and more being perfected, the next day, they had about sixty pieces of canon firing to make a breach. The 8th of November, the duke returned to Weissemburg, somewhat displeased with the slowness, with which the siege of Landau was carried on; and considering, that the French had sent all their horse of the houshold, from their camp at Haguenau, to put them into winter-quarters, his grace ordered

The duke returns to Landau.

And sends the English cavalry towards Holland.

(1) It may here very naturally be ask'd; why, after so compleat a victory, and the great consternation and confusion the remains of the enemy's army was thrown into, the confederate generals, upon their abandoning the places they had seiz'd, did not cut off their retreat towards, and over the Rhine again, and why they did not surround them in a country, where victory had now render'd the allies their masters and superiors: to this, it may be answered; that their troops were not only very much fatigued, but in want of several sorts of provisions; that they were very much embaras's'd with their great number of prisoners; and that they could not know what succors or re-inforcements the enemy might meet with in their march, in which, at least, they would find the marshal de Villeroy, with his little army. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 446.

(2) The duke of Marlborough's share amounted to 5678 men, and that of Prince Eugene to 5514 in all 11,192; besides 3000 Germans, of the regiments of Greder and Surlauben, who listed themselves voluntarily in the service of the allies. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 448.

(3) The Imperialists found in Ulm, 222 pieces of brass cannon, 12 iron guns, 25 brass-mortars, 1200 barrels of powder, with other stores and provisions, in great abundance: a seasonable supply for carrying on the siege of Landau. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 454.

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the Engliſh cavalry to march from Crone-Weiſſemburg towards Holland.

A Treaty concluded with the Electreſs of Bavaria.

The 10th of November, the treaty of accomodation, between the Emperor and the Electreſs of Bavaria, was concluded, by the King of the Romans, and the deputies of her Electoral highneſs, who was to ſurrender all the towns, in her Poſſeſſion, to his Imperial Majeſty, to continue at Munich, with a guard of 400 men, and to have a yearly penſion allowed her, out of the revenues of that Electorate, for the ſupport of her court and family. And this was one of the immediate conſequences of the ever-memorable victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim.

The duke of Marlborough ends his campain;

About the middle of November, the duke of Marlborough, being ſenſible, that the ſiege of Landau would not laſt much longer, took his leave of the King of the Romans, and the other generals, ordered the Engliſh foot to decamp, and march towards the Rhine, in order to be imbark'd for Holland; and having given the neceſſary directions for the winter-quarters, of the reſt of the forces, under his command, reſolved to crown his glorious campain, by an importatant negociation with the King of Pruſſia in favor of the duke of Savoy; In order to which, his grace ſet out from Weiſſemburg, on his Journey to Berlin, the 15th of November.

And goes to Berlin.

Landau ſurrender'd.

The 23d, the garriſon of Landau, be at a parly, and Hoſtages being exchanged, the King of the Romans granted the gariſon very honorable terms (1); in purſuance of which they delivered one of the gates, the 25th, and the 26th, marched out of the place, to the number of 3400 men, which were left out of 7000 of which the gariſon conſiſted, at the begining of the ſiege. The loſs of the beſiegers was leſs in proportion; for they had not above 2000 men killed, and about twice as many wounded.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at Berlin;

The duke of Marlborough arrived at Berlin, the twenty-ſecond of November, in the evening, having been received, in all the towns, thro' which he paſs'd, lying moſtly in the territories of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the duke of Wolfenbutel, the Elector of Hanover and the King of Pruſſia, with extraordinary marks of reſpect. The duke was ſucceſsful in his negociations at the court of Pruſſia, and, among other things, obtain'd, that 8000 Pruſſians ſhould march into Italy, to ſerve there, for the relief of the duke of Savoy, under the command of Prince Eugene; and with this reinforcement and other aſſiſtances procured him by the duke of Marlborough, his highneſs afterwards ſaved Italy from the ravages of the French, and relieved the duke of Savoy, who was beſieged in Turin.

Returns to Holland.

The duke returned from Berlin, by the way of Hanover, to Holland, and arrived the 10th of December, at Amſterdam. The 12th in the morning, his grace having received all poſſible marks of honor, at Amſterdam, ſet out for the Hague, being ſaluted with a triple diſcharge of all the canon, as he had been at his arrival, and with the like acclamations of Joy from the people.

The ſiege of Traerbach.

In the mean time, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was carrying on the ſiege of Traerbach, where the allies found as great reſiſtance, as they had met with at Landau, in proportion to the bigneſs of the place, and the number of the gariſon. The caſtle of Traerbach, a very ſtrong fortreſs, on the Moſel, was unveſted, by orders of the duke of Marlborough, the beginning of November, N. S. and the batteries began to play, the 18th of that month. Q. Ann, An. 1704.

The badneſs of the weather, and the loſs of the baron de Trogne, the chief engineer of the States who was ſhot by the Prince of Heſſe's ſide, giving the neceſſary orders, were great diſcouragements to his highneſs, to purſue the ſiege of Traerbach; nevertheleſs, that Prince cauſed the attacks to be carried on with vigor, and, at length, obliged the gariſon to ſurrender, the 20th of December, N. S. tho' on honourable conditions. Beſide the governor, who died of his wounds, the French loſt 350 men, out of 600 men, which was the number of the gariſon, before the ſiege. As for the allies, they had about 1000 men kill'd or wounded. Traerbach ſurrender'd.

The campain in Flanders.

The campain in Flanders produced this year very little. General d' Auverquerque bombarded Namur, in order to deſtroy the enemy's magazines there; and baron Spar, on the ſide of proper Flanders, bombarded Bruges. and took the fort Iſabella near Sluys. Towards the latter end of the year, the Elector of Bavaria arrived in the French army, with ſome remains of his defeat at Blenheim. That Prince like a puſhing gameſter, who attempts to regain all his loſſes, by ventring his laſt ſtake, had formed a deſign to attack general d'Auverquerque, in his camp at Borcholm, the 28th of October; but was prevented by the marſhal de Villeroy, who, when all other arguments could not prevail upon him to lay aſide his deſign, ſhewed him the French King's poſitive orders to the contrary, which was as a thunder bolt to his Electoral highneſs, who breath'd nothing but revenge: and, upon this mortification, he immediately left the army, and went to Bruſſels.

Affairs of Italy.

In Italy, the duke of Savoy had a melancholy campain, loſing place after place; but he ſupported his affairs, with great conduct, and ſhewed a firmneſs in his misfortunes beyond what could have been imagined. Verceil and Yvrea gave the duke de Vendôme the trouble of tedious ſieges; they ſtood their ground as long as poſſible. But the duke of Savoy's army was not ſtrong enough to raiſe thoſe ſieges, ſo both places, at length fell. The French, on their ſide, had not troops enough both to carry on the war and to leave gariſons in thoſe places; ſo they demoliſhed the fortifications; and, after they had ſucceeded ſo far, ſat down before Verue, at the end of October; which they did not take till after a ſiege of five months. The duke of Savoy poſted his army at Creſcentino, over againſt it, on the other ſide of the Po. He had a bridge of communication, and went often into the place, during the ſiege, to animate his troops, and give neceſſary orders. The ſick and wounded were carried away, and freſh men put in their ſtead. This ſiege proved very famous, the gariſon being often changed, and always well ſupplied. The French army ſuffered very much, by continuing the ſiege all the winter, and they were at a vaſt charge to carry it on. The bridge of communication was, at length, after many unſucceſsful attempts, cut off, and the duke of Savoy being thus ſeparated from the place, left it to it's own defenſe. He complained much of the Emperor's failing in his ingagements: but, in a diſcourſe on that ſuctject, with the Queen's envoy, he ſaid, "tho' he was abandoned by his allies, he "would not abandon himſelf (2).

(1) The King of the Romans (ſays biſhop Burnet) came before Laudau, to have the honor of taking the place. His behavior there did not ſerve to raiſe his charecter. He was not often in the place of danger, and was contented to look on, at a great and ſafe diſtance. He was always beſet with prieſts, and ſuch a face of ſuperſtition and bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damp'd the hopes which were given of him. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 386.

(2) The war in Hungary was in a great meaſure, the occaſion of the misfortunes in Italy. There was, indeed a negociation ſet on foot this ſummer, between the Emperor and the male-contents, the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters acting as mediators: but after a great deal of time ſpent in treaties, the war was renewed; and the troops the Emperor had promiſed to ſend to Italy, were ordered to re inforce the army in Hungary, and to act againſt the male-contents, whereby the whole burden of the Italian war, lay upon the Engliſh and Dutch.

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The campain in Portugal.

I have already given an account of King Charles's landing in Spain, with a body of Engliſh and Dutch forces, commanded by the duke of Schomberg, which were to act, in conjunction with the forces of Portugal, againſt Spain. It had been agreed, that the greateſt part of the Engliſh cavalry ſhould be provided with horſes in Spain; but when duke Schomberg came to demand them, in order to enter upon action, there appear'd to be a great deficiency, ſome accounts ſay, of at leaſt two thirds, and thoſe which were provided were too light, and not fit for ſervice. There was, likewiſe, another cauſe why little or no ſervice was done in theſe parts; I mean a miſunderſtanding between the generals in point of command. The King of Portugal expected the Engliſh general would be commanded by the governor of every province, where the army happened to be; and would not ſuffer the Engliſh and Dutch generals to command their own forces, or keep them in a body: but diſtributed them into his poor frontier-towns, which were not tenable; where ſeveral regiments were made priſoners by the French and Spaniards, who invaded Portugal with an army of 22,000 men. The Portugueſe general, the marquis das Minas, indeavored to give the Spaniards a diverſion by marching into Caſtille; but the duke of Berwick treated him with contempt, and having taken Caſtle-David, in a few days, made the gariſon priſoners of war, with which this inſignificant campain ended. The duke of Schomberg being weary of his command in theſe circumſtances, and the Portugueſe, on the other hand, thinking he aſſumed too much, he was recall'd, and the earl of Galway ſent thither in his place. I now return to England.

The States-general congratulate her Majeſty on the victory of Blenheim.

The 20th of Auguſt, O. S. monſ. Vryberg, envoy extraordinary from the States-general, deliver'd to her Majeſty, at Windſor, a leter from their High-mightineſſes, and, by expreſs order from his maſters, congratulated her Majeſty upon the late victory obtained, by the army of the allies, under the valiant and wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough. Q. Ann, An' 1704.

A public thanſgiving appointed.

The joyful news of the great victory obtained by her Majeſty's forces, and thoſe of her allies, had been brought over to England, ſome days before, firſt by colonel Park, and ſoon after by the lord Tunbridge, who both attended the duke of Marlborough, as his aids de camp, on that great day. Hereupon her Majeſty, being deeply ſenſible of this general bleſſing, "and moſt devoutly acknowledg-"ing the goodneſs of Almighty God, who "had afforded her his protection and aſſiſtance, "in the juſt war, in which ſhe was ingaged," appointed the 7th of September, to be obſerved throughout this kingdom, as a day of public thankſgiving.

Great rejoycings throughout all England, on that day.

As this victory was, in all its circumſtances, the moſt glorious and conſiderable that had been gained in many ages, the rejoycings in London and Weſtminſter were ſuitable to the great occaſion; and her Majeſty's ſubjects gave all the demonſtrations imaginable of their affection to her Majeſty's perſon, and zeal for her government. This feſtival was obſerved, in all the other parts of her Majeſty's dominions, if not with the ſame ſolemnity, yet with as great affection and loyalty; and both before that day, and many months after, her Majeſty's court was throng'd by deputies, from all the corporations and public ſocieties, in the three kingdoms, and in the remoteſt plantations, who waited on her Majeſty with congratulatory addreſſes, for the glorious ſucceſſes of her Majeſty's arms, under the wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough. Nor did the forein miniſters, in England, omit to compliment her Majeſty, on that great occaſion.

Numerous congratulatory addreſſes preſented to her Majeſty.

End of the Twenty-sixth BOOK.

BOOK XXVII.

Containing the ſecond part of the reign of Queen ANN.

The parliament meets.

THE 24th of October, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, and the Queen being come to the houſe of peers, and the houſe of commons attending, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The great and remarkable ſucceſs, with which "God has bleſſed our arms this ſummer, has "ſtir'd up our good ſubjects, in all parts of the "kingdom, to expreſs their unanimous joy and "ſatisfaction; and I aſſure myſelf, you are all "come diſpoſed to do every thing that is neceſſary "for the effectual proſecution of the war; no-"thing being more obvious, than that a timely im-"provement of our preſent advantages will inable "us to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for "England, and a firm ſupport for the liberty of "Europe. This is my aim; I have no intereſt, "nor never will have any, but to promote the good "and happineſs of all my ſubjects.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt deſire ſuch ſupplies of you, as may be "requiſite for carrying on the next year's ſervice, "both by ſea and land, and for punctually per-"forming our treaties with all our allies; the ra-"ther, for that ſome of them have juſt pretenſions "depending ever ſince the laſt war; and I need "not put you in mind of what importance it is "to preſerve the public credit, both abroad and "at home.

"I believe you will find ſome charges neceſſary "next year, which were not mentioned in the "laſt ſeſſion, and ſome extraordinary expences "incur'd ſince, which were not then provided "for.

"I aſſure you, that all the ſupplies you give, "with what I am able to ſpare from my own ex-"pences, ſhall be carefully applied to the beſt "advantage, for the public ſervice; and I earneſtly "recommend to you a ſpeedy diſpatch, as that "which, under the good providence of God, we muſt

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" chiefly depend upon, to diſappoint the earlieſt " deſigns of our enemies.

My lords and gentlemen;

" I cannot but tell you, how eſſential it is for " attaining thoſe great ends abroad, of which we " have ſo hopeful a proſpect, that we ſhould be in- " tirely united at home.

" It is plain, our enemies have no incourage- " ment left, but what ariſes from their hopes of our " diviſions. It is, therefore, your concern not " to give the leaſt countenance to thoſe hopes.

" My inclinations are to be kind and indulgent " to you all: I hope you will do nothing to in- " danger the loſs of this opportunity, which God " has put into our hands, of ſecuring ourſelves and " all Europe, and that there will be no contention " among you, but who ſhall moſt promote the " public welfare.

" Such a temper as this, in all your proceedings, " cannot fail of ſecuring your reputation both at " home and abroad.

" This would make me a happy Queen, whoſe " utmoſt indeavors ſhall never be wanting to make " you a happy and flouriſhing people."

Addreſs of the lords.

The next day, the lords attended her Majeſty with an addreſs of thanks for her ſpeeeh; declaring, " they would improve, to the utmoſt, " the bleſſed opportunity put into their hands; " and congratulated the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's " arms, under the conduct of the duke of Marl- " borough."

To this addreſs, her Majeſty returned the following anſwer:

The Queen's anſwer.

My lords,

" I am very ſenſible of the great duty and af- " fection which you have expreſs'd in the ſeveral " particulars of this addreſs.

" I return you my hearty thanks for your con- " gratulation of our great ſucceſs, and for the " aſſurances of your readineſs to concur in pro- " ſecuting it effectually".

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, likewiſe, preſented an addreſs to her Majeſty, the ſame day; in which they " congratulated her Majeſty, as well upon the " victory obtained over the united force of France " and Bavaria, by the arms of her Majeſty and " her allies, under the command, and by the " courage and conduct of the duke of Marl- " borough; as upon the victory obtained by her " Majeſty's fleet, under the command, and by " the courage and conduct of ſir George Rooke. " They aſſured her, they came diſpoſed to do " every thing that was neceſſary, for the effectual " proſecution of the war, and that they would " give ſuch a ſpeedy diſpatch to the public " buſineſs, as might inable her Majeſty to purſue " the advantages ſhe had obtained over the com- " mon enemy: that they would uſe their utmoſt " indeavors, by all proper meaſures, to prevent " all diviſions amongſt them; and they would " have no contention, but who ſhould promote " and eſtabliſh the public welfare, both in church " and ſtate (1)".

The Queen, in anſwer, " returned them many " thanks for this addreſs, and for the aſſurances " they gave her, of diſpatching the ſupplies, and " avoiding all diviſions, both which, as they were " exceeding acceptable to her, ſo they would be " advantageous to them, and beneficial to the " public.

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Soldiers and ſeamen rewarded.

The commons, having afterwards taken the ſervices of the army and navy into their conſideration, deſired the Queen, on the 2d of November, by an unanimous vote, to beſtow her bounty on the ſeamen and land-forces, who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly; and her Majeſty gave directions accordingly for diſtributing a bounty among them.

Great ſupplies granted.

The commons then went upon the ſupply with ſuch zeal and application, that, before the end of November, the ſums neceſſary for maintaining both the navy and the army were voted; which I ſhall, therefore, give the reader an account of, in one connexion: viz. " for maintaining 40,000 ſeamen, " including 8000 marines, 4 l. per man, per month, " for thirteen months, amounting to 280,000 l. For " the ordinary of the navy 100,000 l. and 40,000 l. " for ordnance-ſtores for the ſea-ſervice, over and " above the proportion of 4 l. per man. For " making a wharf and ſtorehouſe at Portſmouth, " 10,000 l. For 40,000 land-men, to act in con- " junction with the allies, 885,193 l. For 10,000 " additional forces, for the ſame ſervice, 177,511 l. " For maintaining 10,000 men, to act in con- " junction with the Portugueſe, 222,379 l. For " her Majeſty's proportion of ſubſidies to her " allies, 370,119 l. For her Majeſty's ſubſidy to " the duke of Savoy, from October 3, to Decem- " ber 25, 1703, 40,000 l. For levy-mony for " recruiting the horſes of the Engliſh horſe and " dragoons, loſt at Schellenberg and Blenheim, " 6725 l. For recruiting the men and horſes, of " the foreiners in her Majeſty's pay, in the ſame " battles, 24,665 l. For an additional regiment, " on the Portugueſe eſtabliſhment, 5136 l. For " ſurgeons in the hoſpital in Portugal, for the year " 1704, 244 l. For expences in the Portugueſe " war, laſt year, not provided for by parliament, " 68,546 l. For guards and gariſons in England, " 357,000 l. For the ordnance of the land-ſer- " vice, 120,000 l. For tranſports, 60,000 l. For " circulating Exchequer-bills, 4000 l. And for " 5000 additional forces, to be raiſed in conjunc- " tion with our allies, to ſerve with the fleet, for " their levy-mony, 11,244 l. For their pay, for " one year, 87,125 l. In all 4,670,486. l.

Ways and means.

Towards raiſing this large ſum they granted a land-tax of four-ſhillings in the pound, which produced about two millions; the duty upon malt, which might raiſe about 800,000 l. and 3700 l. per week, out of the exciſe: 877,930 l. by the ſale of annuities for ninety-nine years, at fifteen years purchaſe: a ſubſidy on wines and merchandizes for four years, as a fund for raiſing 646,957 l. for the uſe of the navy, and continued the duty on low wines.

The land-tax bill paſs'd.

There appeared, this ſeſſion, ſo general an inclination in both houſes, to give an early diſpatch to the mony-bill, that, the 9th of December, the land-tax-bill received the royal aſſent: on which occaſion, the Queen made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe, in particular, returned thanks to the houſe of commons, for " their early diſpatch of ſo " great a part of the neceſſary ſupplies, which ſhe " look'd upon to be a ſure pledge of their affections " for her ſervice."

The occaſional bill again rejected by the lords.

The occaſional conformity-bill was again brought early upon the carpet, this ſeſſion; and as it was expected, that the houſe of peers would again reject it, it was propoſed, by ſome members, to tack it

(1) The lords addreſs was univerſally applauded: but abundance of perſons were ſhock'd with that of the commons, particularly with their uſing the ſame terms, to commend the duke of Marlborough's victories, and the advantages gain'd by ſir George Rooke. It was alſo obſerved, that the promiſes the commons made to the Queen, of " uſing their utmoſt indeavors to " prevent all diviſions", was, in a manner, reſtrained, by the addition of " all proper methods", which many look'd upon as ominous. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann. p. 161.

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to the mony-bill: however, upon better conſideration, the commons ſent it up ſingly; and it met with the ſame fate the former had done (1).

The lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

At the ſame time the commons were upon this bill, the lords were taken up with an affair that made no leſs noiſe, I mean the lord Haverſham's ſpeech, which was uſher'd in with great pomp. His lordſhip having, the 20th of November, acquainted the peers, that he had matters of great importance to lay before them; but that he deſired it might be in a full houſe; all the lords in town, and in the neighborhood, were ſummon'd to attend three days afterwards, when he made that remarkable ſpeech to them. "His lordſhip's chief topics "were, the States withdrawing part of their quota "of men of war from the fleet in the Streights, "a little before the battle of Malaga; the loſs of "our ſhiping for want of convoys, and the ſuf- "fering the royal aſſent to be given to the Scotiſh "act of ſecurity. He congratulated the peers on "the duke of Marlborough's victory, and ſir "George Rook's deliverance, as he term'd it; "obſerving that a ſquadron of Dutch were call'd "away juſt before the battle of Malaga, to be "convoy to their merchants; while neither the "Engliſh trade or coaſts were protected; but the "enemy inſulted us, tho' we pretended to be maſters "at ſea, even in the channel. He alſo mention'd "the exportation of our coin, as a grievance; "but chiefly inveigh'd againſt the miniſtry, for "ſuffering the act of ſecurity to paſs in Scotland, "calling it a bill of excluſion: he obſerved there "were two occaſions of all troubles, much diſ- "content and great poverty; and both theſe were "to be found in Scotland: that their gentry were "brave but diſcontented; their common people "very ſtout, and very numerous, but very poor: "and what (ſaid he) may ſuch a multitude, ſo "armed and diſciplined, as the act of ſecurity "directs, with ſuch leaders, do; eſpecially when no "promiſes, no aſſiſtance would be wanting, which "France could give? concluding, that he look'd "upon it of the laſt conſequence to England, that "there ſhould be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence of "a neceſſity to keep up regular ſtanding troops, "in this kingdom, in time of peace.

Various effects of this ſpeech.

This ſpeech had a very various effect upon the lord; and, tho' it was pretty generally approved, as to that part which related to the Scotiſh affairs, yet the reflections it contain'd, on the preſent miniſtry, was diſtaſteful to many: ſome thought it derogatory to the duke of Marlborough's glory, that Prince Eugene was named in that ſpeech, before his grace, in the mention of an action, wherein he had acted but a ſecond part. It was, however, ſeconded by the earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham, and the firſt lamenting the ill conſequences of the exportation of the coin, the lord-treaſurer, who took it as, in ſome meaſure, a reflection on himſelf, ſaid: "It "would not be difficult to demonſtrate, that there "never was ſuch a plenty of mony in England, "as at preſent, yet there was a ſure way to increaſe "that plenty, and prevent the exportation of coin; "and that was by clapping up a peace with France: "but then (added he, very ſhrewdly) I leave it "to the conſideration of any wiſe man, whether "we will not thereby be ſhortly in danger of "loſing not only all our coin, but all our land to "boot?

Debates on the Scotiſh affairs.

The moſt material part of the lord Haverſham's ſpeech being the Scotiſh buſineſs, the 29th of November was appointed to take it under conſideration; on which day, the Queen went, the firſt time, to the houſe of peers incognito. In the courſe of the debate, the earl of Nottingham having reflected on the memory of King William, with relation to the treaty of partition, the lord Sommers roſe up and ſaid; "It was unbecoming a member "of that houſe, to ſully the memory of ſo great "a Prince; and he doubted not, but a man, who "could reflect on King William, before his ſuc- "ceſſor, would do the ſame by her preſent Majeſty "when ſhe was gone". As to the main buſineſs of the day, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter urged the ill conſequences of the act of ſecurity paſſed in Scotland; and it being anſwered, "that "it was granted to prevent the danger of a rebel- "lion in that kingdom;" it was replied; "that "if the Scots had rebell'd, they would have re- "bell'd without arms; whereas, if they had a "mind to rebel now, this act had legally ſup- "plied them with neceſſaries to ſupport their re- "bellion." The moſt moderate among the lords repreſented, that they ought rather now to apply a preſent remedy to the known evil, than to loſe time in inquiring, whether or no it might have been prevented: and after having ſpent ſeveral days on this affair, the grand committee of the peers came to theſe reſolutions: "that the beſt method to "prevent the inconveniencies, which might hap- "pen by the late acts paſs'd in Scotland, was by "making ſuch laws here, for that purpoſe; that "(2) the Queen being inabled, by act of parlia- "ment, on the part of England, to name com- "miſſioners to treat about an union with Scotland, "provided that theſe powers be not put in execu- "tion, 'till commiſſioners ſhould be named, on the "part of Scotland, by the parliament there. That "(3) Scotſmen ſhould not injoy the privileges "of Engliſhmen, except ſuch as are ſettled in this "kingdom, in Ireland, and the plantations, and "ſuch as are, and ſhall be, in our land and ſea "ſervice, until an union be had, or the ſucceſſion "ſettled as in England: (4) that the bringing of cattle "from Scotland into England be prevented. That "(5) the lord-admiral, or commiſſioners of the "admiralty, for the time being, be required to "give orders to her Majeſty's ſhips, to take ſuch "ſhips as they ſhall find trading from Scotland to "France, or to the ports of any of her Majeſty's "enemies, and that cruiſers be appointed for that "end: and (6) that the exportation of Engliſh "wool into Scotland be carefully hindered." Reſolutions of the peers thereupon.

Theſe reſolutions being approved by the houſe, the judges were ordered to reduce them into bills: one of which, for an intire union with Scotland, being read a third time, and paſs'd, the 20th of December, was ſent down to the commons for their concurrence.

Addreſs of the lords.

The 9th of December, the lords addreſs'd her Majeſty, "that ſhe would give orders for the for- "tifying Newcaſtle, Tinmouth, Berwick, Carliſle, "and Hull; that the militia of the four northern "counties might be diſciplined, and provided with "arms; that a competent number of regular troops "might be kept upon the northern borders of "England, and in the north of Ireland; and that "the laws for diſarming Papiſts might be put in "execution." To which addreſs, her Majeſty gave a favorable anſwer.

Reſolutions of the commons.

The houſe of commons, in the mean time, having, the 12th of the ſame month, conſidered, in a grand committee, the ſtate of the nation, with regard to Scotland, reſolved, the next day; "that

(1) Upon the queſtion whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time, it was carried in the negative by a majority of ſeventy-one voices againſt fifty.

(2) This was ſuggeſted by the lord Wharton: (3) this by the lord Hallifax; (4) this by the lord Ferrers: (5) this by the earl of Torrington: and (6) this by the lord Mohun. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 165.

"a bill

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" a bill be brought in for the effectual ſecuring the " kingdom of England, from the apparent dangers " that might ariſe from ſeveral acts lately paſs'd " in the parliament of Scotland:" and, the 11th of the inſuing month, mr. Conyers reported, from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was refered to conſider of heads for that bill, the reſolutions they had come to, which were as follows; 1. " that it be one head of the bill, to inable her " Majeſty to nominate and appoint commiſſioners " for England, for an union between the two " kingdoms; 2. that all natives of the kingdom " of Scotland, except ſuch as are ſettled, and ſhall " continue inhabitants of England, or the domi- " nions thereunto belonging, or at preſent in the ſer- " vice of the army and navy, ſhall be reputed as " aliens, unleſs the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scot- " land be ſettled on the Princeſs Sophia, of Han- " over, and the heirs of her body being Proteſtants; " 3. that a more effectual proviſion be made to " prevent the exportation of wool, from England " and Ireland, into Scotland; 4. that proviſion be " made to prevent the importation of Scotiſh linen " into England and Ireland, and to permit the ex- " portation of the linen manufactures of Ireland, " in Engliſh bottoms, into her Majeſty's planta- " tions in the Weſt-Indies; 5. that immediate " proviſion be made, to prevent the conveying of " horſes, arms and ammunition, from England or " Ireland, into Scotland; 6. that all Proteſtant " freeholders of the ſix northern counties of Eng- " land, be permited to furniſh themſelves with " arms." Theſe reſolutions, being twice read, were all agreed to, by the houſe, except the laſt, and they appointed a commitee, to prepare and bring in a bill accordingly: which having paſs'd the commons, met with a ready concurrence, in the houſe of lords, without any amendment; while their bill, for the ſame purpoſe, at the ſecond reading, in the houſe of commons, was ordered to ly on the table.

The duke of Marlborough concerts at the Hague the operations of the inſuing campain.

We left the duke of Marlborough, the 12th of December, juſt arrived at the Hague; he was immediately complimented by the deputies of the States-general, at his palace, where they gave him the thanks of that illuſtrious aſſembly, for his conduct, as well in the cabinet as in the camp, and had likewiſe, a long conference with him. All the forein miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, likewiſe, waited on the duke, and congratulated his ſafe return, after the labors and fatigues of his glorious campain; and many private perſons made illuminations, and other rejoycings on that occaſion. His grace having ſtay'd a few days at the Hague, to concert meaſures with the deputies of the States, for the operations of the next campain, imbark'd, in the Maeſe, the 22d of December, N. S. at night, on board one of her Majeſty's yachts, under convoy of ſeveral ſhips of war; bringing over with him, the marſhal de Tallard, with twenty-ſix other French priſoners, and the ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim, as trophies of his grace's victory. The 14th of December, O. S. the yacht, and men of war, entered the river of Thames, and the duke went privately, the ſame afternoon, to St. James's houſe, where he was received with all the marks of grace and favor, which could be ſhewn to the moſt deſerving ſubject, by her Majeſty, and his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark.

Returns to England with his priſoners, &c.

The lord-keeper's compliment to the duke.

The next day, the duke being come to the houſe of peers, ſir Nathan Wright, then lord-keeper, addreſs'd his grace, by orders of that auguſt aſſembly, with the following compliment:

My lord duke of Marlborough,

" The happy ſucceſs that hath attended her " Majeſty's armies, under your grace's command, " in Germany, the laſt campain, is ſo truly great, " ſo truly glorious, in all its circumſtances, that " few inſtances, in the hiſtory of former ages, can " equal, much leſs excel the luſtre of it.

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" Your grace has not overthrown young unſkilful " generals, and raw and undiſciplin'd troops; but " your grace has conquer'd the French and Bava- " rian armies; armies that were fully inſtructed in " all the arts of war; ſelect veteran troops, fluſh'd " with former victories, and commanded by generals " of great experience and bravery.

" The glorious victories your grace has obtained at " Schellenberg and Hochſtadt, are very great, very " illuſtrious, in themſelves; but they are greater " ſtill, in their conſequences, to her Majeſty and " her allies.

" The Emperor is thereby relieved; the Empire " itſelf freed from a dangerous enemy, in the very " bowels of it; the exorbitant power of France " is check'd; and, I hope, a happy ſtep made " towards reducing of that Monarch, within his " due bounds, and ſecuring the liberties of Europe.

" The honor of theſe glorious victories, great " as they are (under the immediate bleſſing of " Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, " owing to your grace's conduct and valor.

" This is the unanimous voice of England, and " all her Majeſty's allies.

My lord,

" This moſt honorable houſe is highly ſenſible " of the great and ſignal ſervices your grace has " done her Majeſty, this campain, and of the im- " mortal honor you have done the Engliſh nation; " and have commanded me to give you their " thanks for the ſame.

" And I do accordingly give your grace the " thanks of this houſe, for the great honor your " grace has done the nation, and for the great and " ſignal ſervices you have done her Majeſty, and " this kingdom, the laſt campain."

The duke of Marlborough's reply was:

My lords,

The duke's anſwer.

" I am extreamly ſenſible of the great honor " your lordſhips are pleaſed to do me; I muſt beg, " on this occaſion, to do right to all the officers " and ſoldiers I had the honor of having under " my command; next to the bleſſing of God, the " good ſucceſs of this campain is owing to their " extraordinary courage.

" I am very ſure, it will be a great ſatisfaction, " as well as incouragement to the whole army, to " find their ſervices ſo favorably accepted."

His grace receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

The ſame day, a commitee of the houſe of commons having waited upon his grace, to give him the thanks of the houſe, as well for the eminent ſervices he had performed to her Majeſty, and the kingdom, in the glorious victories which had been obtained under his command, as for his prudent negociations with ſeveral Princes and States; and to congratulate his arrival; " It is a great ſa- " tisfaction to me, ſaid the duke to them, to find " that my faithful indeavors, in diſcharging my " duty to the Queen, and to the public, are ſo " favorably accepted. I beg leave to take this " opportunity of doing juſtice to a great body of " officers and ſoldiers, who accompanied me in " this expedition, and all behaved themſelves with " the greateſt bravery imaginable: and, I am " ſure, this honor done us by the houſe of com- " mons, in taking ſo much notice of it, will give " a general ſatisfaction and incouragement to the " whole army."

His anſwer.

The French priſoners ſent to Nottingham and Litchfield.

The 16th of December, the marſhal de Tallard, with the reſt of the French priſoners, were landed at Blackwall; where they were magnificently entertain'd at dinner by mr. Johnſon, and then, in the afternoon, they ſet out, in a great number of coaches, for Barnet, in their way to Nottingham and Litchfield, where her Majeſty thought

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thought fit they ſhould reſide. They were accompanied by general Churchill, and attended by a detachment of the duke of Northumberland's royal regiment of horſe, who were alſo ordered to guard them, at large, at Nottingham and Litchfield, they being allowed all manner of freedom, not only in thoſe places, but ten miles round about them.

The lord Godolphin inſtall'd knight of the garter.

To conclude the tranſactions of this year, I have only farther to add, that Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high-treaſurer of England, was, the 30th, inſtall'd knight of the garter, at Windſor, having been elected into that moſt noble order ſome months before.

An' 1705.

The ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim put up in Weſtminſter-hall, &c.

The begining of this year, the cities of London and Weſtminſter were eye-witneſſes of a triumphant memorial of the battle and victory of Hochſtadt. Her Majeſty having been pleaſed to order, that the ſtandards and colors, taken in that famous battle, which were lately brought from beyond ſea, and lodged in the Tower, ſhould be put up in Weſtminſter-hall, a detachment of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, and horſe-grenadiers, and a battalion drawn out of both regiments of the foot-guards, marched, the 3d of January, early in the morning, to the Tower, to receive them, at which time the great guns were fired. From thence, they proceeded, in the following manner: firſt, the troop of horſe-grenadiers; then the detachment of the three troops of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, four and thirty of the gentlemen in the center carrying each a ſtandard taken from the enemy; the battalion of foot-guards cloſed the march; the pike-men, to the number of 128, who had left their pikes at the Tower, carrying each one of the enemy's colors, advanced. In this manner, they marched thro' the city, the Strand, and the Pall-mall, and paſs'd before her Majeſty's palace at St. James's; then thro' St. James's Meuſe, into the Park, where her Majeſty was pleas'd to ſee them paſs by, from the lord Fitzharding's lodgings, forty guns in the Park being twice fired, at the ſame time: thence they proceeded thro' the Horſe-guards, Kingſtreet, and the New-Palace-Yard, to Weſtminſter-Hall, where the ſaid ſtandards and colors were put up, to remain there as trophies of that ſignal victory. The 6th, the duke of Marlborough having been invited, by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen, to dine with them in the city, his grace, accompanied by the lord-treaſurer, the Prince of Heſſe and the duke of Somerſet, in one of her Majeſty's coaches, and followed by a great train of other coaches, in which were the forein miniſters, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, generals, and other officers, repaired to Goldſmith's-hall, where they were magnificently entertained.

The duke of Marlborough entertained by the city.

Vote of the commons in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

The 11th of the ſame month, being the day appointed by the commons for taking into conſideration the great ſervices that had been performed by the duke of Marlborough, the laſt ſummer, and to conſider of ſome means to perpetuate the memory of them, they came to this unanimous reſolution; "That an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, expreſſing the ſenſe "this houſe has of the glorious victories obtain'd "by the forces of her Majeſty, and her allies, "under the command of his grace the duke of "Marlborough, and humbly deſiring her Ma"jeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to "conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate "the memory of the great ſervices performed by "the ſaid duke."

Which addreſs being preſented to her Majeſty, by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

Gentlemen,

"I am very well pleas'd with your addreſs; "and I will take it into conſideration, as you de"ſire, and ſend you my thoughts upon it, in a "little time."

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The 17th, mr. chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the houſe; that he had a meſſage ſigned by her Majeſty; and he delivered it to mr. ſpeaker, who read the ſame to the houſe, which as follows:

Ann, R.

Her Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of commons on that account.

"Her Majeſty having taken into her conſi"deration the addreſs of this houſe, relating to the "great ſervices perform'd by the duke of Marlbo"rough, does incline to grant the intereſt of the "crown, in the honor and manor of Woodſtock, "and hundred of Wootton, to him and his heirs; "and deſires the aſſiſtance of this houſe, upon "this extraordinary occaſion.

"The lieutenancy and rangerſhips of the parks, "with the rents and profits of the manor and "hundreds, being granted for two lives, her Ma"jeſty thinks it proper that incumbrance ſhould "be cleared."

Reſolutions thereupon.

Upon which, the houſe reſolv'd, "that a bill "be brought in, to inable her Majeſty to grant "the honor and manor of Woodſtock, and hun"dred of Wootton, to the duke of Marlbo"rough, and his heirs."

And it was farther reſolv'd, "That an hum"ble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, that "ſhe would be graciouſly pleas'd to advance the "mony, for clearing the preſent incumbrance upon "the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, "rents and profits of the honor and manor of "Woodſtock, and hundred of Wootton, in or"der to the preſent ſettlement thereof, upon the "duke of Marlborough, and his heirs."

An act of parliament paſs'd in his grace's favor.

The ſaid bill paſs'd both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the 14th of March: and the preamble to that act ſhews the ſenſe the parliament had of the great ſervices perform'd by the duke.

By this act, the honor and manor of Woodſtock, with the hundred of Wootton, were veſted in his grace, and his heirs, "rendring to the "Queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, on the 2d day "of Auguſt, in every year, for ever, at the caſtle "of Windſor, one ſtandard or colors, with three "flower de luces painted thereon, for all manner "of rent, ſervices, &c."

Blenheim-houſe ordered to be built.

The beneficent Queen, likewiſe, ordered the comptroler of her works to build, in Woodſtock park, a moſt ſtately palace or caſtle, to be call'd Blenheim-houſe: and about the ſame time, her Majeſty alſo appointed the duke of Marlborough, colonel of her firſt regiment of foot-guards.

Several promotions in the navy.

The begining of this year, ſeveral advancements happened in the navy; ſir George Rooke being publicly ſet aſide, his royal highneſs appointed ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, admiral of the white ſquadron of her Majeſty's fleet, to be rear-admiral of England; and not many days afterwards, to be admiral and commmander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; ſir John Leake to be vice-admiral of the white; ſir George Bing, vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetſtone, eſq; rear-admiral of the white; and ſir John Jennings, rear admiral of the blue, in the room of ſir James Wiſhart, who had laid down his commiſſion. About this time, likewiſe, James lord Durſley, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Berkley, was likewiſe call'd by writ to the houſe of peers. But to return to the parliament.

Acts paſs'd.

The 16th of January, the Queen gave the royal aſſent, to "an act for raiſing monies by

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" a bill be brought in for the effectual ſecuring the " kingdom of England, from the apparent dangers " that might ariſe from ſeveral acts lately paſs'd " in the parliament of Scotland:" and, the 11th of the inſuing month, mr. Conyers reported, from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was refered to conſider of heads for that bill, the reſolutions they had come to, which were as follows; 1. " that it be one head of the bill, to inable her " Majeſty to nominate and appoint commiſſioners " for England, for an union between the two " kingdoms; 2. that all natives of the kingdom " of Scotland, except ſuch as are ſettled, and ſhall " continue inhabitants of England, or the domi- " nions thereunto belonging, or at preſent in the ſer- " vice of the army and navy, ſhall be reputed as " aliens, unleſs the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scot- " land be ſettled on the Princeſs Sophia, of Han- " over, and the heirs of her body being Proteſtants; " 3. that a more effectual proviſion be made to " prevent the exportation of wool, from England " and Ireland, into Scotland; 4. that proviſion be " made to prevent the importation of Scotiſh linen " into England and Ireland, and to permit the ex- " portation of the linen manufactures of Ireland, " in Engliſh bottoms, into her Majeſty's planta- " tions in the Weſt-Indies; 5. that immediate " proviſion be made, to prevent the conveying of " horſes, arms and ammunition, from England or " Ireland, into Scotland; 6. that all Proteſtant " freeholders of the ſix northern counties of Eng- " land, be permited to furniſh themſelves with " arms." Theſe reſolutions, being twice read, were all agreed to, by the houſe, except the laſt, and they appointed a commitee, to prepare and bring in a bill accordingly: which having paſs'd the commons, met with a ready concurrence, in the houſe of lords, without any amendment; while their bill, for the ſame purpoſe, at the ſecond reading, in the houſe of commons, was ordered to ly on the table.

The duke of Marlborough concerts at the Hague the operations of the inſuing campain.

We left the duke of Marlborough, the 12th of December, juſt arrived at the Hague; he was immediately complimented by the deputies of the States-general, at his palace, where they gave him the thanks of that illuſtrious aſſembly, for his conduct, as well in the cabinet as in the camp, and had likewiſe, a long conference with him. All the forein miniſters, and other perſons of diſtinction, likewiſe, waited on the duke, and congratulated his ſafe return, after the labors and fatigues of his glorious campain; and many private perſons made illuminations, and other rejoycings on that occaſion. His grace having ſtay'd a few days at the Hague, to concert meaſures with the deputies of the States, for the operations of the next campain, imbark'd, in the Maeſe, the 22d of December, N. S. at night, on board one of her Majeſty's yachts, under convoy of ſeveral ſhips of war; bringing over with him, the marſhal de Tallard, with twenty-ſix other French priſoners, and the ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim, as trophies of his grace's victory. The 14th of December, O. S. the yacht, and men of war, entered the river of Thames, and the duke went privately, the ſame afternoon, to St. James's houſe, where he was received with all the marks of grace and favor, which could be ſhewn to the moſt deſerving ſubject, by her Majeſty, and his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark.

Returns to England with his priſoners, &c.

The lord-keeper's compliment to the duke.

The next day, the duke being come to the houſe of peers, ſir Nathan Wright, then lord-keeper, addreſs'd his grace, by orders of that auguſt aſſembly, with the following compliment:

My lord duke of Marlborough,

" The happy ſucceſs that hath attended her " Majeſty's armies, under your grace's command, " in Germany, the laſt campain, is ſo truly great, " ſo truly glorious, in all its circumſtances, that " few inſtances, in the hiſtory of former ages, can " equal, much leſs excel the luſtre of it.

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" Your grace has not overthrown young unſkilful " generals, and raw and undiſciplin'd troops; but " your grace has conquer'd the French and Bava- " rian armies; armies that were fully inſtructed in " all the arts of war; ſelect veteran troops, fluſh'd " with former victories, and commanded by generals " of great experience and bravery.

" The glorious victories your grace has obtained at " Schellenberg and Hochſtadt, are very great, very " illuſtrious, in themſelves; but they are greater " ſtill, in their conſequences, to her Majeſty and " her allies.

" The Emperor is thereby relieved; the Empire " itſelf freed from a dangerous enemy, in the very " bowels of it; the exorbitant power of France " is check'd; and, I hope, a happy ſtep made " towards reducing of that Monarch, within his " due bounds, and ſecuring the liberties of Europe.

" The honor of theſe glorious victories, great " as they are (under the immediate bleſſing of " Almighty God) is chiefly, if not alone, " owing to your grace's conduct and valor.

" This is the unanimous voice of England, and " all her Majeſty's allies.

My lord,

" This moſt honorable houſe is highly ſenſible " of the great and ſignal ſervices your grace has " done her Majeſty, this campain, and of the im- " mortal honor you have done the Engliſh nation; " and have commanded me to give you their " thanks for the ſame.

" And I do accordingly give your grace the " thanks of this houſe, for the great honor your " grace has done the nation, and for the great and " ſignal ſervices you have done her Majeſty, and " this kingdom, the laſt campain.

The duke of Marlborough's reply was:

My lords,

The duke's anſwer.

" I am extreamly ſenſible of the great honor " your lordſhips are pleaſed to do me; I muſt beg, " on this occaſion, to do right to all the officers " and ſoldiers I had the honor of having under " my command; next to the bleſſing of God, the " good ſucceſs of this campain is owing to their " extraordinary courage.

" I am very ſure, it will be a great ſatisfaction, " as well as incouragement to the whole army, to " find their ſervices ſo favorably accepted."

His grace receives the thanks of the houſe of commons.

The ſame day, a commitee of the houſe of commons having waited upon his grace, to give him the thanks of the houſe, as well for the eminent ſervices he had performed to her Majeſty, and the kingdom, in the glorious victories which had been obtained under his command, as for his prudent negociations with ſeveral Princes and States; and to congratulate his arrival; His anſwer. " It is a great ſa- " tisfaction to me, ſaid the duke to them, to find " that my faithful indeavors, in diſcharging my " duty to the Queen, and to the public, are ſo " favorably accepted. I beg leave to take this " opportunity of doing juſtice to a great body of " officers and ſoldiers, who accompanied me in " this expedition, and all behaved themſelves with " the greateſt bravery imaginable: and, I am " ſure, this honor done us by the houſe of com- " mons, in taking ſo much notice of it, will give " a general ſatisfaction and incouragement to the " whole army."

The French priſoners ſent to Nottingham and Litchfield.

The 16th of December, the marſhal de Tallard, with the reſt of the French priſoners, were landed at Blackwall; where they were magnificently entertain'd at dinner by mr. Johnſon, and then, in the afternoon, they ſet out, in a great number of coaches, for Barnet, in their way to Nottingham and Litchfield, where her Majeſty thought

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thought fit they ſhould reſide. They were accompanied by general Churchill, and attended by a detachment of the duke of Northumberland's royal regiment of horſe, who were alſo ordered to guard them, at large, at Nottingham and Litchfield, they being allowed all manner of freedom, not only in thoſe places, but ten miles round about them.

The lord Godolphin inſtall'd knight of the garter.

To conclude the tranſactions of this year, I have only farther to add, that Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high-treaſurer of England, was, the 30th, inſtall'd knight of the garter, at Windſor, having been elected into that moſt noble order ſome months before.

An' 1705.

The ſtandards and colors taken at Blenheim put up in Weſtminſter-hall, &c.

The begining of this year, the cities of London and Weſtminſter were eye-witneſſes of a triumphant memorial of the battle and victory of Hochſtadt. Her Majeſty having been pleaſed to order, that the ſtandards and colors, taken in that famous battle, which were lately brought from beyond ſea, and lodged in the Tower, ſhould be put up in Weſtminſter-hall, a detachment of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, and horſe-grenadiers, and a battalion drawn out of both regiments of the foot-guards, marched, the 3d of January, early in the morning, to the Tower, to receive them, at which time the great guns were fired. From thence, they proceeded, in the following manner: firſt, the troop of horſe-grenadiers; then the detachment of the three troops of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, four and thirty of the gentlemen in the center carrying each a ſtandard taken from the enemy; the battalion of foot-guards cloſed the march; the pike-men, to the number of 128, who had left their pikes at the Tower, carrying each one of the enemy's colors, advanced. In this manner, they marched thro' the city, the Strand, and the Pall-mall, and paſs'd before her Majeſty's palace at St. James's; then thro' St. James's Meuſe, into the Park, where her Majeſty was pleas'd to ſee them paſs by, from the lord Fitzharding's lodgings, forty guns in the Park being twice fired, at the ſame time: thence they proceeded thro' the Horſe-guards, Kingſtreet, and the New-Palace-Yard, to Weſtminſter-Hall, where the ſaid ſtandards and colors were put up, to remain there as trophies of that ſignal victory. The 6th, the duke of Marlborough having been invited, by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen, to dine with them in the city, his grace, accompanied by the lord-treaſurer, the Prince of Heſſe and the duke of Somerſet, in one of her Majeſty's coaches, and followed by a great train of other coaches, in which were the forein miniſters, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, generals, and other officers, repaired to Goldſmith's-hall, where they were magnificently entertained.

The duke of Marlborough entertained by the city.

Vote of the commons in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

The 11th of the ſame month, being the day appointed by the commons for taking into conſideration the great ſervices that had been performed by the duke of Marlborough, the laſt ſummer, and to conſider of ſome means to perpetuate the memory of them, they came to this unanimous reſolution; "That an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, expreſſing the ſenſe "this houſe has of the glorious victories obtain'd "by the forces of her Majeſty, and her allies, "under the command of his grace the duke of "Marlborough, and humbly deſiring her Majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to "conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate "the memory of the great ſervices performed by "the ſaid duke."

Which addreſs being preſented to her Majeſty, by the whole houſe, her Majeſty was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

Gentlemen,

"I am very well pleas'd with your addreſs; "and I will take it into conſideration, as you de- "ſire, and ſend you my thoughts upon it, in a "little time."

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The 17th, mr. chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the houſe; that he had a meſſage ſigned by her Majeſty; and he delivered it to mr. ſpeaker, who read the ſame to the houſe, which as follows:

Ann, R.

Her Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe of commons on that account.

"Her Majeſty having taken into her conſi- "deration the addreſs of this houſe, relating to the "great ſervices perform'd by the duke of Marlbo- "rough, does incline to grant the intereſt of the "crown, in the honor and manor of Woodſtock, "and hundred of Wootton, to him and his heirs; "and deſires the aſſiſtance of this houſe, upon "this extraordinary occaſion.

"The lieutenancy and rangerſhips of the parks, "with the rents and profits of the manor and "hundreds, being granted for two lives, her Ma- "jeſty thinks it proper that incumbrance ſhould "be cleared."

Reſolutions thereupon.

Upon which, the houſe reſolv'd, "that a bill "be brought in, to inable her Majeſty to grant "the honor and manor of Woodſtock, and hun- "dred of Wootton, to the duke of Marlbo- "rough, and his heirs."

And it was farther reſolv'd, "That an hum- "ble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, that "ſhe would be graciouſly pleas'd to advance the "mony, for clearing the preſent incumbrance upon "the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, "rents and profits of the honor and manor of "Woodſtock, and hundred of Wootton, in or- "der to the preſent ſettlement thereof, upon the "duke of Marlborough, and his heirs."

An act of parliament paſs'd in his grace's favor.

The ſaid bill paſs'd both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the 14th of March: and the preamble to that act ſhews the ſenſe the parliament had of the great ſervices perform'd by the duke.

By this act, the honor and manor of Woodſtock, with the hundred of Wootton, were veſted in his grace, and his heirs, "rendring to the "Queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, on the 2d day "of Auguſt, in every year, for ever, at the caſtle "of Windſor, one ſtandard or colors, with three "flower de luces painted thereon, for all manner "of rent, ſervices, &c."

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" ſale of annuities, and to an act for continuing " the duties on malt.

Addreſs of the commons.

The 8th of February, the houſe of commons took into conſideration, the treaty lately concluded by the duke of Marlborough, and unanimouſly reſolved: " that an humble addreſs be preſented to " the Queen, returning the thanks of this houſe " to her Majeſty, for concluding the late treaty " with the King of Pruſſia, which was ſo ſeaſon- " able a ſupport to the duke of Savoy, and ſo " great an advantage to the common cauſe: and " alſo to aſſure her Majeſty, that her faithful " commons would effectually inable her to make " good the ſaid treaty with the King of Pruſſia, " who, upon ſo many occaſions, had ſignalized " his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the " liberty of Europe".

The Queen's anſwer.

The next day, mr. ſecretary Hedges acquainted the houſe, " that her Majeſty returned them many " thanks, for the aſſurances they gave her, in " their addreſs, and was very well pleaſed to find " they had ſo juſt a ſenſe of the King of Pruſſia's " zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberty " of Europe".

Another addreſs.

The 26th, mr. ſpeaker reported, that the houſe had attended her Majeſty, with their addreſs; " that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to uſe her " intereſt with her allies, that they might, the " next year, furniſh their ſeveral compleat " quotas, both by ſea and land, according to their " reſpective treaties, and to continue her indea- " vors for an accommodation, between the Em- " peror and his ſubjects, now in arms in Hungary, " in order to the better and more effectual carrying " on the preſent moſt neceſſary war:" and that her Majeſty was pleaſed to give her anſwer:

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" That ſhe would continue to uſe her utmoſt in- " deavors to obtain a compliance from the allies, " with what was deſired in the commons addreſs: " and as to the accommodation with the male- " contents in Hungary; that ſhe had made appli- " cation to the Emperor, ſeveral times, upon that " point, and ſhould continue to preſs him in it, " with all the earneſtneſs imaginable.

The affair of the Aileſbury-men revived.

The right of an elector to bring his action againſt the return-officer, for refuſing his vote, came again under debate, this ſeſſion: ſome of the inhabitants of Aileſbury, incouraged by the countenance the peers had given Aſhby to ſue White, and the reſt of the conſtables of Aileſbury, for refuſing his vote, ventured alſo to bring their ſeveral actions againſt the ſaid conſtables: upon which the commons reſolved; " that John Paty, John " Oviat, John Paton, Henry Baſs, and Daniel " Horn, of Aileſbury, had been guilty of com- " mencing and proſecuting an action, at common- " law, againſt William White, and others, late " conſtables of Aileſbury, for not allowing their " votes, in the election of members to ſerve in " parliament, contrary to the declaration of the " commons, in high contempt of the juriſdiction, " and in breach of the known privileges of that " houſe". At the ſame time, they ordered the five Aileſbury men to be commited to Newgate; which being done, accordingly, they moved for an Habeas Corpus in the court of King's-bench, but were remanded to the ſame priſon, by that court, and their counſel, ſolicitors, &c. voted guilty of a breach of privilege, by the commons, and taken into cuſtody of the ſearjeant at arms. Two of theſe Aileſbury-men were afterwards about to bring their writs of error, returnable in parliament, which occaſioned great animoſities between the two houſes, and ſeveral repreſentations to her Majeſty; the lords addreſſing, that the writs of error, in this caſe, might be granted, and the commons inſiſting that they might not.

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Subſtance of the debate.

The principal matter in diſpute was: " whether " an elector's vote being refuſed, by the proper " officer impower'd to take the poll, he might " bring his action at law againſt ſuch officer? or " whether ſuch elector's right to vote could be " determined any where but in the houſe of " commons"? The lords held, that every elector had a right to vote, by virtue of his freehold or freedom, and that matters of freehold, &c. were determinable by the courts of law; and that if the commons only could judge of the right of their electors, they would, in effect, chuſe their electors, and might exclude as many freeholders and freemen, from voting in elections, as they ſaw fit. The commons, on the other hand, inſiſted, that they had ever been held the ſole judges of the elections of their own members, and that, by an act of the 7th of William III, the laſt determination of the houſe of commons, as to the right of their electors, is made concluſive; and any return, contrary thereto, is therein declared to be a falſe return: that the two houſes of parliament are independent of one another, and ſole judges of their own rights and privileges: but if the right of electors might be determined in the courts of law, from whence cauſes are removed by writ of error, into the houſe of lords, then the lords would become judges of the right of electors to chuſe, and conſequently who were duly elected members of the houſe of commons; whereby the commons would loſe their independency, and become ſubject to the lords, as to their very being: for tho' they allowed the commons to determine the right of the members to ſit in the houſe; yet if the lords could, notwithſtanding, upon a writ of error, give damages againſt the return-officer, for not allowing the vote of a perſon, whom they adjudged to have a right, this muſt neceſſarily have ſuch an influence upon the officer, as to induce him to return ſuch perſons, as would be moſt acceptable to their lordſhips, and conſequently their lordſhips might, in time, chuſe the houſe of commons themſelves. And farther, ſhould the houſe of commons determine the right of election to be in one, and the courts of law, or their lordſhips, adjudge it to be in another, this would produce contradictory judgments, and muſt create confuſion. There is, indeed, nothing of human inſtitution, but is liable to ſome objection, and it was poſſible the commons might err in their determinations: but they thought the rights and privileges of the commons of England much ſafer in the hands of their own repreſentatives, than if they were but tenants at will to the houſe of lords.

Addreſs of the lords.

The concluſion of this matter was, that her Majeſty, upon their lordſhips addreſſing her, not to put a ſtop to the iſſuing writs of error, in this caſe, returned the following anſwer:

My lords,

The Queen's anſwer.

" I ſhould have granted the writ of error de- " ſired in your addreſs, but finding an abſolute " neceſſity of puting an immediate end to this " ſeſſion, I am ſenſible there could have been no " farther proceeding in this matter.

This anſwer being reported to the houſe of peers, their lordſhips order'd; " That the hum- " ble thanks of their houſe be preſented to her " Majeſty for her moſt gracious anſwer, in which " ſhe had expreſs'd ſo great a regard to the judg- " ment of their houſe, ſo much compaſſion to the " petitioners, and ſuch tenderneſs to the rights of " the ſubject".

The 14th of March, being the very day their lordſhips preſented their repreſentation and addreſs, the Queen came to that houſe, with the uſual ſtate, and, the houſe of commons being, likewiſe, attending, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My

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Her Majesty's speech to both houses.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot put an end to this session, without "doing you the justice to acknowledge, you have "fully made good the assurances you gave me at "the begining of it, by the great readiness you "have shewn in the dispatch of the public busi- "ness; and I make no doubt, but this dispatch "will prove a real advantage to us, and a great "discouragement to our enemies".

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks, in particular, "for the great supplies, with which you have "inabled me to carry on this necessary war. I "assure you, they shall be carefully applied to the "uses for which they have been given, and, I "persuade myself, I shall always have the chear- "ful assistance of my dutiful and loving subjects, "in the prosecution of the present war, till our "enemies are obliged to such a peace, as shall be "a lasting advantage and security to us and our "allies".

My lords and gentlemen,

"We have, by the blessing of God, a fair "prospect of this great and desirable end, if we "do not disappoint it, by our own unreasonable "humor and animosity; the fatal effects of which "we have so narrowly escaped in this session, that "it ought to be a sufficient warning against all "dangerous experiments for the future.

"I conclude, therefore, with exhorting you all "to peace and union, which are always com- "mendable; but more particularly necessary at "this time, when the whole kingdom being shortly "to proceed to new elections, it ought to be the "care of every body, especially of such as are in "public stations, to carry themselves with the "greatest moderation and prudence. Nothing "will contribute more to our reputation abroad, "and our security at home."

The parliament prorogued.

And then the lord-keeper, by her Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the first of May next insuing.

Acts pass'd.

Beside the acts already mentioned, the following bills received the royal assent, this session; viz. 1. "An act to permit the exportation of Irish "linen to the plantations, and to prohibit the "importation of Scotish linen into Ireland. 2. An "act for giving the like remedy on promissory "notes, as upon bills of exchange. 3. An act for "the relief of the creditors of Thomas Pitkin, a "bankrupt, and for the apprehending of him, "and the discovery of the effects of the said "Thomas Pitkin, and his accomplices (1). 4. An "act to incourage the importation of naval "stores from the plantations. 5. An act to pro- "hibit all trade and commerce with France. 6. An "act to prevent all correspondence with her Ma- "jesty's enemies (2). 7. An act for the better "recruiting her Majesty's land forces, and the "marines for the year 1705. 8. An act for punish- "ing mutiny and desertion, and false musters, and "for the better payment of the army and quarters. "9. An act for raising the militia for the year "1705, altho' the month's pay formerly advanc'd "be not repaid" (3). Q. Ann, An' 1705.

The Dutch permited to trade with France.

I come now to sundry domestic occurences out of parliament: and I shall first take notice, that notwithstanding the several addresses and representations, which had been made to the throne, by both houses of parliament, against the Dutch, for trading with France during the war; that cunning people so insinuated themselves into the good graces of the ministry, at this time, that they obtained an order of council, seting forth, that the Queen, being about to open a trade with Spain, the ships of the States, that had proper passes, should not be molested by the commanders of her Majesty's ships, in their trade with France (4).

Creations and promotions at court.

About this time, likewise, several creations and promotions happened at court: the duke of Newcastle was made lord-privy-seal, in the room of the duke of Buckingham; Charles, earl of Peterborough, and Hugh, lord Cholmondly, were sworn of the privy-council; the earl of Mountague was created duke of Mountague; the lord Cutts was made commander of her Majesty's forces in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond; dr. Wake (now archbishop of Canterbury) was named bishop of Lincoln, in the room of dr. Gardiner deceas'd; and dr. Bull, bishop of St. David, in the room of dr. Watson, who was deprived for simony, &c. Several promotions happened likewise in the army, where the brigadiers Frederick Hamilton, esq; the lord Windsor, the lord Raby, and ——— Tidcombe, esq; were made major-generals, and the honorable colonel Mordaunt, colonel Blood, and colonel Stanhope were made brigadiers. There were also several alterations made in the lieutenancy: and, not long after, the Queen created Ralph earl of Mountague, marquis of Mount-hermer, and duke of Mountague.

A new parliament chosen.

The term for the existence of the present parliament, according to the triennial act, being near expiring, a proclamation was issued, the 5th of

(1) This man broke for 100,000 l, and fled to Holland with great part of the spoils of his creditors; but was apprehended there, by the duke of Marlborough's interest, and brought back to England.

(2) By this act, whoever went to France, after the 4th of May, in the first year of the Queen; or had born arms in the French service, and returned into the Queen's dominions, after the 25th of March 1705, without license, was declared guilty of high-treason.

(3) There were several important bills lost this session, in both houses, as (1) "A bill for excluding out of the house of "commons all persons in any offices or imployments, erected since the 6th day of February, 1682, or to be erected," which met with a quick passage thro' the house of commons, but the lords making some amendments to it, which the commons disagreed to, it was thereby lost. (2) "A bill to prevent persons, who were intitled by their offices to receive "any benefit by public annual taxes to be granted, from being members of parliament, while they are in such offices:" this bill was set on foot in the house of commons; but tho' a clause of modification was admited, it was rejected, at a third reading in that house. (3) "A bill for qualification of justices of peace," which pass'd the commons, but was refused a concurrence by the lords. (4) "A bill for the farther preventing the growth of Popery;" which pass'd the house of lords; but being sent down to the commons for their concurrence, they made such amendments to it, as came little short of the "bill for "preventing occasional conformity:" which being like to occasion new disputes between both houses, they were prevented by her Majesty's puting an end to the session. Beside these bills, an address of the house of lords, of the effect of which great hopes were conceived, likewise miscarried, I mean their address about sundry mismanagements in the admiralty and navy: this address being too long to find place here, I can only take notice, that it concerned the extraordinary expence of the navy, for the three foregoing years; the navy debts; the funds appropriated for that service, and the sums issued from the treasury on that account; with several observations thereupon, as well as upon the number of men allowed by parliament, and those imployed: the unnecessary increase of some pensions, and misapplication of others; the continuance of admiral Graydon in service, notwithstanding the former resolutions and address of that house; the number of flag-officers imployed of which some had done no duty; the negligence of convoys, &c. But this being looked upon as reflecting on the supineness of the Prince of Denmark, her Majesty only answered; "That it contained many observations, which she would con- "sider particularly, and give such directions upon them, as might be most for the advantage of the public service."

(4) This seem'd to be the more extraordinary, as it followed immediately after a session of parliament, in which an act pass'd, to prohibit all trade and commerce, between England and France; and the motive alleg'd for it appeared as strange; since the English could not be indulged in any trade with Spain, to which the Dutch had not an equal right.

April,

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April, for diſſolving it; and, on the 23d, another was publiſhed for calling a new one; the writs being to bear teſte the 2d of May, and returnable the 14th of June next inſuing: and the elections were viſibly obſerved to go in favor of the Whigs.

The Queen goes to Newmarket.

The Queen, in the mean time, went to Newmarket, where ſhe was attended by dr. Ellis, vice-chancelor of Cambridge, and the heads of that univerſity, who gave her Majeſty an invitation thither, which ſhe was pleaſed to accept of. The 16th of April, ſhe was magnificently entertained in Trinity college, at the expence of the univerſity; and, the 21ſt, returned from Newmarket to St. James's.

Death of Emperor Leopold;

Emperor Leopold V dying at Vienna the 5th of May, count Gallas, the Imperial envoy extraordinary, being admited to a private audience, notified to the Queen, as well the death of this Prince,

And acceſſion of Emperor Joſeph.

as the acceſſion of his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, King of the Romans, to the Imperial throne; and he, at the ſame time, aſſured her Majeſty, that the new Emperor would not only obſerve all the treaties concluded with his predeceſſor; but would omit nothing that might render thoſe alliances more firm. It was hereupon debated, in council, whether the Queen and the court ſhould go into mourning for the late Emperor? which (tho' at firſt the majority of the board gave their opinions for the negative) was reſolv'd upon (1). Soon after, the earl of Sunderland was ſent envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Vienna, to make the compliments of condolance and congratulation to the Imperial court, and to indeavor, at the ſame time, to mediate an accommodation with the Hungarian male-contents: about the ſame time, the Queen advanced the lord Raby, her envoy extraordinary to the King of Pruſſia, to the character of embaſſador extraordinary to that court.

Affairs of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland met, the 28th of June, and the duke of Argyle being appointed high commiſſioner, his commiſſion was recorded; as was, likewiſe, thoſe of James earl of Seafield, to be lord chancelor; William marquis of Annandale, and Hugh earl of Loudon, to be ſecretaries of ſtate; of David, earl of Glaſgow, to be lord-treaſurer depute; of ſir Charles Murray, to be clerk-regiſter, and of Adam Cockburn to be lord-juſtice-clerk: the duke of Queenſberry had, however, all this while, the chief management of affairs, tho' with the bare title of lord-privy-ſeal. Their commiſſions being read, and the houſe being then thin, the parliament was adjourned to the 3d of July, when her Majeſty's letter was read, in which "ſhe again earneſtly recommended the ſettling the ſucceſſion of that kingdom in the Proteſtant line, and the paſſing ſuch an act for treating of an union between the two kingdoms as had paſs'd in England. She alſo put them in mind of granting the neceſſary ſupplies for their forces, gariſons and magazines; and told them ſhe had appointed the duke of Argyle her commiſſioner; being aſſured of his capacity and zeal for her ſervice; and hoped he would be no leſs acceptable to them: that ſhe had impower'd him to declare her firm reſolutions, to maintain the government in church and ſtate, and to conſent to ſuch farther laws, as might be neceſſary for that end; as alſo for the advancement of piety, improving their manufactures, &c. in all which they ſhould have her chearful concurrence."

Her Majeſty's letter being read, the lord-commiſſioner and the lord-chancelor made each of them a ſpeech to inforce it. The two grand affairs, which chiefly imployed the time of this ſeſſion of parliament, were the ſettling of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and the treaty with England. The Scots would, by no means be brought into the former: but for the latter, after great difficulties and debates, the act was paſs'd; tho' the duke of Athol proteſted againſt it, and his proteſt was adhered to by twenty noblemen, thirty-three barons, and eighteen boroughs.

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The 21ſt of September, the lord high commiſſioner gave the royal aſſent, 1. to the "act for a "treaty with England; 2. an act for a ſupply; "3. an act for diſcharging the importation of "Engliſh, Iriſh and forein butter and cheeſe; "4. an act for advancing the fiſhing-trade; 5. an "act declaring linen and woolen manufactures free "of duty; 6. an act for appointing a council of "trade; 7. an act for incouraging the exportation "of beef and pork;" and to ſome private bills; which done, the parliament was adjourn'd to the 20th of December next inſuing.

Affairs of Ireland.

The parliament of Ireland met, the 10th of February; but nothing very remarkable happening during this ſeſſion, I ſhall only obſerve, in general, that ſeveral beneficial laws received the royal aſſent; and, among others, "an act for the improvement "of the hempen and flaxen manufactures." The 14th of June, the commons unanimouſly reſolved to return their thanks, both to the Queen, for the many good bills tranſmited this ſeſſion, and to the lord-lieutenant, for his good adminiſtration, and his being inſtrumental in obtaining thoſe bills. The 16th, the duke of Ormond gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts; and then the parliament was prorogued to the 13th of June 1706. His grace imbark'd ſoon after for England, leaving the adminiſtration of the government of Ireland, in the hands of ſir Richard Cox, lord-chancelor, and of the lord Cutts, commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces, who were appointed lords-juſtices, during the duke's abſence. I proceed now to maritime affairs.

I have already given an account of ſir John Leake's having ſeveral times relieved Gibraltar from the attempts of the French and Spaniards to retake it; I ſhall now continue my relation, and ſhew in what manner that important fortreſs was totally freed from their attacks, and ſecured in the hands of the confederates.

Farther ſupplies arrive at Gibraltar.

The 29th of January, the Tartar-pink and the Newport came into the bay of Gibraltar, with freſh ſupplies; and, the 5th of February, were followed by the Roebuck and Leopard, with ſix companies of Dutch, and about two hundred of the Engliſh guards, with other Engliſh troops, and ſeveral neceſſaries, from Liſbon. The 7th, the Tyger with a tranſport, arrived, with a farther ſupply of men and ammunition.

Monſ. Ponti, with a French ſquadron comes before it.

The 14th, monſ. Ponti came into the bay of Gibraltar, with fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; notice whereof having been given to ſir John Leake, at Liſbon, who, in the mean time, had been joined by ſir Thomas Dilkes, with five third-rates, with which he had convoyed a great number of merchant ſhips from England, he ſet ſail from thence the 6th of March. He had then under his command twenty-three Engliſh, four Dutch, and eight Portugueſe men of war, having on board an Engliſh and a Portugueſe regiment, with a Dutch battalion of freſh troops. The 10th, at half an hour paſt five in the morning, being within two miles of Cape Cabrette, he diſcovered five ſail making out of the bay; to which he gave chaſe, and they afterwards proved to be five French

(1) The occaſion of this debate was becauſe the Emperors of Germany were not uſed to go into mourning for other Monarchs of Europe, whom they look'd upon as an inferior claſs of Princes: but count Gallas having, in his maſter's name, promiſed, that, for the future, the Emperor would mourn for the Kings and Queens of England, her Majeſty took the reſolution.

men

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men of war. At nine, ſir Thomas Dilkes, in the Revenge, with the Newcaſtle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gun-ſhot of the Arrogant, which they took, after ſome reſiſtance: and the Newcaſtle's boat firſt boarded her, after ſhe ſtruck. Before one, two of the Dutch ſhips took the Ardent and the Marquis. The other two, the Magnanimous and the Flower de Luce, in the firſt of which monſ. Ponti himſelf was, made a ſtout reſiſtance, and in ſpight of the Engliſh, runing aſhore, to the weſtward of Marbella, were burnt by the French themſelves. Sir John, ſuppoſing the remainder of monſ. Ponti's ſquadron, which had been driven from their anchors out of Gibraltar-bay, to be in Malaga-road, looked in there; but they, having heard the firing, thought that no ſecure harbor, and had, as it was believed, cut their cables, and were retired to Toulon. Off of Malaga, three of her Majeſty's ſhips, the Kent, the Oxford, and the Eagle join'd; and three of our frigats having driven aſhore two merchant-ſhips, one of 300 tons, richly laden from the Weſt-Indies, near Malaga, and the other of 250, outward-bound to the Weſt-Indies near Almeria, they were burnt by the French; and the Aſſurance and Bedford took two Sattees. Sir John Leake, having thus relieved Gibraltar, a ſecond time, by his appearance only, tho' he could not afterwards reach the bay, 'till the 19th, he returned to Liſbon, where he arrived, the 1ſt of April, and where we ſhall leave him, and return to England (1).

Five men of war taken and deſtroyed.

Two merchant-ſhips burnt.

Sir John Leake returns to Liſbon.

I have mentioned above, that ſir Cloudeſly Shovel was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, but it was in conjuction with the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, who was named firſt in the commiſſion. Sir George Byng was likewiſe nominated to command in the Soundings, and ſir Thomas Dilkes off of Dunkirk; I ſhall therefore give an account of the proceedings of each of the two former, and the ſucceſs which attended them; but for the latter, I find nothing material of him till he came to Liſbon.

The earl of Peterborough put in joint commiſſion with ſir Cloudeſly Shovel.

Sir George ſailed, the latter end of January, from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of cruiſers, and a great fleet of rich outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen the latter in ſafety, out of the Soundings, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron as he thought would be moſt convenient to annoy the enemy's privateers, which had very much infeſted the Soundings, and the mouth of the channel. By this good diſpoſition, he was ſo fortunate to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, call'd the Thetis, twelve privateers, and ſeven merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the Weſt-Indies. The number of men taken on board the prizes was 2070, and of guns 334.

A great number of French prizes taken.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel repairing on board the Britannia, at the Nore, gave orders, on the 17th of April, to ſir John Jennings, to proceed to Spithead, with three firſt-rates, two ſecond-rates, and as many third-rates. The 13th of May, he arrived at Spithead, where he was joined by the men of war from the Downs, and the ſhips with the ordnance-ſtores; and, the 22d, the earl of Peterborough arrived at Portſmouth. The ſame day, the troops deſigned for the expedition being likewiſe on board, the fleet ſailed to St. Helens; and, the next, the earl went on board. The 24th, the fleet ſet ſail again, and the 25th came off of Plymouth, where they lay by for ſome men of war and tranſports, which were to join them there, and, two days after, they arrived at their firſt rendezvous, which was ſeven leagues ſouth from the Lizard.

Departure of the grand fleet.

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The 9th of June, the fleet arrived in the river of Liſbon, where the Dutch admiral Allemonde, with his ſquadron, was arrived a week before. Here the admirals likewiſe found ſir John Leake, with his ſquadron; but in great want of proviſions; they were therefore all ſupplied out of thoſe brought from England.

Their arrival at Liſbon.

The line of battle being now formed, conſiſted of two firſt-rates, four ſecond-rates, twenty-two third-rates, ten fourth-rates, and twenty Dutch ſhips of the line, together fifty-eight of the line, beſide ſmall frigats, bomb-veſſels, fire-ſhips, hoſpital-ſhips, and other ſmall veſſels. Sir Cloudeſly got out of the river of Liſbon, with part of the fleet, the 22d, and the ſame day met with the ſhips from Ireland. The deſign was to cruiſe off of Cape Spartel, till the earl of Peterborough, who ſtaid at Liſbon with the remainder of the fleet to take in the forces, ſhould join him. The earl having prevailed upon the earl of Galloway, to ſpare him two regiments of dragoons, in which, as well as in ſupplying them in forrage and other neceſſaries, he met with great oppoſition and delay from the Portugueze; and the men of war detach'd from the ſquadron under admiral Byng being arriv'd the 15th, with the tranſports and other ſhips under their convoy, having on board ſeveral things neceſſary for the expedition, he prepared to depart. King Charles, who was reſolved to try his fortune with the earl and ſir Cloudeſly, being therefore imbarked with the former, on board the Ranelagh, they put to ſea the 17th of July, the troops on board, deſigned for a deſcent, being by ſome computed to be 12000 men. They arrived, in a few days, at Gibraltar, where his Catholic Majeſty, under protection of the confederate fleet, firſt took poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Spain, and was received there as lawful ſoverein (2).

King Charles II. imbarks on board the confederate fleet:

And arrives at Gibraltar.

The battalion of Engliſh guards, and the three old regiments, which had ſo valiantly defended Gibraltar, being imbark'd, and two new raiſed battalions left in gariſon there, the fleet ſailed, the 5th of Auguſt, and came to anchor, the 11th, in Altea-bay, in order to water there. As ſoon as they came into the bay, the people came to offer their ſervice to his Catholic Majeſty, and to implore his protection: bringing with them all manner of proviſions and refreſhments, for which they were liberally paid. However, his Catholic Majeſty ordered a body of foot to be landed, as well to ſecure the fleet's watering, as to hinder the ſailors from commiting any diſorders: and the earl of Peterborough

Proceeds to Altea-bay;

(1) After this unlucky accident (ſays the marſhal de Theſſe, in his letter to the French King, concerning monſ. Ponti's misfortune) ſeing the place was ſupplied anew, with refreſhments and all other things, I gave orders for an intrenchment to be made; and I diſpatch'd the ingenier Renaud to repreſent to your Majeſty, as alſo to the Catholic King, the impoſſibillty of continuing the ſiege. The troops are fatigued, a great many ſick, and ammunition begins to be wanted. Accordingly the ſiege was raiſed the 22d, after it had laſted about five months.

(2) The firſt deſign of this expedition was concerted with the duke of Savoy, and the forces they had on board were either to join him, or to make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, as ſhould be found moſt adviſeable. There were agents imployed in different parts of Spain, to give an account of the diſpoſition people were in, and of what ſeemed moſt practicable. A body of men roſe in Catalonia, about Vich; upon the knowledge King Charles had of this, and upon other advertiſements which were ſent to our court, of the diſpoſitions of thoſe of that principality, the orders which King Charles deſired were ſent by a runner, which was diſpatch'd from the Queen to the fleet; ſo the fleet ſteered to the coaſt of Catalonia, to try what could be done there. The earl of Peterborough, who had ſet his heart on Italy, and on Prince Eugene, was not a little diſpleaſed with this, as appeared in a long letter from him, which my author ſays, the lord treaſurer ſhewed him. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times.

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caused a manifesto to be dispersed in the Spanish tongue (1).

And takes Denia.

While the fleet was in the bay, certain advice was brought, that 800 or 1000 of the inhabitants of the towns and places in the neighborhood, who were assembled in the mountains, had declared for King Charles, and seized the town of Denia; upon which general Ramos was appointed governor of that place, and a garison of 400 men put into it.

The fleet arrives at Barcelona.

The 11th of August, the fleet arrived in the bay of Barcelona; where, as soon as they had anchored, the Spaniards began to fire from the mole, and a battery they had near the sea, upon some of the transport-ships which stood in for the shoar. The next day, the Prince of Darmstadt having joined the fleet, the forces began to land in very good order, and without any opposition, between the town and a place call'd Badelona, at about three quarters of a league distance from the former, the inhabitants lending them all possible assistance. The 13th, all the troops being landed, the city was invested, and as it was so large, that the forces from the fleet could not guard all the posts, the inhabitants assisted them in securing all the avenues.

The King of Spain goes on shoar.

The 17th, his Catholic Majesty went on shoar, the whole fleet having saluted him at his departure; and, at his landing, he was not only welcomed by the loud acclamations of the people of the country, who came in throngs to receive him, but by a treble discharge of the small arms, from the camp on shoar. The 27th, it was resolved, that 2400 seamen, well armed, should assist in the attempt against Barcelona. The generals, however, found the place so well provided, that they almost despaired of success. The sea-officers, on their side, were, indeed, for bombarding and canonading the place, from the fleet, while the approaches were made by land: but, as the King of Spain would by no means consent to this, the undertaking was thereupon very near being laid aside, and the resolution almost taken to leave the place, and try their fortune at Terragona (2).

Montjuy attack'd.

The Prince of Hesse, whose reputation was most at stake, as he advised the expedition, proposed, at length, the surprizing of the citadel and castle of Montjuy, which, the earl of Peterborough, upon examination, finding feasible, approved of. The attack was made on the 2d of September (3), with undaunted bravery, and wish'd for success; but with the loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who being shot by a musket-ball thro' the thigh, such an effusion of blood followed, that he expired before his wound could be dress'd. After his death, the assailants began to lose ground, till the earl of Peterborough, being informed that the forces had orders from the commanding officer to retreat, went, in person, and rallied them (4). The 6th, the citadel, with all the works belonging to it, surrendered, and colonel Southwell, who commanded the first attack with great bravery, and had contributed very much to the taking of it, was made governor of that fortress.

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And taken.

Barcelona surrender'd.

After this success, the siege was push'd with great vigor; the trenches were open'd the 9th, and batteries raised for thirty guns and twenty mortars. And his Catholic Majesty having, at length, consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw 412 shells into the town, and eight English and Dutch ships, under the command of sir Stafford Fairborn, being appointed to canonade it from the sea, while the canon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on shoar; the viceroy desired to capitulate, the 23d, and the capitulation (which is of too great a length to find place here) being signed, the 28th, the gate and bastion of St. Angelo was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened King Charles's party, that the whole kingdom, Roses only excepted, submited soon after.

The King of Spain makes his entry into the city.

The King of Spain having made his entry into Barcelona, and received the oath of fidelity of his subjects; and his Majesty having declared, that he would venture his person with them; a council of the general and flag-officers was held, on the first of October, where it was resolved, that the earl of Peterborough should continue with that Prince, with the land-forces, and all the marines that could be spared from the service of the ships; and that a winter-squadron being appointed, under the command of sir John Leake, and baron Wassenaer, the rest of the fleet should make the best of their way home (5).

The fleet returns to England.

Pursuant to this resolution, sir Cloudesly set sail, and

(1) The substance of this manifesto was, to assure the Spaniards, that the confederate fleet was not come to take possession of any place, in an hostile manner, for the use of her Majesty of Great-Britain, or the States-general, nor to bring into that country the usual calamities of war: but to defend and protect those who would submit, in due obedience to their lawful soverein.

(2) When a council of war was held on this occasion, at which the King of Spain himself was present, both English and Dutch officers were of opinion, the siege could not be undertaken with so small a force, the garison being near as strong as they were. The debate lasted some hours; in conclusion, the King himself spoke near half an hour: he answered all the objections which were made against the siege, and treated every one of those who had made them, as he answered them, with particular civilities. He supported the truth of what the Prince of Hesse had asserted (concerning the good affections of many in the town) as being known to himself. He said, that in the state in which this affair then stood, nothing could be proposed, but what would be attended with great difficulties; all was doubtful, and much must be put to the hazard; but this seemed less dangerous, than any thing else that was proposed. Many of his subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their lives; it became him, therefore, to let them see, that he would run the same hazard with them. He desired that they would stay so long with him, 'till such attempts should be made, that all the world might be convinced, that nothing could be done: he added, that if their orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own subjects; upon which they resolved to sit down before Barcelona: and happy it was that they took this resolution; for it came afterwards to be known, that the Catalans and Miquelets who had joined them, hearing that they were resolved to abandon them, and go back to their ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this small army sate down before Barcelona, they found they were too weak to besiege it, for they could scarce mount their canon. When they came to examine their stores, they found them very defective, and far short of the quantities, which by their lists they expected to find: whether this flowed from treachery or carelessness, I will not (continues my author) determine; there is much of both in all our offices. Burnet's hist. of his own times.

(3) De Larrey says, that the Prince of Hesse expected no resistance, the officer who commanded in the place having agreed with him to deliver the fort into his hands: but that the viceroy having discovered the design, had hanged the officer, and placed another in his room, and that, therefore, he was obliged to attempt by force, what he was in hopes to have obtained by stratagem. Hist. de France sous Louis XIV.

(4) His lordship being justly transported with indignation at the orders which had been given for the troops to draw off; immediately countermanded those orders, and drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard, saying: "he was sure all brave "men would follow him." With that he put himself at the head of the detachments which were retreating, and so animated them by his example, that they soon regained all the ground they had quited, his lordship exposing himself all the while to the greatest danger.

(5) The whole fleet was divided as follows: to proceed to England, with sir Cloudesly, one first-rate, three second-rates, thirteen third-rates, two fourth-rates, four fifth-rates, one sixth-rate, three bomb-vessels, four fire-ships, and one yacht.

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and having put the governor of Barcelona, with about 1000 men of the garison of that place (the rest having listed in the service of King Charles) ashoar at Malaga and Alicant, and staid three days at Gibraltar, appointed some ships to convoy the trade home from Lisbon, and himself arrived, the 26th of November, at Spithead, and a few days after came to London, where he was received, by the Queen and Prince, with those marks of esteem which his signal services deserved.

Scheme and preparations for the campain.

I come now to the affairs on the continent. The duke of Marlborough, having the preceding summer delivered the Empire, by the ever-famous victory of Blenheim, had a long time considered how to improve that success, this campain; and having communicated his several projects to the cabinet council, none seemed so judiciously laid, as the making an incursion on the frontiers of France: the design, therefore, was, that the Mosel should be the scene of action, and care had been taken to lay up magazines of all sorts, in Triers, for that purpose. To carry on this design, two things were absolutely necessary; first, the concurrence of the cautious Dutch, who seemed unwilling to let their troops go so far from their frontiers, lest they should lose, in one campain, the barrier they had been forming in two or three; and, secondly, the quickening the slowness of the Germans, without whose joint assistance the duke could not act there, with probability of success. The States, however, consented, that he should carry the greatest part of their army to the Mosel, and resolved to ly on the defensive upon their own frontiers; for they reckoned, that how strong soever the Elector of Bavaria's army was at that time, yet, when France should be press'd with so great a force, as they reckon'd would be on the Mosel, he would be ordered to send such detachments thither, that his army would be quickly diminished, and so would not have the superior strength long.

The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

This being the duke's scheme, in order to put it in execution, his grace set out, the 26th of March, from St. James's, towards Harwich; where he imbark'd, the 30th, on board one of her Majesty's yachts, and set sail for Holland, together with several other yachts and transport-ships, under convoy of a squadron of men of war, commanded by the marquis of Carmaerthen, vice-admiral of the red. They were put back, the next day, by contrary wind; but, as it was favorable, the 1st of April, in the morning, his grace then put to sea again, and landed safely in Holland, the next day, in the afternoon.

The Dutch approve his project.

The duke, upon his arrival at the Hague, had several conferences with the pensionary, and other members of the assembly of the States-general, who were soon made sensible of the plausibleness of this project: but the greatest difficulty was yet behind; and, in order to remove it, his grace resolved to have a conference with Prince Lewis of Baden; to which end he sent brigadier-general Cadogan to his highness, to manage an interview with him. The 12th of May, the brigadier met the duke at Maestricht, and informed his grace, that Prince Lewis had appointed to meet him the 20th at Creutznach: however, the duke being, the 18th, at Coblentz, baron Forstner, counsellor to that Prince, came to acquaint his grace, that his highness was very much indisposed, and could not meet him, at Creutznach, as he had promised: he likewise seem'd, by his message, to decline concuring with the duke in the designs he had laid: nevertheless his grace, who had set his heart on opening the campain in those parts, would not put up with these excuses; but resolved to go and confer with him at Rastadt.

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The duke confers with Prince Lewis.

He therefore departed from Coblentz the 19th, and came, that night, to Schlangenbade, where he found the landgrave of Hesse, with his whole court, by whom he was very honorably received. He set out again, the next morning, and the day following, in the afternoon, arrived at Rastadt. He was received by Prince Lewis with all appearance of friendship and esteem: but it was observed by several in the duke's retinue, that the Prince was not so much indisposed, as not to have been able to meet his grace at Creutznach. The two generals had a private conference together, in which it was resolved, "to leave a sufficient "number of Germans, for the security of the lines "of Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the com- "mand of general Thungen, and that Prince "Lewis of Baden should march with a great "detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert "with the duke.

Result of their conference.

Motions of the confederate army thereupon.

The 22d, his grace went to view the lines of Biehl and Stolhoften, and came to Manheim, the next day, in his way to Triers, where he arrived, the 26th. The duke having assembled all the troops in the neighborhood of that place, the English and Dutch forces, which were incamp'd near Igel, on the other side the Mosel, pass'd that river, the 3d of June, over several bridges; and, from thence, march'd to those prepar'd for them over the Saar, which river they, likewise, pass'd at Consaarbruck. The Hessians, Danes and Lunenburghers pass'd the Saar, at the same time; and so all the troops joined.

The duke incamps near the enemy;

After a long march of near eight hours, they lay on their arms all night, and incamp'd, the next morning at Elft, within sight of the enemy's army. Upon the approach of the allies, the day before, the enemy immediately prepared for a retreat, which they now put in execution, with great precipitation, and marched from Sirk towards Coningsmacheren, possessing themselves of a very advantageous camp, which they made yet stronger, by casting up intrenchments, and felling down trees: so that there was no possibility of attacking them, in that post, with the least probability of success.

Who retreat and intrench themselves.

The duke's real design.

This, indeed, was no disappointment to the duke, his advancing so far being with no other design, than to cover the intended siege of Saar-Louis; the taking of which place was esteem'd of so great importance, that the success of the whole campain, on that side, was thought to depend on it. The duke therefore sent frequent expresses, to quicken the march of the Imperialists, and other troops, and to exhort the Princes who had promised to furnish artillery, horses and waggons, to send them with all possible expedition; but all in vain: for the Imperialists kept their usual slow pace, and Prince Lewis, who had promised to come in person, either fell, or pretended to fall sick at Creutznach; upon which he left his troops to use the wells at Schwalbach, and the bath at Schlangenbade. There were not wanting those who accused the Prince of treachery on this account: because it plainly appeared, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their management shewed they had a dependance on it. Be this as it will, it is certain, that

Rendered abortive by Prince Lewis of Baden.

To remain with sir John Leake: two second-rates, eight third-rates, four fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, two bomb-vessels, two fire-ships, one hospital-ship, and one yacht.

With the earl of Peterborough: two fourth-rates, three fifth-rates, and one sixth-rate.

Left at Gibraltar; two sixth-rates.

To cruise for the Brasil-fleet, one third and one fourth-rate.

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the duke was ill uſed, and that this ill uſage was the occaſion of his deſign proving abortive.

Motions of the army under monſieur d'Auverquerque.

The forces of the States-general being, in the mean time, very much weakned, by the detachments ſent to the Moſel, it was thought fit, that their army, under monſieur d'Auverquerque, conſiſting only of thirty battalions and ſeventy-two ſquadrons, ſhould ſtand on the defenſive. For this end, they intrench'd themſelves, on the hill of St. Peter, near Maeſtricht, not doubting but the Elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Villeroy, who commanded the French and Spaniſh army in the Netherlands, would ſend a ſtrong detachment towards the Moſel. They were however deceived in their expectations; and this increas'd the ſuſpicions of Prince Lewis's conduct: for the enemy, being informed how things paſs'd on the Moſel, reſolved to take the advantage of their ſuperiority on the Maeſe.

Huy taken by the French.

They came out of their lines, the 21ſt of May, and marched to Val Notre Dame, near Huy, which place they inveſted the 28th, and took it, together with the ſeveral forts and the caſtle belonging to it, within the ſpace of about fourteen days: the gariſons being obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

They inveſt the citadel of Liege.

The 15th of June, the French army march'd from Huy to Horrion, and, the next day, inveſted the citadel of Liege.

Repreſentation of the deputies of the States hereupon.

The news of the taking of Huy, having reach'd the duke of Marlborough's army, the deputies of the States repreſented to his grace; "That it was "impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer in his camp; "that the Germans having, by their delays, fruſ-"trated the deſign of beſieging Saar-Louis, and "defeated all the other projects on the Moſel, it "was to no purpoſe to continue any longer in "thoſe parts, when their forces might be im-"ployed in the Netherlands, in ſtopping the "progreſs of their enemies." The duke was as ſenſible of that melancholy truth, as the deputies themſelves could be; but being willing to ſtay till the laſt extremity, "That the Imperialiſts might "have no manner of excuſe for diſappointing "him," he did not decamp from Elſt, his head-quarters, till the 17th of June, N. S. The French ſaw the confederate army retire with greater tranquility, than they had expreſs'd when they firſt advanc'd that way; and the duke of Marborough, when he arrived at Triers, held a great council of war. It was there reſolved; "That the forces under his "command, ſhould march back to the Maeſe, "except 7000 Palatines, in the pay of England "and Holland, who were unfortunately left for the "ſecurity of Triers, and other poſts, on that ſide, "under the command of lieutenant-general Au-"bach. They were to be join'd by part of the "troops of Weſtphalia; and the 12,000 Pruſſians, "with the 4000 men of Wirtemberg, were order-"ed to march to Lauterberg, to reinforce Prince "Lewis of Baden."

The duke of Marlborough decamps from Elſt.

A council of war.

The reſult of it.

According to this reſolution, his grace, after having ſpent ſome weeks in this fruitleſs attempt, march'd for the Netherlands, by the ſhorteſt way, very much mortified, at this ill uſage of the Germans; and the Imperial troops, the Pruſſians and Wirtemberghers, moved towards the Upper-Rhine.

The duke returns towards the Netherlands.

The marſhal de Villars, having now no enemy before him, made a detachment to re-inforce the Elector of Bavaria; another, for the army under the marſhal de Marſin, in Alſace, and advanced, with the reſt, towards the Saar. Upon the firſt notice of his approach, the Palatine general ſent precipitate orders to the governor of Saarbruck, to quit that caſtle, and blow up the fortifications, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould appear, which was punctually performed. This overſight was but a preliminary to the unpardonable blunder, commited by monſieur d'Aubach; who, to compleat the ill conduct of the Germans, on the 25th of June, even before any enemy appeared in ſight, deſtroy'd all the magazines the Engliſh and Dutch had, at a vaſt expence, erected at Triers; blew up the fortifications; burnt the boats deſign'd to make bridges, and, in a ſcandalous manner, quited that important poſt. The French who did not expect ſo eaſy a conqueſt, took poſſeſſion of it, four days after, and the marſhal de Villars march'd to join the marſhal de Marſin, and in conjunction with him, beat the Imperialiſts from the lines of Crone-Weiſſemberg. General Thungen had enough to do to maintain the lines of Lauterburg; the German troops being diſperſed, as if it were with deſign to give the French an opportunity of beating him over the Rhine, and retaking Landau (1).

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Ill conduct of the Germans.

Conſequences of it.

Expeditious march of the confederate army.

The duke of Marlborough's march, in order to join monſieur d'Auverquerque time enough to ſave the city of Liege, or to give the marſhal de Villeroy battle, before he could draw off his cannon, was ſo expeditious, that he thereby intirely changed the whole face of affairs in the Netherlands, to the advantage of the allies: for the enemy, upon advice of his approach, ſent back their artillery to Namur, and, the 27th of June in the morning, quited the city of Liege, and retired to Tongeren. The confederate army continued the purſuit, and the French, with as great aſſiduity retreated before them, till the 2d of July, when they retired with great precipitation into their lines, having ſent away moſt of their baggage the day before.

The French retreat within their lines.

Huy retaken.

The confederate generals, hereupon, reſolved to retake Huy, before they proceeded farther: and they were ſo ſucceſsful in the enterprize, that they became maſters of that place, with its caſtle and forts, by the 11th, on the ſame terms as the French had taken it from the Dutch a month before.

The duke of Marlborough propoſes to force the French lines.

The diſappointment on the Moſel ſiting very heavy on the duke of Marlborough's mind, his grace reſolved to recover that misfortune, by undertaking ſomething worthy of himſelf, on the Maeſe; and as no enterprize appeared more difficult in it ſelf, and more advantageous in its conſequences than the attack of the enemy's lines, his grace ſent general Hompeſch to propoſe it to the States-general. That general ſoon returned with the anſwer of their High-mightineſſes, which was, "That having an intire confidence in the "conduct and prudence of his grace, they left it "intirely to him, to do whatever he ſhould think fit "for the good of the common cauſe." The duke, hereupon, held a council of war, wherein the generals of his army, and thoſe of monſieur d'Auverquerque's, were preſent. The debate was the forcing of the enemy's lines: but nothing being reſolved upon, the firſt time, a ſecond council was called.

Some Dutch generals oppoſe it.

Some generals, in the ſervice of the States, oppoſed the duke's project, but monſieur d'Auverquerque, the hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, count de Noyelles, and ſome others, declared, it was their opinion, that neither the enterprize was dangerous, nor the ſucceſs of it improbable, if the judicious meaſures propoſed by the duke Marlbo-

(1) The Prince of Baden's conduct, throughout this whole affair, lay very open to cenſure; and he was almoſt generally believed to be corrupted by the French; while others, who were for puting the beſt conſtruction they could upon it, were obliged to attribute his acting as he did, to his haughtineſs, and an envy of the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 483.

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rough, were put in execution: whereupon the reſolution was taken. The enemy were poſted along the lines, with near one hundred battalions, and 146 ſquadrons; the confederate army on the other hand, conſiſted of ninety-two battalions, and 160 ſquadrons; ſo that they were pretty equal in force.

The duke's opinion prevails.

A ſtratagem put in practice;

The enemy having therefore the advantage of being ſtrongly intrench'd, with a like number of troops, it was reſolved to make a feint, to divide them: and, accordingly, the army, under monſ. d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont; the 17th of July, N. S. at three in the morning, and march'd towards Bourdine, on the other ſide of the Mehaigne, and the duke of Marlborough made a motion, at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport monſieur d'Auverquerque, in the attack of the lines, about Meffelen, where they were not ſo ſtrong as in other parts. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to wiſh; for thoſe motions, particularly the paſſing of the Mehaigne, having given great jealouſy to the French, they beſtow'd their attention, on the ſide of the Gerbiſe, towards Namur, whereupon the duke of Marlborough made the diſpoſition, in order to march, with the whole army, in the night, between the 17th and 18th.

Which ſucceeds.

Diſpoſitions made for attacking the enemy's lines.

Proceedings thereupon.

The guides which conducted the detachments, were ſomewhat at a loſs, on occaſion of the extream darkneſs of the night; and this ſo retarded their march, that it was half an hour paſt four, in the morning, and broad day, when they arrived before the poſts they deſign'd to attack, which, according to the information they had before received, they found but thinly guarded.

The lines forc'd.

The count de Noyelles caus'd the caſtle of Wangh, which defended a ſtone bridge that was there on the Geete, to be attack'd; but the enemy immediately abandon'd that poſt, and gave an opportunity to the grenadiers, who were ordered on that ſervice, to march forwards, and attack the barrier of the line; which the guard there did not defend much better; and ſo the troops enter'd the line, on that ſide, with little or no oppoſition; tho' the enemy had twelve ſquadrons of dragoons incamp'd behind Coſtmalen (within cannon ſhot of them) who immediately mounted their horſes, but durſt not advance to defend their barriers. At the ſame time, three battalions poſſeſs'd themſelves of the bridge and village of Heiliſheim, a quarter of a league from Wangh, on the left, which was done with as little oppoſition: nor did lieutenant-general Scholten meet with greater reſiſtance, at the villages of Ober-heſpen, and Neer-heſpen: ſo that being maſters of thoſe bridges and barriers, and having made ſeveral other bridges, the horſe went over the ſame, and immediately form'd themſelves on the eminence, extending their right towards the village of Hachendoren; and ſome battalions drew up along the line, and behind the horſe.

While the pioneers were buſy in making paſſages through the lines, ten of the enemy's ſquadrons, and four battalions, were perceived between the villages of Gouchancourt and Eſmalè; but they gave time for the confederate forces to extend themſelves, indeavoring only to advance to the village of Elixheim. The count de Noyelles cauſed all the troops he had with him to go over, as faſt as poſſible: and the duke of Marlborough arriving, with the whole army, his horſe went over the line, with the ſame expedition as the reſt had done: thus they all advanc'd towards the enemy, who, by this time, were re-inforc'd to the number of fifty ſquadrons, and twenty battalions, and advanc'd with great reſolution, behind the hollow way, going up from Elixheim to Tirlemont.

This obliged the confederate horſe to ſtop a few minutes, 'till ſome battalions advancing lined the hollow way, and firing upon the enemy's horſe, obliged them to retire beyond the reach of their muſkets, and to form themſelves before their infantry. This gave an opportunity to the confederate horſe to paſs the hollow way. In the mean time, the enemy cauſed eight pieces of canon, with treble barrels, to advance, with which they began to fire briſkly upon them: but the duke of Marlborough being come in perſon, at the head of his horſe, and ſeing that the enemy were continually receiving freſh re-inforcements, and that their infantry was going to join them, his grace was reſolved to charge them with the horſe only. This was done with ſuch vigor and courage, that the enemy's cavalry being ſoon broken, and put to the rout, they indeavor'd to rally themſelves behind their infantry, while the victorious horſe of the allies poſſeſs'd themſelves of their cannon and ammunition-wagons.

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The enemy being re-inforced with ſome ſquadrons, and having interlined ſome infantry with them, mov'd again towards the allies: but the latter, being likewiſe re-inforced, and ſuſtained by their infantry, advanced to meet them. The right of the confederate horſe coming too near the hedges of the village of Eſmalè, which were lined with ſome of the enemy's foot, were ſomewhat diſorder'd by their fire, and obliged to ſhrink back: but having, ſoon after, extended themſelves more towards the right, to make way for ſome battalions that marched againſt the enemy's foot, they both charged, with that bravery and briſkneſs, that the enemy's horſe was ſoon defeated, and cut in pieces; and their infantry being abandoned in the plain, had much ado to get away, in great diſorder, between the villages of Heiliſheim and Gotſhoven, where they met with the reſt of their army, and formed themſelves as well as they could. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough cauſed all the reſt of his troops to enter the lines, and extended the right of his army, towards the great Geete, before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Monluc, which, upon the firſt ſummons, ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion.

In this action, the marquis d'Alegre and the count de Horn lieutenant-generals, a major-general, two brigadier-generals, and a great number of other officers of all ranks, beſide abundance of private men, were taken priſoners. All the troops of the allies behaved themſelves with great bravery and reſolution, but among the horſe, the regiment of brigadier Cadogan diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, having had the honor to charge firſt; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that they defeated four ſquadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them thro' two battalions of their own foot, and took four ſtandards; and all this only with the loſs of lieutenant Auſtin, and ſome few men. Nor was the loſs of the other troops greater in proportion. The duke of Marlborough, having very much expos'd himſelf in the action, was in great danger of his life: for, as he was leading on ſeveral ſquadrons, a French or Bavarian officer quited his poſt, and advanc'd ſword in hand, to attack his grace; but as he was raiſing himſelf upon his ſtirrups, to reach him, he flung himſelf off of his horſe, and was preſently kill'd. Monſ. d'Auverquerque, in his account of this action, ſays the Bavarian horſe, which conſiſted of twenty-four ſquadrons, offering to oppoſe the confederates, was almoſt intirely ruined, as was likewiſe the two regiments of Alſace and la Marque.

Priſoners taken.

The body of troops, under the command of monſ. d'Alegre, being thus defeated, the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, conſulted for the ſafety of the reſt of the army, and decamping, in the ſight of the confederates, they paſs'd the

Retreat of the Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy.

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great Geete and the Deule, with all imaginable diligence, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſtrong camp at Parck.

Motions of the confederate army.

The next day, the confederate army moved; and, in their march, thro' the plain of Parck, took above 1200 priſoners, who could not follow the precipitate retreat of the enemy's army. In the evening, the duke of Marlborough incamp'd near the abby of Vlierbeck (1).

The duke of Marlborough receiving information, in his camp at Vlierbeck, that ſeveral poſts on the Deule, between Louvain and the village of Neer-Yſche, were ſlenderly guarded, reſolved, with the advice of the generals, to indeavor to force them, in order to the paſſing of that river. A detachment was made for that purpoſe, on the 29th of July, about five in the afternoon, with the pontons and ſome artillery, the army following at eleven at night. They arrived at thoſe poſts about three the next morning, and paſs'd the river in two places. They repuls'd, with great vigor, the guards which made a ſhow to oppoſe them, and obliged them to retire: but not being timely ſupported, they were ordered to repaſs it, which they did in very good order, bringing away their bridges, having had only a few officers wounded, and about fifty private ſoldiers kill'd and wounded. After this ſucceſsleſs attempt, the confederate army march'd, and incamp'd, with the right at Meldert and the left at Boſſu.

The duke forms a project.

The impoſſibility of attacking the enemy, on that ſide, being now very apparent, the duke of Marlborough diſpatch'd lieutenant-general Hompeſch, to propoſe a new project to the States-general. This their High-mightineſſes approved of, and, on the 5th of Auguſt, paſs'd a reſolution, directing their deputies, in monſ. d'Auverquerque's army, to permit the duke, to make two or three marches, without calling a council of war, to execute ſome deſign formed by his grace. To favor that expedition, baron Spar, who commanded a ſmall body of Dutch troops in Flanders, march'd, the third of Auguſt, N. S. from Riemen, with all his grenadiers, and a ſufficient number of fuſiliers, to ſupport them, being followed by the reſt of the forces under his command; and, in that march, defeated a party of the enemy. He came, in the night, to Raboth, on the canal that leads from Bruges to Ghent, where his men made a bridge, and having paſs'd over the anal, they attack'd the enemy's lines which were defended by ſeveral forts, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. Notwithſtanding this, they forced thoſe lines at Lovendegen, and in leſs than three quarters of an hour, were maſters of four of thoſe forts; in which action, they took priſoners three captains, three lieutenants, three enſigns, and near 300 private men, with no other loſs, on their ſide, than that of a colonel, a lieutenant, and five private ſoldiers wounded, and two private men killed. Baron Spar, then march'd towards Bruges; but receiving advice, that the enemy was marching againſt him, with a ſuperior force, which they had got together from ſeveral gariſons in the French and Spaniſh Flanders, he retired, the 7th, to Meldegem, carrying away with him ſeveral hoſtages, for the ſecurity of the payment of contributions, having firſt deſtroyed ſeveral forts, and corps de guarde, along the French lines, on that ſide.

Baron Spar's ſucceſs.

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The 15th, the duke of Marlborough march'd with his army from Meldert, and incamp'd at Corbais: monſ. d'Auverquerque, with the Dutch troops, advancing, at the ſame time, to St. Martins. They united, the next day, into one body, at Genap, and the day following advanced to Fiſchermont. In this laſt day's march, a detachment commanded by lieutenant-general Dompre, beat the enemy from one of their poſts, called Waterlo, and purſued them about a league, in the wood of Soignies. This ſudden march of the confederates kept the enemy under great apprehenſions, and gave them an equal fear for ſome places in Brabant and Flanders.

Farther motions of the duke's army.

Conſternation of the enemy.

The 18th, by break of day, the confederate army filed off, with the right wing, in two columns, and paſs'd the long narrow road of the lane, near Hulpen, where they were not a little ſurpriz'd to find no enemy to defend that difficult paſs. About noon, the whole army was drawn up in ſight of the enemy, whom the duke of Marlborough and monſ. d'Auverquerque having view'd, they were both of opinion to attack them immediately, before they had time to recover the conſternation which was apparent enough in their army. But the artillery not being come up (as it has been ſaid) thro' general Schlangenburg's fault; and that general, who had a pique againſt the duke (becauſe the attempt upon the lines was undertaken without either his privity or conſent) having perſuaded ſome other Dutch commanders to join with him in oppoſing his grace; they made their unanimous report to the deputies of the States, that the enterprize was neither adviſable nor practicable, upon which the deputies poſitively refuſed to comply with it.

The confederates march up to them.

The duke's deſign oppos'd.

He ſubmits with reluctance.

The duke ſubmited, tho' with a great deal of reluctance, as appears by an expoſtulatory letter he wrote the next day to the States-general, juſtly complaining of a want of that confidence which they had repoſed in him, the year before, in Germany, and of which they had experienced ſo advantageous an effect. This letter, being made public at the Hague, occaſioned great murmurings among the people, who juſtly thought the duke was too hardly dealt with, and that the common cauſe ſuffered by it.

The Dutch indeavor to juſtify themſelves.

On the other hand, the Dutch deputies and generals uſed all the indeavors they could to juſtify their conduct, and to throw off the odium, which they ſoon perceived was going to be thrown upon them; to which end they wrote ſeveral letters to the States-general (2).

It muſt be ſaid, in the duke's favor, for juſtification, I think, he needs none, that he had an army ſuperior to the enemy; and a great part of it,

(1) By this ſucceſs, the enemy were, indeed, forced to abandon Dieſte, Sichem, Arſchot, and ſome other ſmall places: however, the ſuffering them to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſtrong camp at Parck, whereby they ſecured Louvain, Bruſſels and Antwerp, was beyond diſpute, a very great overſight: but on whom, in particular, to change it, is not eaſy to determine. Some will have it, that the troops were too much fatigued, to march to that camp the ſame day, after the action: while others pretend, that ſome of the Dutch generals were againſt that march. Lediard's life of Marlborough Vol. I. p. 502.

(2) Biſhop Burnet (hiſtory of his own times, vol. II. p. 415.) ſays a great deal in vindication of the Dutch, on this occaſion; but he chances to be miſtaken in almoſt all his facts, as well as the time of them. See his miſtakes rectified, in Lediaad's life of Marlborough, vol. I. p. 512. ſeq.

The lord Haverſham (in a memorable ſpeech) ſays; "by the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, we had a fair "opportunity of putting an end to the war at once. The Dutch held our hands, and would not let us give the deciſive "blow.

"Thoſe who command your army are men of that bravery, and every common ſoldier has ſo much courage, that no equal "number of men in the world, I think can ſtand before them; but let our ſupplies be never ſo full and ſpeedy, yet if it be "our misfortune to have allies, that are as ſlow and backward as we are zealous and forward, that hold our hands, and ſuffer "us not to take any opportunity that offers, that are coming into the field, when we are going into winter-quarters, I cannot "ſee what it is we are reaſonably to expect.

beſide

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beſide, fluſh'd with the victory of Blenheim, and the whole with the late advantage, at the forcing the French lines; and tho', as Burnet obſerves, there was a difference of opinion, even among the officers of the army, yet far the greater number, and in particular the officers of the horſe, were for the attack.

The deputies did, indeed, purſuant to their inſtructions, ſuffer the duke of Marlborough, to make two or three marches, without calling a council of war: but, in their inſtructions, it is added, "for the execution of ſome deſign formed by his "grace;" which they did not comply with; for when the deſign, which was the occaſion of theſe marches, and without which they might as well have continued where they were, came to be put in execution, they obſtructed it (1).

The duke of Marlborough's project being thus defeated, the confederate army march'd, the 19th of Auguſt, and the 26th incamp'd, with their right near la Romce, and their left at Perwitz. The 29th Sout-leewe, a little town, in the middle of a moraſs, and the chief defence of the enemy's lines, was inveſted by a detachment under lieutenant-general Dedem, and was taken, about a week after, the gariſon ſurrendering priſoners of war, before the batteries had begun to fire.

The enemy's lines levell'd.

The duke of Marlborough having cauſed the lines to be levell'd, from Waſſeigue to Sout-Leewe, and Tirlemont to be diſmantled, his grace paſs'd the Demer, and incamp'd, the 19th of September, at Arſchot. Upon his approach, the enemy quited their old lines, between that river and the Nethe, and retired into the new ones, between Boeſchet, on the Nethe, and Werchteren on the Demer, where they could not be attack'd.

Monſ. Buys ſent from the States-general to the duke of Marlborough.

The 21ſt, his grace went to Turnhout, to meet monſ. Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, who was ſent to confer with his grace on the part of the States-general. This was the effect of the expoſtulatory letter which the duke wrote to them, concerning the uſage he had met with from their deputies (2).

Sandvliet inveſted.

While the neceſſary preparations for the ſiege of Sandvliet were making, the duke took a turn to the Hague, and had ſeveral conferences with the penſionary. The count de Noyelles inveſted that place the 24th of October; and, the next day, the duke of Marlborough went thither, from Calmpthout, to view the ſeveral poſts, and to give his

And taken.

directions for the ſiege. This place made no long reſiſtance; for, on the 29th, the count de Noyelles gave advice of its having ſurrendered, in a letter to monſ. Fagel.

The duke of Marlborough having had ſeveral preſſing invitations from the Emperor to come to Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the next campain, and ſeveral other concerns of the greateſt importance, his grace, having the Queen's leave, left the army, for that end, the 26th of October. He was magnificently entertained by ſeveral German Princes, in his way, and arrived at Vienna the 12th of November. He was received, at his arrival, by the earl of Sunderland, who had been there ſome time, and mr. Stepny, who conducted him to the houſe of the Prince of Longueval. The Imperial court intended to have defray'd his expences, and the palace of the Prince of Dietrichſtein was fited up for his reception; but his grace was pleas'd to decline both.

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The duke of Marlborough ſets out for Vienna.

Has audience of their Imperial Majeſties.

The duke had audience of their Imperial Majeſties, and the archducheſſes, the day after his arrival; and, the two following days, he received and returned ſeveral viſits. The 16th, his grace had a conference with the Prince of Salms, and other public miniſters, at which the Emperor was preſent. In this conference, he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all the aſſurance given him, that could be expreſs'd in words. He plainly ſaw, that the Emperor was highly diſſatisfied with Prince Lewis of Baden; but he had ſuch credit in the Empire, eſpecially with the circles of Suabia and Franconia, that there was a neceſſity of bearing with what could not be remedied. The ſame evening, he was, a long while, in converſation with their Imperial Majeſties; when the Emperor was graciouſly pleaſed to declare, "that his grace's ſervices to "the common cauſe, in general, and to his family, "in particular, were ſuch as ſhould never be for-"gotten by him, nor his poſterity." His grace was afterwards ſeized with a fit of the gout, which confined him three days to his chamber; during which time, he was viſited by all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction at court. The 22d, the duke went to ſee the famous chamber of rarities, where the Emperor was pleaſed to meet him, and preſented him, in a very obliging manner, with a ring of great value. The ſame evening, his grace had his audience of leave of the whole Imperial court, and the 23d departed from Vienna, being accompanied by the earl of Sunderland, for the court of Berlin; having firſt concerted proper meaſures with the Imperial miniſters, for carrying on the war with more vigor than ever, renew'd our treaties made with the Emperor Leopold, and provided for the ſecurity of the duke of Savoy (3).

Departs for the court of Berlin.

He arrived, the 30th, at Berlin, where he renewed

And returns, by the way of Hanover, to the Hague and England.

(1) Agreeable to this, is an obſervation of the ſame nobleman I juſt mentioned, in the vindication of his ſpeech: "Did "not the Dutch deputies (ſays he) march near three days, in company with the duke of Marlborough, and in all that time, "did they ever make any exception againſt the deſign. Yet, when it came to be put in execution, when a fair opportunity "offer'd, and victory in a manner courted us, there not being half the difficulty nor danger there as at Blenheim, could "any arguments perſuade them to conſent to venture a battle."

(2) What paſs'd in this interview, was not clearly known; but there were reaſons to believe, that monſ. Buys aſſured his grace of the readineſs of their High-mightineſſes, to give him all reaſonable ſatisfaction for the diſguſt he had taken at ſome proceedings at Ober Yſche, and to make him, for the future, more eaſy in his command, by removing thoſe who ſhew'd the greateſt inclination to contradict him. This conjecture will appear the more probable, if we conſider, that the Engliſh court, and, indeed, the nation in general, did, at this time, ſo warmly eſpouſe the duke of Marlborough's reſentment, that a pamphlet call'd, the Dutch politicians, in which ſevere reflections were made on the Hollanders, in general, and, in particular, on the deputies of the States, for not ſuffering his grace to fight the enemy, was publicly ſold, and eſcaped uncenſured; and what is more, the earl of Pembroke, lord preſident of the council, was named to go envoy extraordinary to Holland, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to expoſtulate the matter with the States; but their High-mightineſſes prevented his lordſhip's journy, by giving ſatisfaction to the duke of Marlborough, and removing general Schlangenburg. Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. I. p. 521.

(3) In conſideration of the ſignal ſervices done by his grace to the houſe of Auſtria, and to the Empire, his Imperial Majeſty was pleaſed to make him a grant of the lordſhip of Mindelheim, in Suabia, not far from Augsburg, lately poſſeſs'd by duke Maximilian, uncle to the elector of Bavaria, which fief was now erected into a principality of the holy Roman Empire, and was, in ſuch manner confer'd upon the duke, "that his grace, and the heirs-male of his body, lawfully begotten, and "their heirs-male, and poſſeſſors of that principality, ſhould be ſummoned to all the diets of the Empire, and circle of Suabia, "there to appear in perſon, or by their plenipotentiary, as other Princes of the Empire do: and ſhould alſo injoy all other "advantages, immunities, rights, prerogatives and pre-eminences, as Princes of the Empire have." From whence his grace was, from that time, diſtinguiſhed throughout the Empire, by the ſtile and title of Prince of Mindelheim While the duke was at Vienna, the two envoys and plenipotentiaries of the States-general came, by expreſs orders from their maſters, from Tyrnau, to wait on his grace, and receive his advice and directions about the negociation with the Hungarians. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 526.

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all treaties with the King of Pruſſia, and particularly that concluded the foregoing year, for 8000 men, to be imployed in Italy, for one year longer. Having ſettled theſe affairs, and adjuſted ſome other difficulties, his grace ſet out, the 3d of December, and arrived at Hanover, the 6th, where he gave that court full aſſurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their intereſts, in maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown, in their family, with which the Elector ſeemed fully ſatisfied. The 14th, the duke arrived at the Hague, where having ſettled ſeveral important matters with the States-general, particularly the taking 10,000 men more into the pay of England and Holland, to re-inforce Prince Eugene's army in Italy, his grace went on board the Peregrine yacht, the 27th, and arrived, the 30th, at St. James's.

The campain in Germany.

The army of the Empire was, as uſual, not brought together, till the month of Auguſt. It was, indeed, then a fine one, and much ſuperior to the French; but yet performed very little. The French gave way, and retired before them; Haguenau, and ſome other places, were abandoned by them, and taken poſſeſſion of by the Imperialiſts, who afterwards block'd up fort Lewis; but nothing was attempted by that army, equal to their number or ſtrength; or, indeed, what might have been expected from the reputation which the Prince of Baden had formerly acquired; for thus the campain ended on that ſide, without any conſiderable action.

Campain in Italy.

In Italy, Prince Eugene had again a melancholy campain. His army was weak, ill provided, and worſe paid. The French were far ſuperior in number and forces, and he was long ſhut up within the country of Bergamo. I have already mention'd, how bravely Verue held a ſiege of five months, before it ſurrender'd to the French; but Nice and Villa Franca were eaſier conqueſts. The duke of Savoy had ſcarce any thing left of all his dominions in Italy, but his capital of Turin. Prince Eugene made ſeveral attempts to come to his relief; but was ſo narrowly watch'd by the duke de Vendôme, and the grand prior of France, his brother, that he found it very difficult to effect. At length, the neceſſity of the duke of Savoy's affairs requiring his making a bold puſh to join his royal highneſs, he found means to divide the French army, by a ſtratagem, and they ſent a ſtrong detachment towards the Adda, which was led by Vendôme himſelf. The Prince, hereupon, advanc'd, to attack the body under the grand prior: but Vendôme, being aware of his deſign, was not march'd ſo far but he ſoon returned and joined his brother: and a ſharp ingagement inſued, on the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. in which, great numbers were killed and wounded on both ſides; and both ſung Te Deum for the victory. The French boaſted they had gained their point, in preventing the conjunction of Prince Eugene with the duke of Savoy, and the Prince was very well ſatisfied, that he had prevented the ſiege of Turin, for this campain. In the whole, Prince Eugene ſeem'd, however, to have the cleareſt title to the victory; becauſe the duke de Vendôme repaſs'd the river, and left the Imperialiſts maſters of the field of battle.

The campain in Portugal and Spain.

In Portugal, the allies opened the campain with the ſiege of Alcantara; which being inveſted, the 2d of May, the gariſon, conſiſting of 700 men, ſurrendered priſoners of war in a few days. The confederates then laid ſiege to Albuquerque, another town of no great ſtrength, which ſurrender'd the 22d. They afterwards made themſelves maſters of the little town of Salvaterre, and then went into quarters of refreſhment, during the heats. As for the campain in Spain, as far as our fleet was concerned in it, I have already given the reader an account: I ſhall now add a word or two of what happen'd ſeparate from the fleet. The Catalans, who, during the ſiege of Barcelona, had ſubdued, took all proper meaſures for ſecuring Tarragona, Tortoſa, Lerida, Gironne, &c. and they alſo raiſed ſix regiments for the ſervice of King Charles, beſide the regiment his Majeſty had formed out of the gariſon of Barcelona, which took ſervice under him, for his guard, and which was commanded by count Sinzendorf. At the ſame time, Don Raphael Nebot, a Catalan, who had already three brothers in Charles's ſervice, came over to him likewiſe, with his whole regiment, conſiſting of 500 horſe, beſide 150 horſe which came to him by the way. Theſe being joined by general Ramos, and a great number of Miquelets, publiſh'd a declaration, inviting all true Spaniards to come over to them; upon which deputies came from ſeveral towns in Valencia, to make their ſubmiſſion to King Charles. Incouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, they marched with 1000 horſe and 500 foot, together with a body of Miquelets, to Valencia, the capital of that kingdom, where, by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, they made themſelves maſters of that place, and took the viceroy and archbiſhop priſoners; whereupon, the whole kingdom of Valencia, except Alicant and Peniſola, revolted to King Charles, and he appointed the conde de Cifuentes, who came over to him, ſoon after his landing, to be viceroy of that province. Matters had now a very fair aſpect, and had the Portugueſe made a diverſion as they promiſed; or but permited their allies, the Engliſh and Dutch, to have advanced to the frontiers of Spain, at this time, it is not improbable but all that Monarchy had ſubmited to King Charles: for the grandees were ſo diſguſted at the influence they ſaw the French councils had in all their affairs, and of ſome promotions of the ſubjects of that nation, that when King Philip called them together, to conſult with them, in this exigence, they refuſed to aſſiſt him with their purſe, and even with their advice. But notwithſtanding all the repreſentations, the earl of Galway and the other confederate generals could make, the Portugueſe could not be drawn out of their quarters, till the begining of October, when they laid ſiege to Badajox: and, then, if we may be allowed to judge by appearances, only with a deſign to raiſe it again: for they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized by the marſhal de Theſſe, who threw a ſupply of troops and proviſions into the town, after they had made ſome progreſs in the ſiege; whereupon the beſiegers drew off their batteries, and marched into winter-quarters. In this ſiege it was, the earl of Galway loſt his right hand by a cannon ball.

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The province of Valencia, as I have already obſerved, having followed the example of Catalonia, the Spaniards were preparing to beſiege the capital of that name, when the earl of Peterborough marched, with incredible diligence to their relief, diſperſed the Spaniſh army, with a handful of men, and entered Valencia in triumph, before the end of the year; where he was received as their guardian-angel (1). Having thus given a brief account of forein affairs, I return to England.

(1) Never any forein nobleman gained the eſteem and affection of the Spaniards to that degree the earl did: the ſtrict diſcipline he kept his troops under, his generous behaviour to the natives, his care to protect them, his bravery, good conduct and unparallel'd ſucceſs, had ſo indeared him, and the troops he commanded, to the Spaniards, that the diſorders at Port St. Mary's were intirely forgot; and they appeared ready to join the allies, and run all hazards with them, to drive the French and their adherents (whoſe yoke they were no longer able to bear) out of the kingdom. Salmon's modern hiſt. Vol. XXV. p. 276.

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Domeſtic occurrences.

Upon the account being brought of the duke of Marlborough's having entered the French lines, by colonel Durel, who arrived at Windſor (where the Queen and Prince then were) the 14th of July, O. S; a week after, her Majeſty's proclamation was publiſhed, appointing the 23d of Auguſt, for a day of public and general thankſgiving, throughout England and Wales: and when the day came, it was uſhered in as uſual, and her Majeſty celebrated it by repairing to St. Paul's, with the ſame ſtate, and ſolemnity, as ſhe had done the year before, after the battle of Hochſtadt.

The memorial of the church of England.

The 1ſt of September, a pamphlet, call'd the "memorial of the church of England," was preſented at the Old-baily, and ordered by the court to be burnt by the common hangman.

The aim of it was to prove, that the miniſtry were contriving the deſtruction of the church of England, and countenanc'd it's greateſt enemies. The 10th of October, the Queen and his royal highneſs left Windſor, and came to Kenſington, where, the next day, her Majeſty, in council, was pleaſed to commit the cuſtody of the great ſeal to William Cowper, eſq; one of her Majeſty's learned council in the law, with the title of lord-keeper of the great ſeal of England; and the uſual oaths being adminiſtred to him, his lordſhip took his place at the board accordingly. About the ſame time, her Majeſty thought fit to remove the earl of Abington, from being lord-lieutenant of Oxfordſhire, and conſtable of the Tower of London.

William Cowper, eſq; made lord-keeper.

The parliament meets.

The 25th of October, the parliament met, purſuant to the laſt prorogation, and the houſe of commons being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, the candidates for that important ſtation were William Bromley, eſq; and John Smith, eſq; the firſt put up by the High-church, the other by the Low-church-party, who carried it by a majority of 248 againſt 205. Mr. Smith being preſented to the Queen, the 27th, her Majeſty approved the choice, and then made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"I have been very deſirous to meet you as early as I thought you might be called together, without inconvenience to your ſelves, and it is with much ſatisfaction I obſerve ſo full an appearance at the opening of the parliament, becauſe it is a ground for me to conclude you are all convinced of the neceſſity of proſecuting the juſt war in which we are ingaged; and, therefore, are truly ſenſible, that it is of the greateſt importance to us to be timely in our preparations.

"Nothing can be more evident, than that, if the French King continues maſter of the Spaniſh Monarchy, the balance of power in Europe is utterly deſtroyed; and he will be able, in a ſhort time, to engroſs the trade and the wealth of the world.

"No good Engliſhman could be content, at any time, to ſit ſtill, and acquieſe in ſuch a proſpect; and, at this time, we have great grounds to hope, that, by the bleſſing of GOD, upon our arms, and thoſe of our allies, a good foundation is laid for reſtoring the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria; the conſequence of which will not only be ſafe and advantageous, but glorious for England.

"I may add, we have learnt, by our own experience, that no peace with France will laſt longer, than the firſt opportunity of dividing the allies, and attacking ſome of them with advantage.

"All our allies muſt needs be ſo ſenſible this is the true ſtate of the caſe, that I make no doubt but meaſures will ſoon be ſo concerted, as that if we be not wanting to ourſelves, we ſhall ſee the next campain begin offenſively on all ſides, againſt our enemies, in a moſt vigorous manner.

"I muſt, therefore, deſire you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to grant me the ſupplies which will be requiſite for carrying on the next year's ſervice, both by ſea and land; and, at the ſame time, to conſider, that the giving all poſſible diſpatch will make the ſupply itſelf much more effectual.

"The firmneſs and conduct which the duke of Savoy has ſhewn, amidſt extream difficulties, is beyond example

"I have not been wanting to do all that was poſſible for me, in order to his being ſupported.

"I ought to take notice to you, that the King of Pruſſia's troops have been very uſeful to this end: your approbation of that treaty, laſt ſeſſion, and the incouragement you gave upon it, leave me no doubt of being able to renew for another year.

"I take this occaſion to aſſure you, that not only whatever ſhall be granted by parliament, for bearing the charge of the war, ſhall be laid out for that purpoſe, with the greateſt faithfulneſs and management; but that I will continue to add, out of my own revenue, all I can reaſonably ſpare, beyond the neceſſary expences for the honor of the government.

My lords and gentlemen,

"By an act of parliament paſs'd the laſt winter, I was inabled to appoint commiſſioners for the kingdom to treat with commiſſioners to be impower'd, by authority of parliament, in Scotland, concerning a nearer and more compleat union between the two kingdoms, as ſoon as an act ſhould be made there for that purpoſe; I think it proper for me to acquaint you, that ſuch an act is lately paſs'd there; and I intend, in a ſhort time, to cauſe commiſſions to be made out, in order to put the treaty on foot; which I heartily deſire may prove ſucceſsful; becauſe I am perſuaded, that an union of the two kingdoms will not only prevent many inconveniences, which may otherwiſe happen, but muſt conduce to the peace and happineſs of both nations; and therefore, I hope, I ſhall have your aſſiſtance, in bringing this great work to a concluſion.

"There is another union I think my ſelf obliged to recommend to you, in the moſt earneſt affectionate manner, I mean an union of minds and affections amongſt our ſelves: it is that which would, above all things, diſappoint and defeat the hopes and deſigns of our enemies.

"I cannot but with grief obſerve, there are ſome amongſt us, who indeavor to foment animoſities; but, I perſuade my ſelf, they will be found to be very few, when you appear to aſſiſt me in diſcountenancing, and defeating ſuch practices.

"I mention this, with a little more warmth; becauſe there have not been wanting ſome, ſo very malicious as even in print to ſuggeſt the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, to be in danger, at this time.

"I am willing to hope, not one of my ſubjects can really entertain a doubt of my affection to the church, or ſo much as ſuſpect, that it will not be my chief care to ſupport it, and leave it ſecure after me; and therefore, we may be certain, that they who go about to inſinuate things of this nature, muſt be mine, and the kingdom's enemies, and can only mean to cover deſigns which they dare not publickly own, by indeavoring to diſtract us with unreaſonable and groundleſs diſtruſt and jealouſies.

"I muſt be ſo plain as to tell you, the beſt

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" proofs we can all give at preſent, of our zeal " for the preſervation of the church, will be to " join heartily in proſecuting the war againſt an " enemy, who is certainly ingaged to extirpate " our religion, as well as to reduce this kingdom " to ſlavery.

" I am fully reſolved, by God's aſſiſtance, to " do my part.

" I will always affectionately ſupport and coun- " tenance the church of England, as by law eſta- " bliſhed.

" I will inviolably maintain the toleration.

" I will do all I can to prevail with my ſubjects, " to lay aſide their diviſions, and will ſtudy to " make them all ſafe and eaſy.

" I will indeavor to promote religion and virtue " amongſt them, and to incourage trade, and every " thing elſe that may make them a flouriſhing and " happy people.

" And they who ſhall concur zealouſly with " me, in carrying on theſe good deſigns, ſhall be " ſure to find my kindneſs and favor."

This pathetic and comprehenſive ſpeech, pened, as it was ſuppoſed, by the new lord-keeper, was received with great applauſe, by the generality of the people, and the majority of both houſes of parliament.

Addreſs of the lords.

The 1ſt of November, the lords attended the Queen with an addreſs, wherein having taken notice of what had been delivered from the throne, they aſſured her; " that they concur'd in " theſe her Majeſty's wiſe and noble ſentiments; " and that no dangers ſhould deter, nor any arti- " fices divert them, from doing all that was in " their power, to aſſiſt her Majeſty in carrying " on the war, 'till ſhe ſhould be inabled to pro- " cure ſuch a peace for Europe, as ſhe had men- " tioned in her ſpeech:"

They commended, or, as they expreſs'd it, " admired in her Majeſty, that tender and indul- " gent affection to her people, which ſhe had " ſhewn from the begining of her reign; that " earneſt deſire to unite them among themſelves, " and to make them all eaſy, ſafe and happy; that " ſteady zeal for the church of England, and that " compaſſion for thoſe who were ſo unhappy as to " diſſent from her: and promiſed to do all they " could to diſcountenance and defeat the deſigns " and practices of thoſe who fomented animoſities " among her people; ever to ſhew the utmoſt de- " teſtation of thoſe ungrateful and wicked men, " who labored to diſhonor her Majeſty's reign, " and diſtract her ſubjects, with unre onable and " groundleſs jealouſies of dangers to the church " of England: and to be ready to concur in all " meaſures requiſite to put a ſtop to the malice of " thoſe incendiaries."

The Queen's anſwer.

The Queen returned their lordſhips " her hearty " thanks for this addreſs; aſſured them it was a " great ſatisfaction to her, to find they were ſo " ready to concur in thoſe things ſhe had recom- " mended to them."

Addreſs of the commons.

The 6th, the commons waited on her Majeſty with their addreſs, in which they alſo " repeated, " and concurred in all the eſſential parts of her

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

" ſpeech:" the Queen told them; " ſhe took " very kindly the confidence expreſs'd in her care " of the public, and their concern for the occaſion " ſhe had to complain, and returned them her " hearty thanks, for the aſſurance of their ſupport " and aſſiſtance, which ſhe would always indeavor " to improve for the advantage and happineſs of " her people."

A ſupply voted.

The 9th of November, the commons, in a grand commitee, voted a ſupply to her Majeſty, which reſolution was, the next day, reported and approved; and it was ordered, " That eſtimates of the " ſea-ſervice, land-forces, and office of ordnance; as " alſo accounts of other particular expences; of " the number of ſhips and men imployed in the " ſea-ſervice, from the 1ſt of November 1704, " to the ſame day 1705; of the ſums of mony " that had ariſen by prizes, &c. might be laid be- " fore the houſe, which was readily complied " with."

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Addreſs of the commons about the union.

The 13th, the commons having taken the Queen's ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved to " addreſs her " Majeſty, to return her thanks for her tender " regard to the good and welfare of both her " kingdoms of England and Scotland; for her " great care and indeavor to ſettle the ſucceſſion " of the kingdom of Scotland, in the houſe of " Hanover; for preſerving the peace, and pro- " moting the union of the two kingdoms; and to " aſſure her Majeſty, that this houſe would, to " the utmoſt of their power, aſſiſt her Majeſty, to " bring this great work to a happy concluſion: " and, likewiſe, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleas'd " to direct, that the whole proceedings of the " laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in Scotland, relating " to the union of the two kingdoms, and the ſet- " tlement of the ſucceſſion of Scotland, in the " houſe of Hanover, be laid before this houſe."

The Queen's anſwer.

The 15th, mr. ſecretary Harley acquainted the houſe; that this addreſs having been preſented to her Majeſty, ſhe was pleaſed to give an anſwer, in theſe words: " I take very kindly the " ſenſe you expreſs of my indeavors to promote " the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the treaty of union, " in Scotland. I have given direction for com- " plying with your addreſs; and you ſhall have " the ſtate of that matter as ſoon as it can con- " veniently be ſent you.

Addreſs of the lords, on the ſame account.

The 12th, the lords took her Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration; and, after a long debate, a commitee was ordered to ſit the next day, to draw up an addreſs to the Queen, to deſire; " that her " Majeſty would be pleaſed to order all papers, " relating to the proceedings of the laſt ſeſſion of " the parliament of Scotland, to be laid before " that houſe:" which orders the Queen gave accordingly.

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

The 15th, their lordſhips went upon the ſtate of the nation, her Majeſty being preſent: and the lord Haverſham, upon that occaſion, made a remarkable ſpeech, of which I have already made ſome mention, when I ſpoke of the oppoſition made by the Dutch, to the deſign laid by the duke of Marlborough to ingage the French, after he had forced their lines; and ſhall now add a paragraph or two. Having taken notice of the backwardneſs of the Imperialiſts and the Dutch, the next thing he hinted at was the decay of our trade. " There is a word " (ſaid he) we are fond of, which we call the " balance of power: but the Dutch, who are a " very wiſe people, have a double view, and take " as much care of the balance of trade, as they do " of the balance of power, and are as much afraid " of our power by ſea, as of the power of France " by land. Trade begets wealth, as wealth be- " gets power; and it is very hard for England, " that while the Dutch live at peace, under the " protection of our arms, if we will have any " part of trade with them, we muſt have it under " the protection of French paſſes. The Dutch, " indeed, complain they are poor, but I do not " ſee (continued his lordſhip) how they have been " out of pocket one ſhilling ſince the war; for " they have had more by remitances and mony " from England, than all the mony ſent out of " their country to Portugal, Savoy, and the Ger- " man Princes."

He likewiſe animadverted on a paragraph in her Majeſty's ſpeech to the laſt parliament, wherein ſhe told them, of ſome heats in the houſe, and this

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this he insinuated was "unparliamentary, and "hoped her Majesty would never give ear to any "secret and private information, but as it came "to her in a parliamentary way, by the houses "themselves:" but his principal aim, in this speech, seems to have been to procure an invitation of the Princess Sophia to come to England, and, to that end, he concluded with a motion: "that an humble address be presented to her Ma- "jesty by this house, that she will be graciously "pleased to invite the presumptive heir to the "crown of England, according to the acts of "parliament made for settling the succession of the "crown, in the Protestant line, into this kingdom, "to reside here."

Motion for inviting the Princess Sophia.

Carried in the negative.

This motion was, indeed, back'd by some lords; but it was opposed by a great majority; and, after a debate of four hours, the question being about to be put upon the motion, the previous question, whether it should be put, was carried in the negative; whereupon the lords, who were for the affirmative, entered their protests (1). However, to shew their zeal for the security of the Hanover-succession, the lords appointed the 19th of that month, to take the same into consideration. After that day's debate, at which the Queen was present, it was carried without dividing; "that a "bill be brought in for the better security of her "Majesty's person and government, and of the "succession to the crown of England in the Pro- "testant line: and that for continuing the admi- "nistration of the government, in the name of "the next Protestant successor (that may happen "to be out of this kingdom, at the time of her "Majesty's demise) until her or his arrival, the "archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, or "lord-keeper of the great seal, the high-treasurer, "the president of the council, the lord privy-seal, "the high-admiral, and the lord chief-justice of "the Queen's-bench, at that time being, be con- "stituted lords-justices of England, and impower- "ed, in the name of the successor, to act, as if "present." This bill was brought in the 21st, and, at the same time, the lords ordered another bill to be brought in, for naturalizing the house of Hanover, being Protestants.

Bill for the security of the Hanover succession.

The 22d, the lord Haversham moved, "that "the miscarriages of the last campain, occasioned "by the allies, might be look'd into;" which being put to the vote was carried, by a great majority, in the negative. The next day, their lordships went upon the Scotish affairs, the Queen being present, and, after a long debate, resolved; "that, in order to come to an union with the "kingdom of Scotland, the act pass'd the last "session of the preceding parliament, intitled, an "act for the effectual securing the kingdom of "England, from the apparent dangers which may "arise from several acts lately pass'd in the parlia- "ment of Scotland, should be repeal'd, except "the clause which impowers her Majesty to ap- "point commissioners to treat of an union with "that kingdom; ordered, that the judges bring "in a bill for that purpose, and that a commitee "should sit thereon: and resolved, that the thanks "of the house be given to her Majesty, for her "care about Scotland, and for her promoting the "interest of that kingdom, by the succession to "the crown, in the Protestant line.

A bill for an union with Scotland.

The several branches of supply voted.

The commons, in the mean time, proceeded with great unanimity and chearfulness, in the dispatch of the public business, and voted the several branches of the supply, which, in general, were but a confirmation of those of the foregoing year: but this is observable, that the question being proposed and put; "whether it should be "refered to the commitee to consider, that in "the clause for adding 10,000 men, to act in "conjunction with the Dutch, it should be pro- "vided, that they be obliged to leave off trading "with France;" it was carried in the negative, by a majority of 184 voices, against 117.

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The 22d of November, captain Norris (of the Britannia) arrived at St. Helens, on board the Canterbury; being sent express from Barcelona to bring the welcome news of the reduction of that city, as I have above related. In the same ship came the lord Shannon, and brigadier-general (late earl) Stanhope, who brought letters to the Queen, from the King of Spain, the Junta of the military arm of Catalonia, the city of Barcelona, the city of Vich, and the earl of Peterborough: upon the receit of which, her Majesty went to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for up, she was pleas'd to make the following speech to both houses:

Advice of the successes in Catalonia.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Having newly received letters from the King "of Spain, and the earl of Peterborough, which "contain a very particular account of our great "and happy successes in Catalonia, and shew- "ing, at the same time, the reasonableness of "their being immediately supported, I look upon "this to be a matter of so much consequence in "it self, and so agreeable to you, that I have or- "dered a copy of the King of Spain's letter to "myself, a letter from the Junta of the military "arm of Catalonia; and another letter from the "city of Vich, as also an extract of the earl of "Peterborough's letter to me, to be communi- "cated to both houses of parliament.

The Queen's speech thereupon.

"I recommend the consideration of them to "you, gentlemen of the house of commons, very "particularly, as the speediest way to restore the "Monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria: "and therefore, I assure my self, you will inable "me to prosecute the advantages we have gained, "in the most effectual manner, and to improve "the opportunity, which God Almighty has "pleased to afford us, of puting a prosperous end "to the present war."

My lords and gentlemen,

"I must not lose this occasion, of desiring you "to give as much dispatch to the matters before "you, as the nature of them will allow; that so "our preparations for the next year may be early, "which cannot fail of being of great advantage "to us."

The commons being return'd to their house, mr. secretary Hedges laid before them the letters mentioned in her Majesty's speech, after the reading of which, it was unanimously resolved: that that an humble address be presented to her Majesty "to congratulate the glorious succes of her "arms, and those of her allies in Catalonia, and "to assure her Majesty, that this house would, "to the utmost of their power, inable her Ma- "jesty to prosecute the great advantages already "obtained there." And this address being presented, the same day, her Majesty "returned "them many thanks, for the assurances they "had given, which she did not doubt would "have a good effect, at home and abroad."

The commons congratulate the Queen thereupon.

The 29th, both houses attended the Queen

Addres to cultivate a good understanding with the allies.

(1) Their protest was entered in the following words: "we humbly conceive, that having a presumptive heir to the "crown residing in the kingdom, will be a great strenthening to her Majesty's royal hands, in the administration of the "government, and security of her Majesty's royal person, and of the succession to the crown, in the Protestant line, as by "law establith'd."

with

Q. Ann, An' 1705. with an addreſs; importing: "that being juſtly alarmed by the many artifices, which the emiſſaries of France had put in practice the laſt year, in order to raiſe jealouſies, and create miſunderſtandings amongſt the allies; and being apprehenſive leaſt ſuch malicious inſinuations, if they ſhould paſs unobſerved, might, in time, ſo far take place, as to abate the ſpirit, and ſlacken the zeal of the confederacy, they moſt humbly beſought her Majeſty, to uſe all poſſible indeavors to preſerve a good correſpondence amongſt all the confederates, and, in a moſt particular manner, to maintain and cultivate a ſtrict friendſhip, with the States-general of the United-provinces, as alſo, by all proper means, to excite the whole confederacy, to make early and effectual preparations, and to exert their utmoſt vigor, in the proſecution of the war againſt France."

The Queen's anſwer. To this addreſs, the Queen anſwered; "that their joining in this addreſs was a very particular ſatisfaction: that their opinion would always be of the greateſt weight with her; that ſhe would readily comply with their deſire; and that ſhe made no queſtion but it would meet with a juſt regard from all their allies.

Farther ſupplies voted. The commons being, the ſame day, in a grand committee, on the ſupply, voted, among ſeveral other ſums, as in the foregoing year, an additional ſupply of 250,000 l. for her Majeſty's proportion of the charge, of proſecuting the ſucceſſes already gained by King Charles III. for recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria.

The Princeſs Sophia naturalized. The 3d of December (1), the Queen went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſtate, and gave the royal aſſent to "An act for exhibiting a bill in this preſent parliament, for naturalizing the moſt excelent princeſs Sophia, electreſs and dutcheſs dowager of Hanover, and the iſſue of her body."

The next day, the houſe of commons, in a grand commitee, took into conſideration the "papers communicated to their houſe, relating to the proceedings of the parliament of Scotland, concerning the union of the two kingdoms, and the ſucceſſion of the crown of Scotland, in the houſe of Hanover." Upon this occaſion, ſir Thomas Hanmer made a motion, conformable to that which had been made in the houſe of lords, "for inviting the Princeſs Sophia to come to England. This motion was ſeconded by mr. Benſon, and ſupported by mr. Bromley, and other gentlemen:" but another motion being made, and the queſtion put, "that the chairman leave the chair," it was carried in the affirmative, and ſo ſir Thomas Hanmer's motion drop'd (2)

Debates about the church of England's being in danger. The reader will remember, that her Majeſty was pleas'd, in her firſt ſpeech to this parliament, to declare that a great many people made it their buſineſs to inſinuate, "That the church of England was in danger:" therefore, to juſtify her Majeſty's aſſertion, that it was not, and to remove all unreaſonable and ill-grounded jealouſies, or, as the other party would have it, in order to condemn and fix a brand on all thoſe who ſuggeſted, that the then miniſtry had any treacherous deſigns againſt the church; the lord Hallifax moved the houſe of peers, that a day might be appointed to inquire into that pretended danger. The 6th of December was appointed, accordingly, when, after the matter had been very warmly debated, in the Queen's preſence, the chief ſpeakers, being the earl of Rocheſter, the lord Hallifax, the biſhops of Lincoln and Sarum, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of Ely, Litchfield and Coventry, and Bath and Wells, the duke of Leeds, and the lord Sommers, the queſtion was put, "Whether the church of England was in danger?" Which, upon a diviſion, was carried in the negative, by a majority of ſixty-one voices againſt thirty. And then their lordſhips made the following vote, viz. "Reſolved, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, that the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, which was reſcued from the extreameſt danger, by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's bleſſing, under the happy reign of her Majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and that whoever goes about to ſuggeſt and inſinuate, that the church is in danger, under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, is an enemy to the Queen, the church and the kingdom:" againſt which reſolution, ſeveral lords entered their proteſts, for the reaſons alledg'd in the debate. Reſolution of the lords thereupon.

The next day, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them with their proceedings, and deſire their concurrence with their reſolution, in relation to the church: upon which, the day following, the queſtion was put, "Whether they ſhould conſider of that meſſage in a commitee, or in a full houſe?" And it was carried for the latter, by 222 voices, againſt 161. After a long debate (3), the commons agreed with the reſolution of the lords; but divided upon the latter part; (viz. "is now in a moſt ſafe, &c.") 212 for the affirmative againſt 162 for the negative. The commons concur in it.

The 14th, the commons agreed, likewiſe, with the lords, in an addreſs to the Queen, containing the aforementioned reſolution, relating to the church: "beſeeching, withal, her Majeſty, to take effectual meaſures for making the ſaid reſolution public, and alſo for puniſhing the authors and ſpreaders of the ſeditious and ſcandalous reports of the church being in danger:" to this the Queen anſwered: "That ſhe ſhould freely comply with their addreſs, and was very well pleas'd to find both houſes ſo forward to join with her, Addreſs of both houſes thereupon. The Queen's anſwer.

(1) The ſame day, the duke of Argile, of the kingdom of Scotland, was introduced into the houſe of peers, as baron and earl of the kingdom of England, by the ſtile, name and title, of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich, in the county of Kent, as was, ſome time before, the duke of Mountague, in that quality.

(2) It was matter of wonder and ſurprize to many, that this motion was made and ſupported by gentlemen of the party call'd tories, and the motives aſſign'd for this conduct varied as much, as the parties by whom they were propagated. The tory-party pretended, that they made it "to demonſtrate, that they were not in the pretender's intereſt, as their enemies ſuggeſted, and that ſhe might be acquainted with the true intereſt of the nation, and not rely upon the partial repreſentations of the whigs, in forming a judgment of the ſeveral parties, and, in ſhort, to ſhew that illuſtrious family, that the tories were no leſs zealous for their ſucceſſion than the whigs, who repreſented them as enemies to it, and much better friends to monarchy, than that party could pretend to be." The whigs, on the other hand, pretended; "That the motion for inviting the Princeſs Sophia was made by the tories, to put a ſlur upon it, being well aſſured, that the court-party would not come into it; which could not fail of being of ſome uſe to the Jacobites."

(3) The chief arguments in this debate, in both houſes, to prove the church in danger, were: "The power of the preſbyterians in Scotland, where the church of England was not ſo much as tolerated: the abſence of the next proteſtant ſucceſſor, in caſe of the Queen's demiſe; the want of an act againſt occaſional conformity: the increaſe of preſbyterian ſchools and ſeminaries: prophaneneſs, immorality and irreligion; the act of ſecurity in Scotland: the abuſe and ill diſpenſation of her Majeſty's late bounty to the clergy: the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and the great numbers of libels, which were daily publiſh'd againſt the church: the increaſe of preſbyterian conventicles; and, in the houſe of commons, even the reſolution of the lords was urged, to prove the church's being in danger."

"in

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" in putting a ſtop to theſe malicious reports: and, according to the deſire of both houſes, the 20th, her Majeſty ordered a proclamation to be iſſued, for making their reſolution public; " and for " diſcovering the author of the memorial of the " church of England; and apprehending David " Edwards, a profeſs'd Papiſt, charged upon oath " to be the printer and publiſher of that libel.

Charles Cæſar eſq; ſent to the Tower.

The 19th of December, an ingroſs'd bill from the lords, intitled an " act for the better ſecurity of " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and of " the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, in the " Proteſtant-line," being read a ſecond time, a debate aroſe, thereupon, in which Charles Cæſar, eſq; member for the borough of Hertford, among other things, ſaid: " there was a noble lord, with- " out whoſe advice the Queen did nothing, who, " in the late reign, was known to keep a conſtant " correſpondence with the court of St. Germains." This reflection, upon a great favorite, was ſo highly reſented by the houſe, that, having order'd the words to be taken down in writing, at the table, they voted them to be " highly diſhonorable to " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and that " Charles Cæſar, eſq; be, for his ſaid offenſe, com- " mited priſoner to the Tower."

Acts paſs'd.

The 21ſt the Queen came to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to; 1ſt " the land-tax- " act (of four-ſhillings in the pound) for the year " 1706; 2d, an act to repeal ſeveral clauſes in " the ſtatutes made in the third and fourth year " of her preſent Majeſty's reign, for ſecuring the " kingdom of England from ſeveral acts lately " paſs'd in the parliament of Scotland; 3d, an " act for the naturalization of the moſt excellent " Princeſs Sophia, electreſs and ducheſs-dowager " of Hanover, and the iſſue of her body;" and to three private bills.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

This done, her Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe took notice of the " unani- " mity of their proceedings, and of the good diſpo- " ſition they had ſhewn towards an union with " Scotland; and returning the commons thanks " for the great diſpatch of this ſeaſonable ſupply; " not doubting but, after the receſs, they would " return, with the ſame good diſpoſition, to give all " poſſible diſpatch to the public affairs ſtill depen- " ding." The commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs of thanks, for this ſpeech, and then adjourn'd themſelves to the 7th of January. The laſt day of this year, died at Liſbon, Queen Katherine, dowager of King Charles II.

AN' 1706. Thanks given to the duke of Marlborough by the houſe of commons.

The duke of Marlborough being returned to England, as I have already ſaid, at the concluſion of the laſt year's tranſactions, and the parliament being then ſiting, the houſe of commons reſolved, on the 7th of January, " that the thanks of their " houſe be given to his grace the duke of Marl- " borough, for his great ſervices performed to " her Majeſty, and the nation, in the laſt cam- " pain, and for his prudent negociations with " her Majeſty's allies;" and appointed a commitee, for that purpoſe, who having attended the duke accordingly, his grace's anſwer was:

His anſwer.

" I am ſo ſenſible of the great honor which is " done me by this meſſage, that I cannot have the " leaſt concern at the reflections of any private " malice, while I have the ſatisfaction of finding " my faithful indeavors to ſerve the Queen, and " the kingdom, ſo favorably accepted by the houſe " of commons."

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Aſperſions thrown upon the duke.

Theſe reflections of private malice the reader has already partly ſeen, in what I have mentioned above: but the chief were, as it was believed, ſome aſperſions caſt upon his grace's conduct, laſt campain, in ſeveral pamphlets, and eſpecially in a libel, intitled: a letter to the author of the memorial of the church of England. Mr. Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, being found to be the author of that ſcandalous pamphlet, was ſent for up, and examin'd before a ſecretary of ſtate. He, at firſt, ſeem'd obſtinate in maintaining what he had advanced; but, upon better thoughts, being ſenſible of his error, he publiſhed a recantation, by way of letter to the duke of Marlborough.

Eſpecially by mr. Stephens.

An attempt ſaid to be formed againſt the duke, in the houſe of lords.

But this malice, which the duke of Marlborough takes notice of, was not confined to pamphlets alone; an attempt was formed againſt him, as it was believed, even in the houſe of lords, tho' he was, upon all occaſions, ſpoken of with great reſpect. Complaints were made of the errors commited the laſt year, in the conduct of the war. The anti-miniſterial party laid, indeed, the blame of the miſcarriage of the deſign on the Moſel, on the Prince of Baden, and the errors commited in Brabant, on the States and their deputies; but, they pretended, they could not be judges of theſe things, nor be able to give the Queen ſuch advice, as might be fiting for them to offer her, unleſs they were made acquainted with the whole ſeries of thoſe affairs: their propoſal, therefore, was, that, by an addreſs, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all ſhe knew concerning thoſe tranſactions, during the laſt campain (1). This attempt, however, failed, and tended rather to the duke's honor than diſgrace.

The duke of Marlborough concerts an attempt on Toulon.

About the ſame time, his grace had the honor of the Queen's commands, to treat with the duke of Savoy, concerning an attempt upon Toulon, which, tho' it miſcarried in the execution, was thought one of the moſt effectual means of finiſhing the war. Having treated about it, with the duke's miniſters, he made overtures to the Dutch, of going to his royal highneſs's aſſiſtance: but the States-general ſet too great a value upon his conduct to part with him ſo eaſily, and fearing they might be expoſed by his abſence, prevailed upon him to make the campain in Flanders. But to return to the parliament.

Ways and means.

The 8th of January, the commons reſolved; " that towards raiſing the ſupply, a tax be laid " upon all grants of lands, tenements, hereditaments " and penſions, made ſince the 6th day of February " 1684. That the ſaid tax be a fifth part of the " value of the grant, at the time of the grant made; " that the duties upon malt, mum, cyder and perry, " be farther continued from the 23d of June " 1706, until the 24th of June 1707, and a far- " ther duty be laid upon all low-wines, or ſpirits " of the firſt extraction, from any forein materials:" and ordered a bill to be brought in upon the ſaid reſolution.

The 18th the commons voted, " that the duty " upon coals, culm and cinders, which were to

(1) They reckoned, that if all particulars ſhould be laid before them, " they would find ſomething in the duke of Marl- " borough's conduct, on which a cenſure might be fix'd. To this, it was anſwered, that if any complaint was brought againſt " any of the Queen's ſubjects, it would be reaſonable for them to inquire into it, by all proper ways: but the houſe of lords " could not pretend to examine, or to cenſure the conduct of the Queen's allies: they were not ſubject to them, nor could they " be heard to juſtify themſelves: and it was ſomething extraordinary if they ſhould paſs a cenſure, or make a complaint of them. " It was one of the truſts that was lodg'd with the government, to manage all treaties and alliances; ſo that our commerce with " our allies was wholly in the crown. Allies might ſometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: they are " ſubject both to errors and to accidents, and are ſometimes ill-ſerved. The entring into that matter was not at all proper for " the houſe, unleſs it was intended to run into raſh and indiſcreet cenſures, on deſign to provoke the allies, and, by that means " to weaken, if not break the alliance. The Queen would no doubt indeavor to redreſs whatſoever was amiſs, and that muſt " be truſted to her conduct." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. II. p. 436.

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" continue until the 15th of May 1708, ſhould be far-
" ther continued 'till the 30th of September, 1708."

About the ſame time, Edwards, who printed the libel, call'd a " memorial of the church of " England," for the apprehending of whom a proclamation, with a promiſe of a reward had been iſſued, ſurrender'd himſelf upon aſſurance of a pardon, if he diſcovered the author of it, and named mr. Pooley, mr. Ward, and ſir Humphrey Mackworth, three members of the houſe of commons: but the copy being brought him by a third hand, he was not able to make good the charge, and ſo the matter dropp'd.

Acts paſs'd.

The 16th of February, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the " malt-bill, to an act for continuing an aditional " ſubſidy of tonage and poundage, certain duties " on coals, &c. and additional duties of exciſe, " for payment of annuities;" and to ſome other public and private acts; after which her Majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe particularly " thank'd the commons, for perfecting " ſo great ſupplies, in ſo ſhort a time."

The 27th, the commons took into conſideration the accounts of the revenues and debts, ever ſince her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, and reſolved: " that it appear'd to this houſe, that the public " revenues, granted, or ariſen, ſince her Majeſty's " happy acceſſion to the crown, had been duly ap- " plied to the advancement of the public credit, " and for the advantage and honor of the nation." The ſame day, they unanimouſly reſolved, to addreſs her Majeſty; " that ſhe would be pleaſed to " iſſue out her royal proclamation, for puting in " execution the laws in force againſt all ſuch per- " ſons as had or ſhould indeavor to pervert her " Majeſty's ſubjects to the Popiſh religion:" and ordered a bill to be brought in, " for making more " effectual the act of the eleventh year of his late " Majeſty's reign, for the farther preventing the " growth of Popery." A bill was brought in accordingly, the next day; but, at the third reading, it was rejected, by a majority, of one hundred and nineteen, againſt forty-three. The lords had likewiſe brought a bill into their houſe againſt Popery; but upon the commons rejecting theirs, that was dropp'd likewiſe, and they were contented with addreſſing the Queen, on the 14th of March; " that a more watchful eye ſhould be had over " the Romiſh prieſts, and Papiſts for the future, " and, for the ſame purpoſe, that a diſtinct and par- " ticular account ſhould be taken of all Papiſts, and " reputed Papiſts, in the kingdom, with their re- " ſpective qualities, eſtates, and places of abode, " and that the ſeveral accounts of theſe inquiries be " laid before their houſe, at the next ſeſſion of " parliament."

Bills againſt Popery dropp'd.

Addreſs of the lords againſt Papiſts.

The Queen's anſwer.

To this addreſs, her Majeſty anſwered; " ſhe " was fully convinc'd, that the inſolent behavior " of the Papiſts had made, what their lordſhips " adviſed, neceſſary to be done, for the ſafety of " her perſon and government, and the welfare " of her people, and that ſhe would give the neceſſary " orders for every thing their lordſhips deſired."

Sir Rowland Gwyn's letter to the earl of Stamford cenſur'd.

The debates, which had been in both houſes, about inviting the Princeſs Sophia to come to England, having made a great noiſe, mr. Charles Gildon handed to the preſs a letter from ſir Rowland Gwyn, to the right honorable the earl of Stamford, dated at Hanover, Jan. 1. O. S. 1705-6, on that ſubject. This letter giving great offenſe to the miniſtry, on the 8th of March, a complaint was made of it to the houſe of commons, who voted it a ſcandalous, falſe and malicious libel, and, together with the lords, addreſs'd the Queen, " that " ſhe would be pleaſed to give order for the diſ- " covery and proſecuting of the author, with the " printer and publiſher, of the ſaid pamphlet." Accordingly mr. Gildon being apprehended for it, was afterwards tried, at Guild-hall, and fined 100 l. for publiſhing it.

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Differences between the two houſes of convocation.

The differences which had ariſen four years before, between the two houſes of convocation, concerning the manner of ſynodical proceedings, and principally about the " right claimed by the " lower-houſe of holding and continuing their aſ- " ſemblies in the intervals of the ordinary proro- " gations," which the upper-houſe would never allow, maintaining, " that the archbiſhop has the " ſole and undoubted right of proroguing the " whole convocation of the upper and lower houſe, " with conſent of his ſuffragans;" theſe differences, I ſay, were, at this time, unhappily renewed: but the convocation being prorogued, ſome time after, to the firſt of March, the Queen, who was apprehenſive that theſe differences might ariſe to a greater height, if they were ſuffered to meet again, ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, on the 25th of February, wherein ſhe told him; " ſhe was ſurpri- " zed at the unhappy ſtate of things; but was re- " ſolved to maintain her ſupremacy, and the due " ſubordination of preſbyters to biſhops, as funda- " mental parts thereof; and if the biſhops acted con- " formably to this reſolution, they might be ſure of " the continuance of her protection and favor; and " directed him to adjourn the convocation to ſuch " farther time as ſhould appear convenient."

The archbiſhop being, at this time, indiſpoſed, appointed the biſhop of Norwich to act for him, as metropolitan, and as ſuch, he firſt communicated her Majeſty's letter to the convocation, to prorogue them. The upper-houſe being accordingly met, the 1ſt of March, in the Jeruſalem-chamber, the biſhop of Norwich ſent for dr. Bincks, dean of Litchfield, and prolocutor of the lower-houſe, who attended, with ſome other members of that houſe: but while the biſhop was reading the Queen's letter, dr. Atterbury, taking the prolocutor by the ſleeve, deſired him to be gone, telling him they had no buſineſs there. Upon this, the biſhop of Saliſbury roſe from his ſeat, and, ſtepping to them, told them: " it was the " greateſt piece of inſolence he ever ſaw, thus to " refuſe hearing the Queen's order," and bid the prolocutor " go at his peril;" whereupon he ſtaid and heard part of the Queen's letter read. Dr. Atterbury, and ſome others, return'd in the mean time, to the lower-houſe, and dr. Bincks being alſo come thither, they adjourned themſelves to the Wedneſday following.

Acts paſs'd.

The laſt thing of moment, which the two houſes of parliament took ſeverally under their conſideration, this ſeſſion, was the great want of ſeamen to man the fleet, and the commons having come to ſeveral reſolutions thereupon, ordered the ſame to be formed into a " bill, for the incourage- " ment and increaſe of ſeamen" &c. which being perfected and paſs'd both houſes, in four days, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 19th of March, and gave the royal aſſent to that act; " 2. to an act for the better ſecurity of " her Majeſty's perſon and government, and of " the crown of England in the Proteſtant line (1):

3. an

(1) By this act, the act of ſucceſſion received very material alterations, particularly in the appointing a regency, after the demiſe of her Majeſty; and whereas it was provided by the former act of ſettlement, that all matters relating to the goverment ſhould be tranſacted in the privy-council, and ſigned by the privy-counſelors, this clauſe was now repeal'd, as was likewiſe, that by which every perſon in office was diſqualified from being a member of parliament. The laſt alteration met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, and, at length, the matter was agreed to in the following manner, viz. " That after the " diſſolution

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" 3. an act for the amendment of the law, and the " better advancement of justice; 4. an act to pre- " vent frauds commited by bankrupts;" with several others of less moment, in all to the number of seventeen public, and fifty-three private bills.

The Queen's speech to both houses.

After this, her Majesty made a speech to both houses, in which she told the commons in particular; " she was extreamly sensible of the dis- " patch they had given to the supplies; assuring " them, she would be very careful, that they might " be applied for the common interest." She likewise took notice of the " unanimity and zeal, which " she had observed in both houses, with great " satisfaction, throughout this whole session, against " every thing that tended towards sedition." The lord-keeper then, by the Queen's command, prorogued the parliament, to the 21st of May, next insuing.

The parliament prorogued.

The Electoral Prince of Hanover chosen knight of the garter.

The 5th of April, a chapter of the most noble order of the garter was held at Kensington, where the soverein, and ten knights-companions being present, his highness, George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Brumswick Lunenburg (his present most gracious Majesty) was elected a knight companion of that most noble order.

According to the order I have hitherto observed, I should now proceed to an account of the affairs of Scotland: but as the union was the grand affair this year, of the parliament of that kingdom, I chose rather to postpone it, that I may give an account of what pass'd, in that matter, in Scotland, with what was transacted in that affair, in the parliament of England, in one connexion. And as our maritime affairs, this year, had a great connexion with the campains in Italy and Spain, I shall, therefore, postpone my account of them, likewise, and proceed first to a relation of the campain in Flanders.

The campain in Flanders.

The duke of Marlborough, who imbark'd for Holland the begining of April, continued at the Hague, 'till the 9th of May, N. S. during which time, he had repeated conferences, with the deputies of the States, and their generals. His grace departed, that day, and, being accompanied by Veltmarshal d'Auverquerque, arrived at Maestricht the 12th. Monsr. d'Auverquerque departed the same night, and the duke followed him, to the army of the States, which was drawn together near Tongeren; and both repaired, the 17th, to Liege, to view the citadel, and the new works about that place. The English forces having received orders, in the mean time, to take the field, general Churchill set out from Breda, with the troops which were there, and the artillery, the 8th, and march'd to Wallwick; and, the same day, the rest of them march'd out of their respective garisons, in order to join at the Bosch, which they did, the 9th. The 11th, they march'd to Carnock, and from thence continued with long marches, till they arrived at Bilsen, the 19th of the same month. The 20th the army of the States marched from Tongeren, to Borchlaem, and, the same day, the English joined them, between that place, and Grosz-Waren (1).

The confederate army takes the field.

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Designs and motions of the French.

The court of France, in the mean time, had information, that the confederate army, in the Netherlands, was not yet compleat; that the Danes refused to stir from their quarters, till their arrears were paid; and that the Prussians, for other reasons, were yet so far behind, that they could not join the duke of Marlborough in several weeks. It was confidently said, that the French King had pensioners in the courts of Denmark and Prussia, who had promised him to use their utmost indeavors to retard the march of their respective master's forces (which were in the pay of England and Holland) to the general rendezvous; upon the confidence of which they proceeded, as we shall presently find they did (2). Be this as it will, the army of the two crowns, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy, consisting of 70,000 men, being intirely assembled, they flattered themselves, that they might keep up the sinking credit of their arms, by a considerable action in the Netherlands. In this fond imagination, such positive orders were sent to the marshal de Villeroy, to fight the allies, that the duke of Bavaria, who was then at Brussels, had but just time enough to take post-horses, to join the army, which passed the Deule, the 19th of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, with the Gheet before them.

The confederates are desirous of ingaging.

The confederates on their side were no less eager for an ingagement; but could hardly flatter themselves with the hopes of having so early, and so fair an opportunity for it. The duke of Marlborough, being apprehensive, that the French would play the same game over again, and keep behind the Deule, as they had done the year before, had several times expres's'd his concern and uneasiness about it, to those who were intimate with him; and, by a wise forecast, was already laying schemes, to put the enemy beside their cautious measures, when providence threw into his hands an unexpected occasion of signalizing again his courage and conduct.

Motions of their army, in order thereunto.

Upon the enemy's passing the Deule, the duke of Marlborough sent orders to the Danish horse, who were coming from their garisons, to hasten their march; and that their might not be the least pretence of delay, he ingaged his promise, with the field-deputies of the States, that their arrears should be duly paid them. The duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded those troops, and was well affected to the common cause, seing every thing was complied with, that the King of Denmark insisted on, thought he needed not to stay till he sent to that court, nor wait for expres's orders. He, therefore, commanded his troops to march, and they made such expedition, that the 22d of May, N. S. being the day before the battle, they came up within a league of the rear of the confederate army.

The French come out of their lines.

About the same time, the French having been join'd by the horse of the marshal de Marsin's ar-

" dissolution of the then parliament, no person, in any new office, to be erected by the crown; or any commissioner, secretary, " or receiver of prizes; comptroller of accounts of the army; commissioners of transports, or sick and wounded; or agents " of regiments; governors of plantations; commissioners of the navy; of the out-ports, or any persons having pensions from " the crown during pleasure, should be capable of being chosen members of the house of commons: and that if any person, " chosen a member, should afterwards accept any place of profit from the crown, his election should be void; but that the same " person might be rechosen for that, or any other county or borough. It was farther provided, that there should be no more " commissioners appointed, for the execution of any office, than there had been before that session: and lastly, it was inacted, " that if any person, declared incapable of being elected, by this act, should presume to sit or vote in the house, he should " forfeit 500 l. to him that would sue for the same."

(1) The confederate army then consisted of seventy-four battalions of foot, and 123 squadrons of horse and dragoons, having with them 100 canon, twenty hawitzers, and 42 pontons.

(2) Others say, the court of France being sensible, that a defensive war would, at length, terminate in their irrecoverable ruin, resolved to make an extraordinary effort, and to act every where offensively. In order hereunto, a great council of war, (say they) was held at Versailles, where most of the generals assisted, and form'd several projects, to raise the glory of their grand Monarch's arms, and recall fortune, which seem'd to have abandon'd them in the preceeding campain.

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my, and confiding in their ſuperiority of number, came out of their lines, and incamp'd between Tirlemont and Judoigne.

The two armies meet.

The next day, being Whitſunday, about four o'clock, in the morning, the confederate army march'd in eight columns, towards Ramellies, a village near which the Gheet takes it ſource; that they might avoid the inconveniency of paſſing that river. They ſoon had information, that the enemy's army, having decamp'd from Tirlemont, was likewiſe on their march to meet them, their baggage and heavy cannon being left at Judoigne. The duke of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that the Danes had already join'd the confederate army, were fully bent upon ingaging them, either that day or the following; being apprehenſive the duke of Marlborough had formed the deſign of inveſting Namur.

Force of the enemy's army.

The enemy's army then conſiſted of ſeventy-ſix battalions of foot, and 132 ſquadrons of horſe, having ſixty-two cannon, twelve mortars, and thirty-ſix pontons. Their immediate deſign was to poſſeſs themſelves of Ramellies, and the ſtrong camp thereabouts, to prevent the confederates doing the ſame; and in this they ſo far ſucceeded, that being nearer, they got thither firſt; but had the mortification to be ſoon beat out of it again, as the reader will ſee below.

The fears of the enemy were however, groundleſs concerning Namur; for the duke of Marlborough had no ſuch deſign. His reſolution was the ſame with theirs, and had not they offered him battle that day, he would certainly have attack'd them the next.

The famous battle of Ramellies.

The two armies met near the village of Ramellies, from whence the battle took its name (1). When the confederate army was advanced near this place, they found the enemy geting into the camp of mount St. André, and placing their right to the Mehaigne, where they had poſted a brigade of foot, and filled the ſpace between that and Ramellies, which is about half a league, an open and level ground, with near one hundred ſquadrons, among which were the troops of the French King's houſhold. They had likewiſe above twenty battalions of foot, with a battery of about twelve pieces of cannon, at Ramellies.

Preparations on both ſides, for the ingagement.

A little after eight o'clock in the morning, the advanc'd guard of the confederates, which conſiſted of 600 horſe, and had been ſent with all the quarter-maſters of the army to view the ground, arrived at the height of Merdop, (or Merdau) from whence they perceiv'd, that the enemy were in motion, and march'd in the plain of mount St. André, extending themſelves as far as the tomb of Hottomont, towards the Mehaigne. Hereupon they halted, and ſent intelligence to the duke of Marlborough, and monſieur d'Auverquerque, who being advanc'd, about ten, to view the enemy, they could not, at firſt judge, whether thoſe ſquadrons they ſaw were only to cover their march, into their lines, or whether they were the van of the enemy, that came to offer battle. His grace therefore, gave orders to the horſe to haſten their march, reſolving, if thoſe he ſaw had been only covering ſquadrons, to attack them with his cavalry only. But the fog being ſoon after diſpers'd, and the army being then in full view of the enemy, the duke found their whole army approach with an apparent reſolution to fight, upon which he made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to receive them. Q. Ann, An' 1706.

The enemy ſeing the confederates ſo near them, poſſeſs'd themſelves of a very ſtrong camp; placing their right near the tomb of Hottomont, againſt the Mehaigne; and their left at Anderkirk, or Autregliſe; and poſted a good deal of their infantry in the villages of Autregliſe, Offuz, and Ramellies, which laſt was near their center; beſide which they put five battalions, near the hedges of the village of Franquenies, which was on their right. The confederate army, was, at the ſame time, drawn up in order of battle, the right wing being poſted near Foltz, on the rivulet Yauſe, with a little moraſs in front; and the left near the village of Franquenies on the Mehaigne; where, beſide the number of the horſe belonging to that wing, the duke of Marlborough ordered the Daniſh ſquadrons, being twenty-one in number, to be poſted; rightly judging, by the ſituation of the ground, that the ſtreſs of the action would be on that ſide. All things being thus diſpoſed, it was reſolved to attack the village of Ramellies, which was the enemy's principal poſt; in which as I have ſaid above, they had poſted twenty battalions, who had intrenched themſelves, with a battery of about twelve pieces of treble cannon: and from thence to Autregliſe they had form'd a line of foot, along the Gheet, and a line of horſe behind them. In order to this attack, twenty pieces of cannon, of twenty-four pounders, and ſome hawitzers, were brought up; and twelve battalions, who were to be ſupported by the whole line, were order'd to make the firſt onſet, under the command of lieutenant-general Schultz.

The battle begins.

About half an hour paſt one, the artillery of the confederates began to play: it was immediately anſwer'd by the enemy's cannon, and both continued firing, with conſiderable execution, while the duke of Marlborough was at the head of the lines, to give the neceſſary orders every where, velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque repaired to the left, where perceiving, that the enemy's foot, poſted in the hedges of Franquenies, gall'd the horſe of that wing, he commanded four battalions, with two pieces of cannon, under colonel Wertmuller, to diſlodge them from thence: which they perform'd, with great vigor and reſolution. Hereupon the enemy detach'd two battalions, and fourteen ſquadrons of dragoons, on foot, to regain that important poſt; but monſieur d'Auverquerque commanded, at the ſame time, the whole wing of the Dutch horſe to attack the enemy, which not only prevented their deſign, but put thoſe dragoons into ſuch a diſorder, that they were not able either to reach the village, or to recover their horſes, which they had left a good way behind the tomb of Hottomont; and ſo were, moſt of them, cut in pieces, and taken priſoners. The Dutch cavalry charg'd with a great deal of bravery, ſword in hand, and ſoon after the ingagement was ſuſtain'd by the Daniſh ſquadrons; but having to deal with the French King's houſhold, viz. the muſquetaires, gens d'arms, gard de corps, horſe-grenadiers, and other choice troops, which were in the enemy's right, the conflict was obſtinate, and the ſucceſs doubtful for above an hour. The Daniſh horſe, which fought on the left of all, behaved themſelves with ſuch gallantry, that they forced the enemy to give ground, and broke ſeveral

(1) This place, which is render'd famous to all poſterity, by this auſpicious day, is but a village, ſurrounded by a ditch, in the diſtrict of Louvain, on the borders of the province of Namur. It is ſituated at the ſource of the Gheet, about a mile and a half north from the ſide of the Mehaigne, that interval being the narrow aperture, where this glorious battle was fought. The Gheet runs from Ramellies to Autreglize, thro' a marſhy ground, and beyond Autreglize, the river grows wide, and the ground is unpaſſable. Ramellies is ſix miles almoſt South from Judoigne, twelve South from Tirlemont, fourteen W. N. W. from Huy, and eleven North from Namur. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 13.

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of their ſquadrons, but, at the ſame time, the French had almoſt an equal advantage againſt the the Dutch horſe of the right of the left wing, whom they put into great confuſion. To remedy this, the duke of Marlborough, who was advanc'd that way, ſent for twenty ſquadrons of horſe from the right wing, where they could not ingage the enemy's left, by reaſon of a moraſs which ſeparated them: and with theſe he re-inforced his left, adding to them his body of reſerve (1).

The duke of Marlborough twice in great danger.

The duke of Marlborough, while theſe troops were advancing from the right, rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, and gave his orders for others to charge: in this place his grace was in the extremity of danger: for being ſingled out by ſeveral of the reſoluteſt of the enemy, and having the misfortune, as he was leaping a ditch, to fall from his horſe, he had either been kill'd or taken priſoner, if ſome of the confederate foot, that were near at hand, had not come, very ſeaſonably, to his aſſiſtance (2). After this his grace had ſtill a narrower eſcape, a cannon ball taking off the head of colonel Briendfield, his grace's gentleman of the horſe, as he was holding the ſtirrup for the duke to remount.

The advantage begins to declare in favor of the confederates.

The twenty ſquadrons his grace had ſent for from the right, to re-inforce the left, had but little ſhare in the defeat of the enemy's right: for by that time they were come up, the Dutch and Danes, having charg'd them both in front and flank, had almoſt compleated that ſignal piece of ſervice, cuting in pieces the beſt part of the French King's houſhold; inſomuch that they could never be fully re-eſtabliſhed during the remainder of the war. In the mean time, the village of Ramellies was vigorouſly attack'd by general Schultz, with the twelve battalions under him: the enemy having the advantage of the ground, defended themſelves with great reſolution and obſtinacy, till ſeeing the whole line of the confederate infantry in motion, to ſupport general Schultz, and the Dutch and Daniſh horſe advancing to ſurround them, they bethought themſelves of making their retreat: but they found it was too late: for they were intercepted by the victorious horſe, and moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners.

The enemy flee on all ſides.

The reſt of the enemy's infantry indeavor'd, likewiſe, to make their eſcape, which they did in better order, being favor'd by the horſe of their left wing, who being cover'd by a rivulet and moraſs, had not yet been attack'd, and form'd themſelves in three lines, between Offuz and Autregliſe: but the Engliſh horſe having found means to paſs the rivulet, charg'd the enemy with ſuch unparallel'd briſkneſs and courage, that they intirely abandon'd their foot; and our dragoons puſhing into the village of Autregliſe, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. The reſt of the enemy, who were, at the ſame time, attack'd by the Engliſh and Dutch foot, with equal bravery, gave way on all ſides. Their horſe rallied again, in the plains, to cover the diſorderly retreat of their foot; but they were ſo cloſely purſued, by the confederate cavalry, that they were forced to divide themſelves into three ſmall bodies, that they might fly the better, three different ways. Thoſe that took to the left, were purſued by the Dutch and Danes, who made great ſlaughter among them, and took abundance of priſoners: thoſe that fled to the right, were chas'd by the regiments of Lumley, Hay and Roſs; which two laſt fell in with the foot regiment du Roy, of whom having kill'd many, the reſt threw down their arms and begg'd quarter, which was generouſly granted; upon which they delivered their arms and colors to the lord John Hay's dragoons: but when the dragoons faced about, in order to purſue the enemy, they treacherouſly attempted to take up their arms again; in which, however, they were prevented, and ſuffer'd ſeverely for their perfidy.

The headmoſt regiments of the Engliſh horſe, that purſued the enemy's center, were that of lieutenant-general Wood, commanded by himſelf, and Wyndham's (afterwards Palm's) carabineers, headed by major Petry. When they came upon a riſing ground, they eſpied ſeven ſquadrons of the Spaniſh and Bavarian guards, among which were the Elector himſelf and the marſhal de Villeroy, who hoped, with theſe few choice troops, to make good their retreat, and ſave their cannon, which was marching in a line before them. General Wood galloped with his own regiment upon the enemy's left, and charg'd them ſo vigorouſly, that he broke them all to pieces, killing many of them, and taking not a few priſoners, among whom were two lieutenant-colonels, one major, four captains, and ſeveral ſubaltern officers. He alſo took the ſtandard of the Elector's guards, two of his own trumpets, and kill'd his kettle drummer; the Elector himſelf, and the marſhal de Villeroy, very narrowly eſcaping. Major Petry, at the head of Wyndham's carabineers, fell upon the enemy with equal briſkneſs and reſolution, put many of them to the ſword, and took ſeveral priſoners, particularly the major of the Spaniſh guards, mr. de la Guertiere, and mr. de Bruan, cornet of the ſame; beſide four officers, and forty-ſix private men of the royal bombardiers, with their colors. The Engliſh horſe and dragoons followed the chace thro' and by Judoigne, till two o'clock in the morning, as far as Meldert, being five leagues from the place where the action happened, and two from Louvain. During this retreat, a misfortune happened to the enemy, which contributed not a little to compleat the victory. Several waggons of their vanguard, breaking down, ſtopp'd the way, ſo that their baggage and artillery, which follow'd, could not paſs; nor could their troops defile in good order: perceiving that the confederate horſe, having got intelligence of this accident, purſued them cloſe, they threw down their arms, that they might retreat with the greater eaſe, which they did, without any order, and in the utmoſt confuſion. Here it was that the moſt priſoners were taken; for in the action little or no quarter was given, the confederate horſe having been highly provok'd by the idle gaſconnades of the French musketeers and gens d' armes, of which they were very full when they came to the attack; but paid dearly for it in the ſequel. In ſhort, never was victory more compleat; the confederates made themſelves maſters of all the enemy's cannon, excepting two or three, to the number of about fifty pieces; moſt of their baggage; about 120 colors or ſtandards, and ſeveral pairs of kettle drums. The enemy's loſs of men, ac-

The confederates gain a compleat victory.

(1) French writers, who have given an account of this battle, allow this to have been a very prudent part of the duke of Marlborough's conduct: but to cover the diſgrace of their favorite troops, pretend his grace ſent for fifty, and not twenty ſquadrons from the right, and made four lines of them, beſide a column compoſed of his body of reſerve. Thus (ſays Father Daniel) the whole weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the French army, where the troops of his Majeſty's houſhold were plac'd. This body (continues he) which had hitherto been invincible (he forgets Blenheim) entered the enemy's troops, and overthrew the three firſt lines: but finding a fourth, and the column abovementioned beſide, which was moving to fall upon them in the flank, they were obliged to give way: and juſt in the ſame ſtrain the marquis de Quincy argues.

(2) Thus the relation printed by authority in England has it; but it has been ſaid by ſome officers, who were in the ingagement, that the duke was born down by ſome of the diſordered Dutch horſe. It is not impoſſible but both might be true.

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cording to the moſt general computation, amounted to 8000 ſlain, and among them, Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbaſon; and about 6000 private ſoldiers, and near 600 officers taken priſoners; which, with their deſerters and wounded, made their loſs not leſs than 20,000 men. Some accounts make the number of deſerters ſo great, as to aver, that hardly half of their troops ever returned to their colors. The perſons of note among the priſoners, were meſſieurs Palavicini and Meziere, major-generals; the marquis de Bar, brigadier-general of horſe; the marquis de Nonan, brigadier-general of foot; the marquis de la Baume, ſon of the marſhal de Tallard; monſ. de Montmorency, nephew to the late duke of Luxemburgh; a nephew of the lord Clare, and ſeveral others (1).

Juſt praiſes of the generals.

This compleat and memorable victory, next to the bleſſing of Heaven, was principally owing to the great courage, prudence, vigilance, and experience of the duke of Marlborough, who was perſonally preſent in the hoteſt of the action, and gave his orders, with wonderful ſedateneſs and preſence of mind. The ſecond honors of this glorious day were undoubtedly due to monſieur d'Auverquerque, velt-marſhal of the Dutch troops, who acted with all the valor, conduct, and vigor, that became a great and experienc'd general. The other generals, likewiſe, diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and, among the reſt, none more than his grace the duke of Argyle, who expos'd his perſon to the greateſt danger, and received ſeveral ſlight wounds; nor were the inferior officers leſs worthy of commendation, every one behaving, in their reſpective ſtations, as became men who were reſolved to conquer or die.

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Officers.

All the troops, that ingaged, fought likewiſe with the greateſt bravery and reſolution, and like men who were reſolutely bent to maintain the reputation they had acquired at Schellenberg and Bleinheim. Each had their part of this glorious victory, tho' in different manners (2).

And troops.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the marſhal de Villeroy, with the greateſt part of the remains of their army, continued their precipitate flight,

The French abandon Louvain.

(1) Having given the moſt circumſtantial account I have been able to collect of this remarkable action, from the ſeveral relations publiſh'd here and in Holland, and from other authentic papers; I ſhall now add a word or two, of what the French have ſaid to leſſen their misfortune. Their terror and amazement was, beyond all queſtion, very great; however, they put the beſt face upon it they could, and at firſt indeavor'd to conceal their loſs, by giving only a very ſlight and general account of the battle. One of their prints ſays no more, than that, "On the 23d, the King's army advanc'd from "Goſſencourt to the Mehaigne, and was attack'd by the confederate army. That the confederates were poſſeſs'd of ſeveral "poſts, out of which they were driven by their foot, who for about an hour and a half fought the enemy's foot with advan- "tage, at the villages of Ramellies and Jandrenouille; ſo that, for a long time, there was ground to hope the victory would "have been theirs; but that, while moſt of the troops were ingag'd in the center, one of the enemy's battalions attack'd and "forced the village of Taviers. That their horſe attack'd the French horſe, on the right; who not ſuſtaining their effort, "with like vigor, gave the confederates ſuch advantage, as obliged their army to retire, after a pretty equal loſs, on both "ſides: that the retreat was made at firſt, in good order; but the difficult ways occaſioning a confuſion, ſome troops betook "themſelves to flight, which was the cauſe of farther loſs, and obliged their army to abandon part of their cannon, and ſe- "veral waggons."

In the Mercure-Galant, the reader is amus'd with pompous accounts of the ſuperior valor of their troops; tho', in the very ſame periods, they are oblig'd to allow they were beaten. I ſhall mention only one or two inſtances of theſe gaſconades, from the Mercure-Galant of that month; "The duke of Marlborough (ſays this author) having ſeen with what valor the "French had fought, could not forbear ſaying, that, with 30,000 ſuch men, he could go to the end of the world." What muſt not we then ſuppoſe he could do with thoſe troops, who beat and triumph'd over theſe more than men, if we will believe them? In another place, ſpeaking of the troops of the King's houſhold, he makes our brave general own; "That "they were more than men: and that he knew them, as well as what they were capable of doing, ſo well, that he judg'd it "proper to order ſix to one to oppoſe them." The Paris Gazeteer, however, tho' not the moſt modeſt of news-writers, is oblig'd to own, that the troops of the houſhold did not behave themſelves very well: "The cavalry, on the right (ſays he) "where the troops of the King's houſhold were poſted, did not withſtand the enemy's attack with the ſame vigor that the "reſt did."

But to leave theſe triflers, let us hear what an author of ſomething more credit and reputation, tho' not the moſt impartial on that ſide, ſays. I mean the marquis de Quincy, who begins the fifth volume of his hiſtory, and his relation of this campain, in the following words.

"I am now to give an account of the moſt diſadvantageous campain, for France, that has ever happen'd during this "King's reign, which brought on ſuch a chain of terrible conſequences, as chang'd the very face of affairs in this kingdom. "And yet never was there more reaſon to believe, that the Prince, who directed it (viz. the French King) would have "brought his enemies to reaſon, and would have obliged them to acquieſce in a peace, ſuch as his Majeſty was willing to "give to Europe, which began to ſtand in need of it.

"At the concluſion of the preceding campain, orders were immediately given to recruit the troops, and raiſe freſh ones; "and uncommon diligence was uſed, during the whole courſe of the winter, as well in this, as in filling the magazines, in "thoſe places where the ſeveral armies were to aſſemble; that they might be early in a condition to execute thoſe great pro- "jects which the King himſelf had form'd, with infinite pains, and for which he had put his armies in ſuch a ſtate, that they "might triumph, in every place, whereſoever he had any enemies.——— I may very well ſay, that the court never form'd "ſuch well laid deſigns, as thoſe which were intended to be put in execution this campain; and that never meaſures were "better taken, nor purſued with greater ſecreſy, to carry ſo many great points at one and the ſame time." (Here my author gives an account of theſe vaſt projects, and then proceeds). "Theſe were the deſigns which were to have been exe- "cuted during the courſe of this year, which, if they had ſucceeded, as it was reaſonable to hope, would have produced "the advantages France expected from them; but we ſhall ſoon ſee, by the relations I am going to give, that the events were "ſo far from anſwering the expectations ſo juſtly conceived, that never campain was ſo diſadvantageous to the two crowns. "——— Of all the fatal accidents of this campain (continues my author) the loſs of the battle of Ramellies, which, if "I may be allow'd to ſay it, was hazarded without any neceſſity, was that which was moſt ſenſibly felt; becauſe the conſe- "quence of it, was the loſs of a great number of places, in the Low-countries." Here our author goes on to give an account of this battle, in which he confirms almoſt every circumſtance I have mention'd in my relation; excepting that he affirms the confederate army to have been far ſuperior to that of the French, and aſſerts, that there were not above 6000 kill'd on both ſides, of which he reckons but a third part on theirs, and two thirds on that of the allies, a ſuppoſition ſo monſtrouſly ridiculous, that it refutes it ſelf. He likewiſe runs into the ſame abſurd rhodomontades, which I have mention'd above, with regard to the more than human courage of the troops of the King's houſhold, againſt whom he, with the reſt of his country-men affirms, the duke of Marlborough, knowing what ſort of people he had to do with, oppoſed ſix to one. But, as (if there be any truth in this aſſertion) the duke muſt, for this purpoſe, have weakned ſome other part of his army, why did not they take that advantage, and fall upon the weaken'd part. He has no other way to come off, but by pretending that a too great dependance on theſe troops brought this misfortune on the whole army. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 25.

(2) The honor of this day was the greater to the confederates, as the Elector of Bavaria had been heard to ſay, the French army was the beſt he had ever beheld: and as they loſt not only their camp, baggage and artillery, but all that they had left in Judoigne; to which we may add, "That this victory decided the fate of the Low-countries, as the battle of Hochſtadt "did that of Bavaria." Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 27.

Biſhop Burnet ſpeaking of this battle, ſays, the duke of Marlborough had told him, "The French army look'd the beſt "of

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flight, till they were got to Louvain; where having held a ſort of a tumultuous council of war, by torch-light, in the market place, they reſolved to abandon it, and retire towards Bruſſels. This was immediately put in practice; but the Elector of Bavaria thought himſelf ſo little ſecure there, that he ſpent the whole night in cauſing his papers, jewels, plate, and valuable furniture, to be pack'd up, and ſent away for Ghent, whither he himſelf follow'd, with all imaginable precipitation. On the other hand, the victorious confederates, having purſued the fugitives, till two in the morning, reſted a little near Meldert, and, at break of day, the duke of Marlborough ordered the army to incamp at Bavechien, for the refreſhment of the troops. In the mean time, his grace diſpoſed all things for their march early the next morning, in order to force the paſſage of the Deule; but he received advice, in the night, that the enemy had quited their camp, and abandon'd Louvain; upon which, bridges being laid over that river, a detachment of 500 men was ſent to take poſſeſſion of that city; and the whole army paſs'd the river, the next day, about noon, and took the camp of Bethlem.

Precipitate flight of the Elector of Bavaria.

The confederates take poſſeſſion of Louvain.

Loſs of the confederates.

The loſs of the confederates, in ſo bloody and obſtinate a conflict, could not but be great; yet did not much exceed 1000 kill'd, and about double that number wounded, moſt of them in the Dutch ſervice. Among the ſlain were reckoned Prince Lewis of Heſſe-Caſſel, colonel of foot: colonel Van Driebergen; colonel Leerſe; colonel Gammel; colonel Van Schoonheyde; colonel Brouck; colonel Bortwigh; colonel Hirſel; colonel Murray, junior; colonel Biſberg; colonel Fabricius; lieutenant colonel Baker; major Boncour; major Roer; major Noorman; count Van Warfuze, a major; meſſieurs Bentingh, Piper, Smirſer, Tullekins, and Strater, captains of horſe; meſſieurs Schimmelpennigh, Beckman, de Ozallier and Clerc, captains of foot; monſieur Winterkamp, a cornet; monſieur Roer, and Croonbrieker, enſigns; and adjutant Piper. Among the wounded were reckon'd colonel la Rocque Servier; major count Vander-nat; major St. Pol, who died of his wounds; major Swerin, who was alſo taken priſoner; major Larny, mortally wounded; major Cunningham; monſieur Van Berghem; captain of horſe; and monſieur Sutherland, captain of foot; colonel Schravemore was taken priſoner, but came back upon his parole. Monſieur d'Auverquerque, who purſued the flying enemy, till one the next morning, was like to have been ſtab'd by a baſe Bavarian captain, to whom he had generouſly given quarter, and ſuffered him to keep his ſword; but the villain was prevented by one Violette, a Frenchman, groom to that general, who ſhot the Bavarian dead upon the ſpot.

The conſequences of the battle of Ramellies.

After the battle of Ramellies, a general revolution followed, throughout the Low-countries, and the allies were bleſs'd with a continued chain of conqueſts. The inhabitants of thoſe provinces (weary of the French government) received the confederate generals every where as their deliverers, who had redeem'd them from ſlavery, and recover'd their ancient liberty.

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The French having abandoned Louvain, and being retired over the canal of Bruges, the duke of Marlborough purſued them, without loſs of time, and having decamp'd from Bethlem, advanced, the 26th of May, to Dighem. In this march, the duke received a letter from the marquis de Deynſe, governor of Bruſſels, acquainting him, that the magiſtracy of that city had reſolved to ſend deputies to his grace, and deſired him to ſend a trumpeter to conduct them in ſafety to a place where he ſhould think fit to receive them.

The deputies of Brabant, &c. wait on the duke of Marlborough.

The duke hereupon ſent colonel Panton, one of his aids de camp, with a compliment to the marquis, and the ſtates of Brabant, to let them know he ſhould be glad to ſee them, in the afternoon. According to this invitation, they came to his grace's quarters, near Dighem, with two other deputations, one from the ſoverein council of Brabant, the other from the burgo-maſters, and city of Bruſſels. They all expreſs'd, as well their ſatisfaction at their being delivered from the French yoke, as their deep ſenſe of the obligation they owed to the Queen of Great Britain and the States-general. As ſoon as they were gone, his grace, in conjunction with the field-deputies of the States, wrote a letter to the States of Brabant, declaring, "that the Queen of England, and the "States-general, had ſent them to maintain the "juſt rights of his Catholic Majeſty, Charles III, "to the kingdom of Spain; not doubting but "they were convinced of his right, and would "imbrace this opportunity of ſubmiting to him, "as faithful ſubjects; and that the King would "maintain them in the intire injoyment of their "rights, liberties and religion; and aſſured them, "from themſelves, that the army ſhould be im-"ployed every where for their protection (1)."

The States of Brabant acknowlege King Charles III.

His grace ſent two other letters, to the ſame effect, to the ſoverein council of Brabant, and the city of Bruſſels; and received an anſwer from each, declaring their ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, King Charles III. There came alſo deputies from each of theſe bodies, who declared the great ſenſe they had of the Queen's goodneſs, in delivering them from the oppreſſion of the French government.

Mechlin ſubmits.

In the evening, the magiſtrates of Mechlin came into the camp and made their ſubmiſſion, and colonel Durel, adjutant-general, was detach'd with 200 horſe, to take poſſeſſion of that place.

An order for ſtrict diſcipline.

The duke of Marlborough being deſirous to give all the ſecurity and ſatisfaction he poſſibly could to the ſeveral towns and countries which had ſubmited to the obedience of their lawful ſoverein, King Charles III; and that they might have an intire dependance upon the aſſurances given them by his grace and the deputies of the States-general, thought fit to publiſh an order, at the camp at Beaulieu, for ſtrict diſcipline.

The duke of Marlborough makes his entry into Bruſſels.

The duke having ſent his brother, general Churchill, with four battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, to command in Bruſſels, cauſed the army to paſs the canal of that city, the 27th, and to incamp at Grimberg. And, the

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"of any he had ever ſeen; but that their officers did not do their parts, nor ſhew the courage that had appeared among "them, on other occaſions." Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 451.

To this, we may add, and account it as a very great error on their parts, that they placed ſo intire a dependance on the troops of the King's houſhold, as was, in a great meaſure, their ruin. For had they been as vigilant to ſupport them with a re-inforcement of horſe from their left, which was in the mean time idle, as the duke of Marlborough was in ſupporting his cavalry, who attack'd them, by a ſupply of freſh troops, from his right, the victory would probably have been more doubtful, or, at leaſt, would have been bought, by the allies, at a dearer rate. Thus the high idea the French officers had conceiv'd of the valor and conduct of theſe troops, turn'd to their own diſadvantage. Le Clerc Hiſt. des Provinces Unies.

(1) His grace judged it neceſſary to write this letter to the States of Brabant, not only to inable them to aſſemble, but likewiſe to prompt them to declare immediately for King Charles III, before the enemy had recovered their conſternation, and could make a ſtand. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. II. p. 45.

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next day, his grace made his public entry into Bruſſels, with great ſtate.

The army incamps near Aloſt:

The 29th, the duke of Wirtemberg was detach'd, with 2000 grenadiers, 1000 horſe, and ſix pieces of cannon, to take poſt at Aloſt; that place having declared for King Charles III two days before. The 30th, the army march'd from Grimberg, and incamp'd near Aloſt, the duke of Wirtemberg advancing, with his detachment, towards Gavre, with the pontons, for laying bridges over the Scheld, near that place, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat, towards their own frontiers: but as ſoon as they heard of the confederate army's motion, they quited their camp between St. Dennis and Ghent, and march'd, the 31ſt, at three

And marches to Meerlebeck.

o'clock in the morning towards Courtray. The duke being adviſed of this, and that the enemy had evacuated Ghent (leaving only a Spaniſh battalion in the caſtle, with the duke de Vintemille, governor of the town) his grace advanc'd near that city, and pitch'd his camp, the ſame day, at Meerlebeck. Brigadier Cadogan approaching Ghent, with ſome horſe, when the laſt battalion of French were marching out of it, the inhabitants appeared, in great numbers, on the walls, and calling out, with great joy, welcome, welcome! would have let him into the town; telling him, there were in the caſtle only ſome few Spaniſh ſoldiers, who were inclin'd to lay down their arms: but the brigadier contented himſelf with making his report to the general, and the deputies of the States, who were ſoon after attended by the magiſtrates of that city.

A thankſgiving celebrated.

The 1ſt day of June being appointed, by the duke of Marlborough, as a day of thankſgiving to Almighty God, for the late compleat victory, at Ramellies, and the great advantages that had attended it, the ſame was obſerved with as much devotion as could be expected in a camp.

The caſtle of Ghent ſurrenders.

His grace ſent, the ſame day, major-general Roſs, with a detachment of 600 horſe to Bruges, with letters to invite the magiſtrates of that city, and the Franc, to the obedience of King Charles III. And, at the ſame time, brigadier Dewitz was detached, with ſix ſquadrons, to ſummon the governor of Oudenard. The ſame day, likewiſe, the magiſtrates of the city of Ghent came again to the confederate camp, to compliment his grace, who exhorted them to follow the example of the cities of Brabant, and acknowlege their lawful ſoverein King Charles III. Count Corneille of Naſſau, ſon to monſ. d'Auverquerque, with two battalions, marched into that city; upon which, the next day, early in the morning, the Prince de Vintemille, after making ſome difficulties, gave up the caſtle, and the regiment of the marquis de los Rios, which was in gariſon there, ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war.

The duke of Marlborough makes his entry into that city.

The duke of Marlborough went, about noon, to the city, and was met, at the gate, by the magiſtrates, who preſented to him the three keys, which his grace returned, and was afterwards entertained, at dinner, by the count de Naſſau. In the evening, the magiſtrates again attended his grace, at his quarters, and made their formal ſubmiſſion to King Charles. Brigadier Dewitz ſent to acquaint his grace, at the ſame time, that, at his coming before Oudenarde, he had ſummoned the gariſon, conſiſting of one Spaniſh and two French battalions, who refuſed to ſurrender; but that he had intelligence, if a ſmall body of foot, with cannon, appeared before the place, they would certainly capitulate. Upon this, lieutenant-general Scholten marched, with ſeven battalions, four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, upon whoſe appearance, the gariſon ſurrendered, the next morn-

Oudenard ſurrenders.

ing, being permited to march out.

The ſame morning early, his grace received letters from major-general Roſs and brigadier Cadogan; the firſt adviſing, that, upon his approaching Bruges, the French battalion, which was retired thither, and the magiſtrates, were deſirous to ſubmit themſelves to King Charles III. The latter, acquainting his grace, that there were ten battalions, in the city and caſtle of Antwerp, who ſeem'd willing to ſurrender upon honorable terms; upon which, the duke ſent the brigadier an authority to treat with them. The ſame day, likewiſe, about nine o'clock, the magiſtrates of

Bruges and the Franc, ſubmit to King Charles.

Bruges and of the Franc, waited on his grace to deſire his protection, and to make their ſubmiſſion in form to King Charles. His grace alſo received

Damme abandon'd by the enemy.

notice, that the enemy had quited Damme, and that fifty dragoons of major-general Roſs's detachment had taken poſſeſſion of that place, who were relieved by a Dutch regiment out of Flanders; and another marched into Bruges. In the afternoon, his grace ſent colonel Durel, with a detachment of 150 horſe, and a letter, to the governor of Dendermonde, to ſummon that place to acknowlege King Charles III. And a letter was likewiſe ſent to major-general Roſs, for the governor of Oſtend, to the ſame purpoſe.

The army incamps at Arſeele.

The 5th, the army, having paſſed the Scheld and the Lys, incamp'd at Arſeele: and the 7th, at noon, the duke of Marlborough received advice from brigadier Cadogan, who had been ſent with a detachment to beſiege Antwerp; that, the day

The gariſon of Antwerp capitulates.

before, the governors of that caſtle and city had ſign'd a capitulation, by which the gariſon, conſiſting of ſix French and ſix Spaniſh regiments, was allowed to march out, and were to be conducted to le Quenoy (1). But almoſt the whole gariſon entered into the ſervice of the allies.

At the ſame time, another expreſs arrived, from major-general Roſs, with the governor of Oſtend's anſwer, to the ſummons made him to ſurrender, which was: "that he had ſent to the Elector of "Bavaria, and hoped he would be excuſed, if "he defended the place, as became him, till "farther orders:" upon which a detachment was commanded to march, and poſſeſs itſelf of Plaſſendael, a ſtrong fort upon the canal, a ſmall

(1) The marquis de Quincy gives us the following account of the ſurrender of this important place. "The troops (ſays he) "ſent by the duke of Marlborough, for that end, having ſeized all the avenues to this place, the officer who commanded "them, ſummon'd the city to ſurrender. The gariſon conſiſted of ſix French and ſix Spaniſh battalions. The marquis de "Teraſena, to whom the King of Spain had confided the government of the citadel, whether of his own motive, or gain'd "by the citizens, who were unwilling to expoſe their houſes to the fatal events of a ſiege, gave evident proofs to the French "troops, that he was not inclin'd either to defend the place himſelf, or to leave it to the care of monſ. de Pontis, captain of the "guards, who commanded them; ſo that, as he was maſter of the citadel, monſ. de Pontis was obliged to capitulate, without "ſtanding an attack. It was ſtipulated in the capitulation, that the French troops ſhould march out, with their arms and "baggage, and all other marks of honor, with four pieces of cannon, two mortars, and each ſoldier ammunition for twelve "diſcharges. They were conducted to Quenoy and Landrecy. As for monſ. de Taraſena, it was agreed, that he, and his "Spaniſh troops, ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the citadel, till farther orders from the archduke (King Charles III) an evident "proof of the governor's treachery, and that he had made his agreement with the allies, before they ſent their troops thither." Hiſt. Mil. de Louis XIV. tome V. p. 12. Thus within the ſpace of fourteen days, the duke of Marlborough intirely defeated and diſperſed one of the moſt gallant and beſt appointed armies that ever France brought into the field, and recover'd the whole Spaniſh Brabant; the marquiſate of the holy Empire, with its capital, the famous city of Antwerp; the lordſhip and city of Mechlin, and the capital city, with the beſt part of Spaniſh Flanders: an event which can hardly be parallel'd. Lediard's life of Marlborough, vol. II. p. 76.

league

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Both armies re-inforced.

The French and Bavarians retired, in the mean time, to Courtray, where their army was re-inforced by the marſhal de Marſin, with a body of foot which he brought out of Germany, his horſe having joined the marſhal de Villeroy before the battle of Ramellies. They were, likewiſe, joined by ſeveral other detachments, by which means their army was again very numerous: and in hopes of better ſucceſs, in the ſequel of this campain, their moſt proſperous general, the duke de Vendôme, was ſent for out of Italy, to ſtop the progreſs (as they vainly flattered themſelves) of the duke of Marlborough's conqueſts in Flanders. Upon this, the confederates alſo ordered twenty battalions from the neighboring gariſons, together with the troops of Hanover and Pruſſia, to join them, and hereupon it was reſolved to inveſt Oſtend immediately.

Oſtend beſieg'd;

The trenches before that place were open'd, the 28th of June, ſir Stafford Fairborn blocking up the harbor, at the ſame time, with nine large Engliſh men of war, beſide bomb-veſſels and fire-ſhips. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, both by ſea and land, that, on the 6th of July, the gariſon beat a parly, and, on the 7th, ſurrendered, being permited only to march out with their ſwords and baggage, and promiſing not to ſerve againſt King Charles, or any of his allies, for the ſpace of ſix months. The greater part of the gariſon (which conſiſted of two Spaniſh battalions, four French regiments, and four troops of dragoons) entered into the ſervice of the allies. In the harbor was found two men of war, one of eighty and the other of fifty guns, and about forty-five ſmall veſſels, which were not comprized in the capitulation (1). This important conqueſt did not coſt the allies above 500 men, killed and wounded: they found, in the place, twenty-four colors and one ſtandard, fifty pieces of braſs, and forty iron cannons, ammunition in abundance, and 300,000 l. of powder.

And taken.

The army before Oſtend, having level'd the approaches, and left a conſiderable gariſon in that place, joined the duke of Marlborough at Rouſſelaer. About the ſame time, his grace commanded the Prince of Holſtein-beck, with eight battalions, to take poſſeſſion of Courtray, which the enemy, notwithſtanding their boaſts, had abandon'd.

Courtray abandoned by the French.

The 25th of July, the allies inveſted Menin (2), but the artillery not being come up, the trenches were not opened till the 4th of Auguſt. During this ſiege, on the 16th of Auguſt, brigadier Cadogan, who commanded a body of horſe, appointed to cover the foragers, was ſurpriſed by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry, and carried priſoner into Tournay: but, on the 18th, was ſent back by the duke de Vendôme, upon his parole; whereupon the duke of Marlborough releaſed baron Palavicini, a major-general in the French ſervice, who was taken at Ramellies, by way of exchange. The town of Menin beat a parly the 22d, and, on the 23d, the duke of Argyle, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, in a particular manner, at the ſtorming of the counterſcarp, took poſſeſſion of the gate of Bruges; the 25th, the gariſon, conſiſting of 4300 men, march'd out with the uſual marks of honor, and were conducted to Douay. They were allowed to carry away four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, were provided with waggons and boats, and permited to have eight covered waggons. In this town, the duke found fifty-five braſs and ten iron-cannon, ſix mortars, 810 double barrels of powder, 387 double barrels of muſket-balls, and a great quantity of all ſorts of proviſions. Among the artillery were four pieces of cannon, with the arms of England upon them, that were taken by the French at the battle of Landen, and theſe his grace ordered to be ſent to England,

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And taken.

Menin beſieged.

The loſs of the confederates, in this ſiege, according to a liſt ſent by general Saliſch, who commanded it, to mr. ſecretary Fagel, conſiſted of 583 officers and men kill'd, and 2045 wounded. And the loſs of the enemy, according to a writer of reputation (3) of their own, conſiſted of 1532 officers and men, kill'd, wounded and ſick (4).

Loſs on both ſides.

The duke having giving directions for levelling the approaches, and repairing the fortifications of Menin, gave orders, on the 29th, to his brother Churchill, to beſiege Dendermond (5), which had been blockaded ever ſince the battle of Ramellies. Three days after, his grace arrived in the camp before that place, when, a breach being made in a redoubt that covered the town, it was carried by ſtorm.

Dendermond beſieged.

The enemy, hereupon, beat a parley, but were allowed no better terms, than to keep their ſwords and baggage, and to be made priſoners of war. The gariſon conſiſted of two French regiments, a

And taken.

(1) The taking of this place, in ſo ſhort a time, was ſo much the greater honor to the confederates; becauſe, in the year 1601, 2, 3. it held out a ſiege againſt the Spaniards thoſe three years; during which the beſiegers loſt near 80,000 perſons before it: whereas now, the ſame place, tho' defended by a ſtrong gariſon, commanded by two generals, one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard, and provided with artillery and ammunition in abundance, ſurrender'd to the allies, after having been batter'd no more than three days and ſome few hours.

The French, to juſtify monſ. de la Mothe, their governor, from any imputation, for delivering up this important place in ſo ſhort a time, ſay, that the place being intirely ruin'd by above 10,000 bombs, which were thrown into it, the menaces of the inhabitants to revolt, the miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniſh gariſons, and the want of arms for the ſoldiers, oblig'd him to capitulate; F. Daniel. To all which, monſ. de Quincy adds, that the place was very ill provided with every thing, and that the gariſon, which conſiſted only of eight battalions, and four regiments of dragoons, were all either new levies, or diſaffected Walloons. Hiſt. Mil. tome V. p. 16. How little truth there was in ſome of theſe aſſertions, was too well known to need any refutation.

(2) This place, which is ſituated on the river Lys, five miles S. W. of Courtray, nine almoſt N. of Liſle, and twelve almoſt S. E. of Ipres, was reckoned a key to the French conqueſts in the Netherlands: it was built after the peace of Nimeguen; the celebrated monſieur de Vauban had beſtowed his utmoſt ſkill upon it; and nothing that art could invent was wanting to render it impregnable. As it was, beſide, defended by a numerous gariſon, under the command of the marquis de Bully, who had under him lieutenant-general Caraman, with monſieur de Valloris, chief ingineer, and two other ingineers of note, it was thought by many too bold an undertaking; but, on the other hand, it was conſidered, that the reduction of ſo conſiderable a place, would not only add great reputation to the arms of the allies, but would be a great help to ſecure their late acquiſitions: and upon theſe, and ſome other conſiderations, it was that the ſiege was reſolved on. Lediard's life of Marborough, Vol. II. p. 99.

(3) Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, par monſieur le marquis de Quincy. Tome V. p. 43.

(4) The duke de Vendôme having aſſembled an army of 155 ſquadrons, and ſeventy-three batalions, it was thought he would have made ſome motion to diſturb the progreſs of the confederate arms: but he had the mortification to be only a ſpectator of the ſiege, and ſurrender of Menin, and continued quiet in his camp, behind the Deule. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 108.

(5) Dendermond is a ſtrong town, in the earldom of Flanders, on the rivers Scheld and Dender, from the latter of which it has its name. It is ſituate twelve miles E. of Ghent, fourteen S. W. of Antwerp, and ſeventeen N. W. of Bruſſels.

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Spaniſh batalion of 700 men, and 200 dragoons (1). After ſo many conqueſts, the confedeate army might very well have ended the campain, crowned with more glory than could almoſt be aimed at in one ſummer: but the ever victorious duke of Marlborough, thought it yet too ſoon to ſtem the torrent of their ſucceſs. He therefore ordered them to turn their arms againſt Aeth (2), which was, accordingly inveſted, the 16th of September, by forty batalions and thirty ſquadrons, under the command of monſieur d'Auverquerque: the duke himſelf being incamp'd at Gramez, to cover the ſiege, and the enemy lying between Condé and Mortaigne. The trenches were opened the 22d, in the night, with very little loſs; and the ſiege was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town ſurrendered (3), the 3d of October, the gariſon being allowed no better terms than that of Dendermond.

Aeth beſieged.

And taken.

The duke of Marlborough remained, all this while, incamp'd at Gramez, to cover the ſiege of Aeth; and the duke de Vendôme contented himſelf to look on the taking of that place, with the ſame tranquility as he had, before, that of Menin: but being apprehenſive that the allies might have a deſign either upon Mons or Charleroy, he cauſed the gariſons of thoſe two places to be re-inforced (4).

The campain ended.

With this ſiege, the allies finiſh'd their glorious campain in Flanders, and, ſoon after, the army broke up and went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, where he arrived the 9th of November, and monſ. d'Auverquerque, being appointed to command in chief, in the Netherlands, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels.

The duke of Marlborough returns to the Hague.

The affairs of Germany.

The affairs of the allies in Germany were not ſo ſucceſsful as in the Low-countries; tho' the French did not make all the advantage, which their grand Monarch might reaſonably have expected from the ſuperiority of his army, under the command of the marſhals de Villars and de Marſin, to that under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden.

Their ſucceſs went no farther than regaining from the fatal ſlowneſs of the Germans, what they had loſt the foregoing compain: for when they hoped to have made ſome conqueſts on that ſide, they were diverted from acting any longer offenſively, by the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs in the Netherlands, which obliged thoſe marſhals to ſend ſtrong detachments thither, as I have already obſerved above.

Prince Lewis's melancholy ſituation, and the reproaches (deſerved or undeſerved I ſhall not pretend to determine) which he was ſenſible he lay under of favoring France, inclined him, when he ſaw he could do no more ſervice at the head of the Imperial army, to retire to the baths of Schlangenbad; and, in all probability, did not a little contribute to the lingring ſickneſs of which he died, at Radſtadt, the 4th of January, N. S.

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Before I leave Germany, I muſt not omit mentioning, that the Emperor having erected the county of Mindelheim, into a principality of the Empire, and confer'd the ſame on the duke of Marlborough, and her Majeſty having been pleaſed to allow mr. Stepney, her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Imperial court, to take poſſeſſion thereof, the ceremony of the inveſtiture was peformed, at the town of that name, on the 24th and 25th of May: and his grace being, thereby, intitled to ſit and vote in the college of Princes of the Empire, the duke's miniſter was accordingly introduced into that college, at the diet, in November following, with all marks of reſpect.

I come now to maritime affairs, with which I ſhall occaſionally combine thoſe of Italy and Spain.

Maritime affairs.

We left ſir John Leake, with a ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, on the coaſt of Catalonia: after a tedious paſſage of thirteen weeks, he arrived in the river of Liſbon, pretty much ſtreightened for proviſions, till he met with a ſupply coming from England off of cape St. Vincent. At Liſbon, ſir John got intelligence, that the gallions were about to ſail from Cadiz for the Weſt-indies; whereupon he ſet ſail, the 25th of Febru-ary, to indeavor to intercept them: but to his great ſurprize, when he came to the bar of the river, he found himſelf ſtopp'd by the fort of St. Julian, from whence ſeveral ſhot were fired at the fleet, which obliged them to come to an anchor; the commanding officer declaring, he had orders from court to ſtop all ſhips, without diſtinction. And tho', upon complaint made, he was ſuffered to depart the next morning, it was then too late, the gallions were eſcap'd, and it was in vain he purſued them; he could only come up with two ſhips, that had ſtaid behind, which he took, and by them had ſuch intelligence, as convinced him it was to no purpoſe to continue the purſuit (5); he

Suppoſed treachery of the Portugueſe.

(1) Thus the troops of the allies made themſelves maſters, in a ſiege of ſeven days, of this important place, which being ſtrongly ſituated among moraſſes, had formerly baffled the army of the French King, who beſieged it in perſon, and which was now defended, as I have ſaid above, by two French regiments of foot, a Spaniſh batalion of 700 men, drawn out of ſeveral other regiments, and 200 dragoons unmounted.

The French, according to cuſtom, to leſſen the honor gain'd by the beſiegers, pretend the gariſon might have held out longer, had it not been for a miſunderſtanding between the governor and the officer who commanded the French troops.

(2) Aeth is a ſtrong frontier-town, and a place of ſome conſideration, in the earldom of Hainault, ſituate on the Dender at the place where the brook of Cambron empties itſelf into that river, fourteen miles almoſt North-Weſt of Mons, twenty-two almoſt South-Weſt of Bruſſels, and twenty-four South of Ghent. The French took it in 1697. But reſtor'd it the ſame year by the peace of Ryſwick. It is a pretty regular fortification, and all the works were at this time in good repair. Monſieur de Spinola was governor of it, and the brigadier de St. Pierre commanded the troops, to the number of about 2000 men. The enemy had time to provide every thing that was neceſſary for a long and vigorous defenſe: but men were chiefly wanting. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 112.

(3) According to the accounts, the French themſelves give of their loſs, at this ſiege, they had but 800 men left of the gariſon, when they ſurrender'd; and they aſſign that as a reaſon for the governor's being obliged to ſurrender on ſo hard, conditions; becauſe he had not men enough to beſet all the poſts, and had for that reaſon abandon'd the ſalliant angles of the cover'd way. De Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome V. p. 48.

(4) This lukewarmneſs of the duke de Vendôme was highly diſtaſteful to the Elector of Bavaria. He wanted to be in action again; tho' he ſaw a ſeries of ill fortune attended him in whatever he took in hand; but the French did not care to hazard any thing under his conduct. "They were (ſays a late author) jealous of the Elector's heat, and tho' he deſired to "command an army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide their forces, tho' now grown to be very numerous. Deſerters "ſaid, the panic was ſtill ſo great in the army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any action. Paris it-"ſelf was under a high conſternation; and tho' the King carried his misfortunes with an appearance of calmneſs and com-"poſure; yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great commotion within; and this was no doubt "the greater; becauſe it was ſo much diſguiſed. No news was talked of at that court, all was ſilent and ſolemn, ſo that "even the ducheſs dowager of Orleans, knew not the true ſtate of their affairs; which made her write to her aunt the "Electreſs of Hanover, to learn news of her." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 452.

(5) There was a very ſtrong ſuſpicion of foul play, on this account, in Portugal: for tho' an embargo was laid, at the deſire of mr. Methuen, that ſo no advice might be given to the enemy; and, by a pretended miſtake, ſir John himſelf was unfortunately ſtop'd, under color of this embargo, yet five ſhips were ſuffered to go over the bar, after the embargo was laid, two of which were Danes, by whom it was ſuſpected the deſign was diſcovered: and this was confirmed by the maſters of the two prizes, who ſaid, they had certain intelligence at Cadiz, of ſir John Leake's deſign, and had taken care to fruſtrate it. Annals of Queen Ann.

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therefore made away for the Streights; but could not reach Gibraltar till the 30th of March. He was there joined, the 3d of April, by a ſquadron of twelve Engliſh and Dutch men of war, commanded by commadore Price, having ſome land-forces on board: whereupon it was reſolved to ſail to the relief of Barcelona, which was then diſtreſs'd by ſea and land.

The ſiege of Barcelona raiſed.

The fleet ſailed accordingly, the 13th, and, the 18th, arrived off Altea. The 20th, ſir George Byng joined them with another ſquadron from England; as did commadore Walker, with his ſquadron, the 23d. The fleet now conſiſting of fifty-three ſhips of the line, and ſix frigats, beſide tranſports, it was reſolved, that every ſhip ſhould make the beſt of their way, without ſtaying for one another.

The 26th, the earl of Peterborough came off from Tarragona, with diverſe barks, on board of which were 1400 land-forces. His excellency went on board the Prince George, and hoiſted the union-flag, taking upon him the command of the fleet, as admiral. The ſame day, letters came from King Charles, of the 23d, with very preſſing inſtances for relief; and, within two hours after, a freſh and fair gale happily ſprung up, which brought the fleet, with all the forces and recruits, from England and Ireland, to an anchor before Barcelona, the 27th, in the afternoon, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants, who expected a ſtorm that very night. Sir George Byng, and ſir John Jennings, with ſome others of the beſt ſailers, who got thither a few hours before the reſt, diſcover'd the rear of the French fleet making off in great diſorder (1).

The land-forces and marines were immediately put on ſhoar, and the admirals waited on the King, who received them in a manner ſuitable to the imminent danger they had juſt reſcued him from. The French continued the ſiege, the 28th and 29th; but the 30th, in the afternoon, they raiſed it, with great noiſe and precipitation, ſeting fire to, and deſtroying whatever they could of their camp and ſtores. They were terribly harraſs'd in their retreat, as well by ſeveral volunteers from the city, as the miquelets and peaſants from the mountains, who ſkirmiſh'd with them till eleven at night, and the beſt part of the next day, when they took from them two field-pieces, and ſome waggons; while thoſe from the town pillaged the enemy's abandon'd camp (2). The accounts publiſhed of this retreat at Paris, pretend, it was in very good order, and that they always beat thoſe who purſued them. But how came they then to part with their field-pieces and waggons?

Troops landed at Valencia.

Barcelona being thus relieved, the fleet ſailed from thence, the 7th of May, with what forces could be ſpared from the ſervice of Catalonia, and arrived on the coaſt of Valencia, the 13th, where the earl of Peterborough being put on ſhoar, they were landed the next day. The 19th, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to proceed to Alicant; but being got the length of Altea, two gentlemen came off, and acquainted the admiral, that the inhabitants of Carthagena were diſpoſed, upon the appearance of the fleet, to declare for King Carthagena, Charles III. It was thereupon reſolved to proceed thither; and the fleet arriving, the firſt of June, the place was ſurrender'd the next day.

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The 26th, ſir John Leake arrived, with the fleet, before Alicant, which they found had a numerous gariſon, commanded by brigadier Mahoni, an Iriſhman, who defended the place, with great bravery, till the 28th of July, when it was taken by ſtorm; Mahoni, with his gariſon, retiring into the caſtle, where he continued to make a gallant defence, till (if we may believe father Daniel) a want of water, and other neceſſaries, obliged him to ſurrender, upon honorable terms.

And Alicant ſurrender.

The campain in Portugal and Spain.

While our fleet was thus victorious on the coaſt of Spain, the affairs of King Charles, in the inward parts of Spain, had been ſucceſsful beyond expectation, and an intire ſubmiſſion of thoſe extenſive dominions ſeemed to be out of all doubt, when his Catholic Majeſty, by the advice of his German miniſters, and contrary to that of his friends and allies, took the fatal reſolution of going thro' Arragon to Madrid, and ſtopping at Saragoſſa, in his way thither, which overthrew all the meaſures concerted in his favor, and was alone the cauſe of all the misfortunes which inſued, and, in the end, loſt him the Monarchy.

Alcantara taken.

But to deſcend to ſome farther particulars: the confederate forces in Portugal, being much ſuperior to thoſe under the duke of Berwick, began the campain, on that ſide, with the ſiege of Alcantara, before which town they ſate down the 10th of April, N. S. and, on the 14th, the gariſon, to the number of 3282 men, beſide officers, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The earl of Galway, hereupon, advanced farther into Spain, and publiſhed a manifeſto; declaring, "that he did not come into Spain "as an enemy; but to deliver them from the "French yoke; and whatever officers would re-"turn to the obedience of their lawful ſoverein, "King Charles III, ſhould injoy the ſame poſts "they held, under the duke d'Anjou."

The court of Spain was hereupon apprehenſive, that the allies would have marched directly to Madrid, and, King Philip being abſent, on his expedition for the recovery of Barcelona, his Queen ſummon'd the grandees and magiſtrates to attend her, and made them the following ſpeech:

Speech of King Philip's Queen to the grandees of Spain.

"I have ſent for you to acquaint you what "diſtreſs the ſtate is in: I cannot conceal it from "you, while the King is expoſing his life in your "defence; heaven bleſſes his arms in Catalonia, "and we hope that rebellious province will ſoon be "reduced; but affairs do not go ſo well in Eſtra-"madura. The Portugueſe advance; will you "tamely ſee ſuch enemies approach you? do you "not think of exerting your utmoſt efforts to "make them repent of their audaciouſneſs? the "preſervation of the Monarchy is now the point "in queſtion: you ought, in this preſſing neceſſity, "to ſhew your loyalty and zeal, by ſacrificing "your all for the King, for me, and yourſelves; "powerful and ſpeedy ſuccors are neceſſary. I "am the firſt Queen, who has appear'd in this "place, on ſuch an occaſion: when I give you "ſuch extraordinary marks of my affection, I "well deſerve you ſhould do ſomething for me, "and appear in my defence."

This ſpeech, pathetic as it was, had very little

(1) According to de Larrey, the French gave ut, to ſalve their honor, that they retired with their fleet, becauſe a contageous diſtemper began to ſhew itſelf among themen. Hiſt de Fr. ſous Louis XIV. Cowardice and fear are often contageous, and ſo the allegation may perhaps have been juſt

(2) The French had been thirty-five days before the place. Their army conſiſted, at firſt, of 20,000 men, of which they loſt 5000. The gariſon, on the contrary, till the earl of Peterborough found means to throw in a ſupply, was but 800 men ſtrong. The allies found in the enemy's camp, upwards of 100 large braſs-cannon; twenty-ſeven mortars; 5000 barrels of gun powder; 40,000 cartridges ready fill'd; 500 barrels of muſket ſhot, with a great quantity of lead; 2000 bombs; 10,000 great royal grenadoes; 12,300 hand-grenades; 40,000 cannon-balls, 78,000 ſpades and ſhovels; 13,000 ſacks of meal; vaſt quantities of rye, oats and wheat; 10,000 pair of ſhoes; ſeveral iron mills, and other warlike utenſils; beſide 1500 ſick and wounded men. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. II. p. 807.

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effect on the Spaniards. They were oppreſs'd by the French, inſulted and trampled on by a people whom they heartily deſpis'd and hated; they, therefore feared no alteration for the worſe: this favorable juncture was, however, unhappily loſt, thro' the abundant caution or obſtinacy of the Portugueſe, who, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the confederate generals to induce them to advance towards Madrid, during the ſiege of Barcelona, perſiſted in their reſolution, not to leave their own frontiers, till the fate of Barcelona was determined; they therefore march'd towards Cividad Rodrigo, which they inveſted the 21ſt of May, and took the 26th. The next day, upon the news of the raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, it was unanimouſly agreed to march to Madrid.

Cividad Rodrigo taken.

King Philip quits Madrid.

The 7th of June, the confederate army arrived at Salamanca; and, on the 18th, incamp'd at Eſpinal, whither deputies came, from the Eſcurial, to make their ſubmiſſion. King Philip, in the mean time, was ſo hard preſs'd by the earl of Peterborough, after his raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, that he was forced to retire to the frontiers of France, where he left his army, and went, by the way of Navarre, to Madrid; but receiving intelligence that the Portugueſe were advancing thither, he again retired, with his court, to the confines of France.

King Charles proclaim'd there.

The 24th, the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, took poſſeſſion of that capital, and cauſed King Charles III to be proclaimed there, the 27th. This had ſuch an influence on the Spaniards, that Toledo immediately declared for him; cardinal Portacarero himſelf, wrote to the marquis das Minas, aſſuring him of his ſubmiſſion to King Charles III, and even the courts of judicature adminiſtered juſtice in his name. Upon this ſucceſs, the confederate generals ſent expreſs after expreſs to King Charles, to haſten his march and join them, before King Philip could be re-inforced, with all the forces he could aſſemble: but the province of Arragon declaring for him, at the ſame time, he marched into Saragoſſa, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the ſeveral towns of that province, who ſwore allegiance to him. Here he unhappily ſpent ſo much time, partly in bull-feaſts and other diverſions, and partly in an ill-tim'd fit of devotion, that King Philip aſſembled an army ſuperior to that of the allies, and obliged them to quit Madrid.

King Charles joins the allies too late.

Toledo, Salamanca, and the reſt of the towns in Caſtille, which had declared for King Charles, were forced to return to the obedience of King Philip, and when it was too late, the former, with the earl of Peterborough, joined the marquis das Minas and the earl of Galway, at Guadalaxara, the 6th of Auguſt, with ſix or ſeven regiments. Their retreat to Portugal was now cut off; and Alcantara, which, as we have ſeen above, was taken by the Portugueſe, in the begining of the campain, was retaken by the Spaniards, as was likewiſe Carthagena, which had been taken by admiral Leake. There was therefore now no other remedy but to retire into Valencia, and take up winter-quarters there: and thus the campain in Spain, which begun ſo glorioufly, ended unhappily.

Death of the King of Portugal.

Before I leave theſe parts, I muſt juſt mention, that in the begining of December died don Pedro, King of Portugal, in the 58th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, don Juan the IVth, who, on his acceſſion, declared, that he would punctually obſerve all his father's ingagements with the allies: but to return to the fleet.

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Ivica ſubmits to King Charles.

Sir John Leake having, according to his orders, detach'd ſir John Jennings, with twelve men of war, and a fireſhip, for Liſbon, and watered in Altea-Bay, ſailed from thence, the 26th of Auguſt, towards Ivica. He arrived there, the 29th, and found the governor and inhabitants of that place ſo well diſpoſed for King Charles III, that upon the firſt appearance of the fleet, they ſent deputies on board to make their ſubmiſſion.

Majorca reduced.

The 2d of September, the fleet ſailed from Ivica, and was the next day before Majorca, where the Conde de Alcudia, the viceroy, with ſome few who favored the duke of Anjou's intereſt, offered to reſiſt; but two bomb veſſels being ſent into Palma, the capital of the iſland, upon their throwing in three or four ſhells, the inhabitants obliged the vice-roy to retire to the palace, and deſire a capitulation, which was concluded the 7th.

Sir John Leake returns home.

Sir John having left a gariſon of a hundred marines, with a captain and lieutenant, in the caſtle of Porto-Pin, and two men of war to tranſport the viceroy and his adherents, who were deſirous to remove, ſailed the 12th, from Majorca, and paſs'd thro' the Streights the 21ſt. The 23d, being off the ſouthward cape, he detached ſir George Byng, purſuant to orders he had received from the lord high admiral, with a ſquadron, towards Liſbon, and with the reſt of the fleet, proceeded on his voyage home. He arrived, the 6th of October, at St. Helens, came ſome days after to London, and, having waited on the Queen, and her royal conſort, received from them both that gracious and generous reception, which his long, eminent, and ſucceſsful ſervices, had ſo well merited.

A deſcent upon France deſign'd, but fruſtrated.

The confederates had formed a deſign, this year, of making a deſcent upon France, by way of diverſion, and to ſupport the Proteſtants, whom a ſevere perſecution had prepared for a general revolt: to this end, the grand fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſail'd from England, with 10,000 land-men on board, about the middle of Auguſt, but being detained a conſiderable time, by contrary winds, that deſign was laid aſide (1), and the earl of Rivers, with the land-forces on board, ſail'd for the river of Liſbon, where they arrived, the 18th of October. The earl propoſed the joining a body of the Portugueſe troops, and marching directly for Madrid: but the Portugueſe being ill provided for ſuch an expedition, and the earl inſiſting, that he would be commanded by none but the King, they did not think fit to come into thoſe meaſures. His lordſhip hereupon ſail'd for Alicant, and having landed the troops there, he returned to England, the inſuing ſpring, together with the earl of Eſſex, brigadier Gorges, and ſeveral other officers, who imbark'd on the firſt deſign, leaving the fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, at Liſbon.

The campain in Italy.

In Italy, the French had ſome ſucceſs, in the begining of the campain; for having attack'd the Imperialiſts at Calcinnato, in the abſence of Prince Eugene, they drove them from their poſts, and obliged them to quit the Breſcian, with the loſs

(1) The 10th of Auguſt, the wind being eaſterly, and a briſk gale, ſir Cloudeſly, with the whole Engliſh fleet, ſet ſail in the morning, believing the Dutch could not be far off, the wind having been fair the night before: but, whatever was the cauſe, they did not come to St. Helens till the 12th in the morning, which fatal delay proved the overthrow of the whole deſign; and was the occaſion of the project of a deſcent being laid aſide. When the Dutch arrived at St. Helens, the 12th, in the morning, they anchor'd a tide to get intelligence of ſir Cloudeſly, and to take in freſh water, the Engliſh fleet, in the mean time, appeared off of Plymouth, that ſame day, about noon, and lay by till the evening; but was not joined by the Dutch till the 14th in the morning, when the whole fleet, being come near the mouth of the channel, was forc'd into Torbay, by a ſtrong weſterly wind, which continuing ſeveral weeks, the firſt and ſecond-rate ſhips were laid up, and the whole deſign dropp'd. Lediard's naval hiſt. Vol. II. p. 811.

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of 3000 men kill'd or taken, beſide their cannon and baggage. This ſucceſs incourag'd the French King to order the duke de la Feuillade to beſiege Turin. Accordingly, the French begun to batter the town and citadel the 8th of June, and the 15th the beſiegers fired red-hot bullets, many of which falling near the duke of Savoy's palace, his royal Highneſs ſent the royal family to Quieraſco, and followed himſelf two days after, leaving a numerous gariſon under command o the Imperial general Thaun. Soon after, his royal Highneſs received advice from Prince Eugene, that he had paſs'd the Adige, and was advancing to join him. About the ſame time, the duke de Vendôme was called out of Italy to command the French army in Flanders, and the duke of Orleans took upon him the command of the army in Italy, which was intended to oppoſe Prince Eugene's march: but the Prince appear'd to be the greateſt general; for, notwithſtanding all the duke could do to prevent it, he joined the duke of Savoy the firſt of September.

The city of Turin was, by that time, reduced to great diſtreſs, moſt of their powder being ſpent; and the enemy, having made a lodgment on the counterſcarp, afterwards attack'd a half moon and two counter-guards, which they carried. The Imperialiſts indeed beat them out again; but as they were in ſo great want of ammunition, it would have been impoſſible for them to reſiſt many ſuch attacks. His royal Highneſs and Prince Eugene found themſelves therefore under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the relief of Turin. This they did accordingly, and, on the 7th, happened that memorable battle which changed the whole face of affairs in Italy. The confederates march'd by break of day towards the enemy, and by noon the victory was intirely theirs, and the city delivered; for the enemy abandoned the attack, and their camp, with the greateſt precipitation, retiring, with the remains of their army, on the other ſide of the Po. The reſt of the day was ſpent in taking ſeveral caſſines and redoubts poſſeſs'd by the enemy, who all ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners of war, and his royal Highneſs enter'd triumphantly his capital the ſame evening. As a ſmall allay however to this ſucceſs, the French, under the command of count Medavi, defeated the Prince of Heſſe, and a body of Germans, two days after the battle of Turin, near Medoli, in the Milaneſe. This was nevertheleſs but a trifle, if compared with the numerous loſſes which France ſuſtain'd in theſe parts, about this time: for the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, in order to improve their late victory, march'd immediately into the Milaneſe, where almoſt all the towns ſurrendered to them at their approach. The 24th of September, the city of Milan itſelf ſent a deputation, offering to ſubmit to his Imperial Majeſty and the houſe of Auſtria, and, on the 26th, Prince Eugene made his triumphant entry into that city. The duke of Savoy, having reduced Piccighitone, Tortona, Alexandria, Modena, and ſeveral other places of leſs note, appeared on the 16th of November, before Caſal, which ſurrendered the 6th of December, the gariſon, which conſiſted of near 2000 men, being made priſoners of war. In this place, his royal Highneſs found ſeventy-ſix pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions. Thus the campain in Italy ended very gloriouſly for the allies, and all the troops, except a body under the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who were left to block up Cremona, were ſent into winter-quarters. The 14th of December, Prince Eugene went to Milan, of which duchy he was made governor for King Charles III, his Imperial Majeſty having granted the inveſtiture thereof to the King of Spain. The caſtle continued however in the poſ-

ſeſſion of the enemy till the next ſpring, when the marquis de St. Pater arrived there with the ratification of a treaty, by the French King, for the quiting of all places, which he or King Philip held in the Milaneſe, Mantuan, Cremoneſe, and Montferrat, on condition that their troops ſhould be ſafely conducted to Suza.

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Affairs of the North.

As to the affairs of the North, I have hitherto paſs'd them by, as having no immediate connexion with our hiſtory; but I ſhall be obliged now to make ſome mention of them, becauſe the proceedings of the King of Sweden begining to raiſe a jealouſy in the allies, they were obliged to take ſome ſteps which might prevent the evil conſequences that might poſſibly attend them. The northern Hero, who was reſolutely bent upon dethroning his ſworn enemy, Auguſtus, King of Poland, obſerving that he ſhould never be able to do it effectually, unleſs he could cut off the ſupplies which he conſtantly received from Saxony, marched thro' Sileſia and Luſatia, into that Electorate, plundered the open country, and obliged the rich city of Leipzick, and other towns, to pay him contribution, and took up his winter-quarters there, to the great terror of the reſt of the Empire, as well as Saxony: but of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, in my relation of the tranſactions of the inſuing year.

And of Hungary.

Her Majeſty and the States-general continued, in the mean time, their mediation between the Emperor and the malecontents in Hungary; but to very little purpoſe: the negociations were broken off, and each ſide again prepared to renew the war.

The treaty of union begun.

I come now to the grand affair of this year, and indeed of this reign; I mean the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; a work of ſo great importance, that it had been attempted, tho' in vain, in almoſt every reign from that of Henry VIII, down to the glorious reign of Queen Ann, for which it ſeem'd reſerv'd. Her Majeſty, ſoon after the riſing of the parliament, in purſuance of ſeveral acts paſs'd in each kingdom, iſſued a commiſſion, under the reſpective great ſeals, conſtituting a certain number of lords, and others, of either kingdom, commiſſioners, to treat of an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Theſe commiſſioners met, the firſt time, at the Cock-pit, at Whitehall, the 16th of April, and their commiſſion being read, the lord-keeper Cowper made a ſpeech, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, as the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, did on behalf of the commiſſioners of that nation, and then they adjourn'd to the 22d.

Preliminary articles.

The commiſſioners, on both ſides, being met again on that day, the lord Cowper, in the name of the lords-commiſſioners of England, deliver'd to the board the following preliminary articles, which were read:

1. "That all propoſals, made by either ſide, "be made in writing, and every point, when "agreed, ſhall be reduced into writing.

2. "That no point, tho' agreed on, and re- "duced into writing, ſhall be obligatory, on ei- "ther ſide, till all matters be adjuſted in ſuch man- "ner as will be proper to be laid before the "Queen, and the two parliaments, for their ap- "probation.

3. "That there be a commitee appointed, con- "ſiſting of a certain number of each commiſſion, "to reviſe the minutes of what paſſes, which are "not to be inſerted by the ſecretaries in their re- "ſpective books, but by order of the ſaid com- "mitee, having firſt made report thereof to the "reſpective commiſſioners, and received their ap- "probation of the ſame.

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4. " That all proceedings of the commiſſioners " of both kingdoms, during the treaty, be kept " ſecret."

With theſe, the lord-keeper likewiſe delivered the following propoſal, which was read ;

A previous propoſal.

" That the two kingdoms of England and " Scotland be for ever united into one kingdom, " by the name of Great-Britain : that the united " kingdom of Great-Britain be repreſented by " one and the ſame parliament, and that the ſuc- " ceſſion of the Monarchy of the united king- " dom of Great-Britain, in caſe of failure of heirs " of her Majeſty's body, be according to the li- " mitations mentioned in an act of parliament, " made in England, in the twelfth and thirteenth " year of the reign of the late King William, " intitled, an act for the farther limitation of the " crown, &c."

To theſe preliminaries, the commiſſioners for Scotland agreed, with this proviſo only ; " That " all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great- " Britain, ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe " of trade and navigation, to or from any part " or place, within the ſaid united kingdom, and " plantations thereto belonging ; and that there be " a communication of all other privileges and ad- " vantages, which do or may belong to the ſub- " jects of either kingdom." This the commiſ- ſioners for England acquieſc'd in, under ſuch terms, as in the farther progreſs of this treaty ſhould be found for the common advantage of both kingdoms. Theſe generals being agreed on, the commiſſioners proceeded to particulars.

I ſhall not detain the reader, with the ſeveral propoſals and anſwers on every head ; but only obſerve, that after fourty-four ſeveral days of meeting, at two of which the Queen was perſonally preſent, the articles of this treaty were brought to maturity, and ſign'd by the reſpective commiſſioners, on the 22d of July. The next day, they were preſented to the Queen, and were of the following tenor :

The particular articles of the union agreed on.

An abſtract thereof.

I. " That the two kingdoms of England and " Scotland ſhall, from the firſt of May 1707, " be united into one kingdom, by the name of " Great-Britain.

II. " That the ſucceſſion be to the Princeſs " Sophia and her heirs, and that all Papiſts, and " perſons that marry Papiſts, ſhall be for ever ex- " cluded inheriting the crown.

III. " That the united kingdom ſhall be repre- " ſented by one parliament.

IV. " That the ſubjects of the united kingdom " ſhall have freedom of trade and navigation to all " places within the ſame, and plantations belonging " to it, and a communication of all other ad- " vantages.

V. " All ſhips belonging to Scotſmen, at the " time of the union, to be deem'd ſhips of Bri- " tiſh built, the owners making oath that the ſame " belong to them,

VI. " All parts of the united kingdom to be " under the ſame regulations of trade, and liable " to the ſame cuſtoms and duties.

VII. " The united kingdom to be liable to the " ſame exciſe, except that a barrel of ale in Scot- " land ſhall not pay above two ſhillings, on ac- " count of the preſent exciſe in England.

VIII. " Foreign ſalt, in Scotland, ſhall pay " the ſame duty as in England ; but ſalt made in " Scotland ſhall be exempted, for ſeven years, " from the Engliſh duty ; ſeveral conditions re- " lating to the ſalt duty, were likewiſe inſerted in " this article.

IX. " When 1,997,765 l. ſhall be inacted to " be raiſed in England, on land, Scotland ſhall add " a farther ſum of 48,000 l.

X. " Scotland is exempted from ſtamp duties, " now in force.

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XI. " As alſo from the duty on windows ; " and,

XII. " From the duties on coals and culm.

XIII. " Scotland ſhall not pay the malt-duty, " which expires June 24 1707.

XIV. " Scotland ſhall not be charged with " any other duties, impoſed by the parliament of " England, before the union, except thoſe con- " ſented to in this treaty ; and if the parliament, " in their proviſion for the ſervice of the year " 1707, ſhall lay any farther cuſtoms, Scotland " ſhall have an equivalent for the ſhare there- " of they will be liable to : malt made in Scot- " land not to be charged during this war.

XV. " Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for " what ſhe ſhall be charged towards payment of " the debts of England, the ſum of 398,085 l. " for the cuſtom and exciſe they will be liable " to, towards paying the ſaid debts : and an equi- " valent ſhall be farther allowed, for the propor- " tion Scotland ſhall hereafter pay, by reaſon of " the increaſe of the cuſtoms, by the increaſe of " trade (which ſhall be the happy effect of this " union) and alſo for the ſalt-duty, which they " ſhall be obliged to pay after ſeven years. The " ſaid 398,085 l. to be applied to the paying the " public debts of Scotland ; to the refunding to " the African company their principal ſtock, and " the intereſt of it ; to ſatisfy ſuch as may be " loſers by the alteration of the coin, and ſuch " other uſes as commiſſioners appointed by her " Majeſty ſhall think fit : the African company to " be diſſolved as ſoon as an act paſſes in England " for paying the equivalent,

XVI. " The coin to be of the ſame ſtandard, " throughout the united kingdom, as now in Eng- " land, and a mint to be continued in Scotland, " under the ſame rules as in England.

XVII. " The ſame weights and meaſures to be " uſed as now in England, and ſtandards to be " kept in the burghs, agreeable to the ſtandard in " the exchequer.

XVIII. " The laws for the regulation of trade, " cuſtom, and ſuch exciſes to which Scotland is " liable, to be the ſame with England : other " laws in Scotland to remain as before, but alter- " able by parliament. Laws which concern the " public and civil government may be the ſame " throughout the united kingdom ; but no altera- " tion may be made in the laws which concern pri- " vate right, except for evident utility of the ſub- " jects of Scotland.

XIX. " The court of ſeſſion, and other courts, " ſhall remain in Scotland, with ſuch regulations " as are therein mention'd.

XX. " All heritable offices, and offices for life, " are reſerv'd to the owners, as rights of pro- " perty.

XXI. " The rights of the royal burghs in Scot- " land ſhall remain intire.

XXII. " Sixteen of the peers in Scotland ſhall " ſit and vote in the houſe of lords, and forty-five " repreſentatives of Scotland in the houſe of com- " mons, of the parliament of Great-Britain ; the " choice whereof to be according to the act paſs'd " in Scotland to that purpoſe : in caſe her Ma- " jeſty ſhall, on the 1ſt of May, declare this pre- " ſent parliament to be the firſt parliament of " Great-Britain, the preſent parliament of Eng- " land may be ſo, on the part of England, and " the ſixteen peers, and the forty-five commoners, " for Scotland, to ſit with them ; ſuch parliament " to continue no longer than the Engliſh parlia- " ment is by law allowed to continue.

XXIII. " The ſixteen peers of Scotland ſhall " have

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" have all privileges of parliament, which the " peers of England have, and, in caſe of trials of " peers, when no parliament is in being, the peers " of Scotland, who ſat in the laſt parliament, ſhall " be ſummon'd; and all the peers of Scotland " ſhall be peers of Great-Britain, and ſhall injoy " all privileges, as fully as the peers of England, " except ſiting in the houſe of lords, and upon " trials of peers.

XXIV. " There ſhall be one great ſeal for the " united kingdom; a ſeal to be ſtill uſed in Scot- " land, in things relating to private right, as " uſual: that the privy-ſeal, ſignet, caſſet, &c. " now uſed, be continued; and that the crown, " ſcepter, ſword of ſtate, records, rolls and re- " giſters, public and private ſhall be ſtill in Scot- " land. Laſtly,

" All laws and ſtatutes, inconſiſtent with the " terms of theſe articles, to be void.

Upon preſenting theſe articles to her Majeſty, the lord-keeper, in the name of the commiſſioners for England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, for thoſe of that nation, made each a ſpeech to her Majeſty, ſuitable to the occaſion; and her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to the commiſſioners:

The Queen's ſpeech to the commiſſioners on preſenting them.

My lords,

" I give you many thanks, for the great pains " you have taken in this treaty; and am very well " pleaſed to find your indeavors and applications " have brought it to ſo good a concluſion: the " particulars of it ſeem ſo reaſonable, that I hope " they will meet with approbation, in the parlia- " ments of both kingdoms. I wiſh, therefore, " that my ſervants of Scotland may loſe no time " in going down to propoſe it to my ſubjects of " that kingdom: and I ſhall always look upon it, " as a particular happineſs, if this union (which " will be ſo great a ſecurity and advantage to both " kingdoms) can be accompliſh'd in my reign."

News of the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs arrives in England.

The firſt news of the ever-memorable victory of Ramellies, was brought to England by colonel Richards, aid de camp to the duke of Marlborough, who arrived in London, the 16th of May; and his account was confirmed, the 21ſt, by captain Pit, another of his grace's aids de camp, with a farther relation of the glorious progreſſes of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her allies. Her Majeſty having at the ſame time, received an account of the ſucceſs of her fleet and forces in Spain, the ſame day captain Pit arrived at Kenſington, a proclamation was ordered, in council, to be publiſhed, for a public thankſgiving, to be held the 27th of June. At the ſame time, another order was made in council, and publiſh'd, to open a free trade with the Spaniſh Netherlands, which was another happy conſequence of the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms, under the wiſe conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

Proclamation for a thankſgiving.

A free trade with the Spaniſh Netherlands open'd.

The Dutch Envoy congratulates with her Majeſty on account of the victory.

The ſame day, monſieur Vrybergue, envoy extraordinary from the States-general, had, ſeverally, private audiences of the Queen and Prince, to congratulate with them, in the name of their High-mightineſſes, upon the ſignal victory obtained by the arms of her Majeſty, and her allies in Brabant. Two days after, her Majeſty and her Royal-conſort, went to Windſor, where her Majeſty was attended by congratulatory addreſſes, from moſt parts of her dominions. Among the reſt the loyal city of London, as on all other, ſo on this occaſion, was moſt forward to expreſs their zeal and affection to her Majeſty's auſpicious government, by an addreſs.

Congratulatory addreſſes from all parts.

Particularly from the city of London.

The 27th of June, the day appointed for a public thankſgiving, was celebrated with the uſual ſolemnities; and her Majeſty repair'd, for that end, to the cathedral of St. Paul's, with the ſame ſtate ſhe had done, upon the like occaſions, in preceding years.

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France makes offers for a peace.

While the duke of Marlborough was at the Hague, after his return from the campain, it was reſolved to communicate to the allies ſome propoſals, that had been made to the States, by monſ. d'Alegre, in order to remove all ſuſpicions of clandeſtine negociations, and incourage the ſeveral members of the grand alliance to redouble their efforts againſt the next campain. The States having therefore deſired the miniſters of the allies, reſiding at the Hague, to be preſent, the 21ſt of November, at an extraordinary congreſs, their deputies for forein affairs made a notification to them, which gave great ſatisfaction.

" They own'd, that France had formerly, by " ſome private perſons, made general intima- " tions of their willingneſs to treat of peace; and " that, laſt winter, the marquis d'Alegre had " preſented to the States a formal memorial, on " the ſame ſubject, the ſubſtance of which was " read to the congreſs: that they had given no ear " to theſe advances, nor communicated them to " the allies; becauſe they did not judge them " worth imparting. But that in October paſt, " the Elector of Bavaria, had writen a let- " ter to the duke of Marlborough, and another to " the field-deputies of the States, which two let- " ters, and the anſwers that had been returned to " them, were alſo communicated to the congreſs.

Theſe pieces being read, the deputies of the States made a ſpeech to the congreſs, purſuant to the inſtructions given them by their principals, for that purpoſe, in which they repreſented: " That their " High-mightineſſes were firmly reſolved to obſerve " their alliances, in every part, and to do nothing " contrary thereunto: That a peace would be ex- " treamly agreeable to them, and without doubt " to all the other allies, provided it could be on " ſuch terms, as might reaſonably promiſe its being " firm and laſting. But that the conferences pro- " poſed by France, without a more particular de- " claration of her intentions, did not ſeem to be " a proper means for attaining it, but would " tend much rather to divert the thoughts of " war, and of the great preparations the enemy " make; and to lull ſome of the allies aſleep by " the hopes of peace. That their High-mighti- " neſſes, for their parts, were reſolved to abide, " by the meaſures they had taken, and the al- " liances they had made, which God had hitherto " ſo wonderfully bleſs'd, and therefore would not " enter into any negociation, but jointly with their " high allies, expecting that they would do no " leſs, on their part."

Reaſons why the the French ſued for a peace.

The French had very ſubſtantial reaſons, to induce them to ſue for a peace, at this time: the raiſing of the ſiege of Barcelona; the loſs of the battle of Ramellies, and the conſequences that attended it; the total defeat of their army, before the walls of Turin, by the duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, which, as I have ſaid above, intirely chang'd the face of affairs in Italy; the ſtreights to which the King's treaſury was reduced, and which were but ill remedied, by forcing and impoſing mint-bills, upon the nation, inſtead of ready mony: all theſe, I ſay, concur'd to caſt the court of France into the utmoſt conſternation and perplexity, and obliged them to make theſe public advances towards a peace. The allies did not however think them ſo ſincere as to enter into any negociation thereupon (1).

The

(1) Theſe overtures towards a peace on the ſide of France, being look'd on to be too general to ground a treaty upon, and being, for that reaſon rejected; reflections were caſt upon the principal perſons concern'd, on the ſide of the allies, as if they acted rather with private views, than for the public good. It was no wonder (ſays a French author) " that theſe advances made " by

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The duke of Marlborough having ſetled ſeveral important affairs with the States, particularly (at the inſtances of the duke of Savoy) the continuation of the Heſſian troops in Italy, his grace ſail'd from the Maeſe, the 26th of November, N. S. and, three days after, came to London. But to return to the affair of the union.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at London.

The Queen's letter to the parliament of Scotland.

The parliament of Scotland meeting, the 3d of October, her Majeſty's letter was read, in which ſhe acquainted them: "that the treaty of "union was concluded by the commiſſioners of "both nations, and ſaid ſhe hop'd the terms of "it would be acceptable to them; for ſhe ſhould "eſteem it the greateſt glory of her reign to ſee "it perfected, being perſuaded it muſt prove the "greateſt happineſs of her people." Upon this occaſion, ſhe likewiſe "renewed her aſſurances "of maintaining the government of their church, "as by law eſtabliſh'd; declaring, they had now "an opportunity of doing what was neceſſary for "ſecuring their church, after the union, within "the limits of Scotland; and obſerved, that there "was no reaſon to doubt, but the parliament of "England would do what was neceſſary, on "their part, after the readineſs they had ſhewn, "to remove what might obſtruct the entering on "that treaty. She alſo deſired, that they would "provide the neceſſary ſupplies, till the parlia-"ment of Great-Britain could provide for theſe "matters, and recommended to them calmneſs "and unanimity in this great and weighty af-"fair."

Proceedings concerning the union.

The duke of Queenſberry, as lord high commiſſioner, and the earl of Seafield, as lord-chancellor, made each a ſpeech to inforce what her Majeſty had inſiſted on in her letter, and then the treaty of union was ordered to be read and printed, together with the proceedings of the lords commiſſioners of both kingdoms, in relation thereunto: which done, the parliament was adjourned for a week. At their next meeting, on the 15th, it being put to the vote; "Whether they ſhould "proceed preſently to the conſideration of the ar-"ticles of the union, or refer it." It was carried to proceed, 116 voices againſt fifty-two. In this, the ſtrength of the court-party appeared, and, notwithſtanding the clamor from the other ſide, they proceeded with all the ſedateneſs imaginable. The duke of Roxburg, who in former parliaments had expreſs'd a great averſion to an union, was now at the head of a party which went over to the court, and this was the occaſion of ſome ſevere reflections upon him, in the debates, and particularly by duke Hamilton.

Tumults on that account.

The articles of the union met with ſo bad a reception, without doors, that the mob at Edinburg was raiſed, and aſſaulted the houſe of ſir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of that city, and one of the commiſſioners, and the privy-council were obliged to call in the foot-guards for their ſecurity, at midnight, and a proclamation was iſſued againſt tumults. The averſion of a good part of the commonalty to an union was farther evident, by their inſtructions to their reſpective members, and the petitions and repreſentations againſt it, from moſt parts of the kingdom, in which they inſiſted; "that by devolving the power of the Scotiſh par-"liament, into the hands of a ſmall number of "lords, barons and burgeſſes, allowed to ſit and "vote with all the lords and commons of England, "in the parliament of Great-Britain, was diſho-"norable and prejudicial to the kingdom of Scot-"land, tending to the deſtruction of their ancient "conſtitution, and all their rights and privileges, "as a free people, in general, and to every indi-"vidual perſon and ſociety in the kingdom, in "particular: that they ſhould intirely loſe their "ſovereinty and independency, and give up the "birth-right of the peers, and the privileges of "the barons and burghs: that the rights and "intereſts reſerved to them, by the articles of "union, were capable of no ſecurity, ſeing the "plurality of voices, in the parliament of Great-"Britain, muſt determine whatever was brought "before them: that their being let into the trade "of England, would be little or no advantage "to them, under the regulations and reſtrictions "the Engliſh trade was at preſent, in the ſeveral "companies, and they were under great apprehen-"ſions of danger to their kirk, from the twenty-"ſix biſhops, who were to ſit in the Britiſh parlia-"liament; whereas their kirk would have none to "repreſent them. They objected alſo to the ſa-"cramental teſt being the condition of acceſs to "all places of profit or truſt; and it was a farther "grievance, that the ſoverein was obliged to be "of the communion of the church of England." The aſſembly of the kirk alſo petitioned againſt the "making the ſecurity of the church of England, "a fundamental article of the union; for hereby, "they ſaid, they would involve the whole nation "in great guilt, by conſenting to the eſtabliſh-"ment of the hierarchy, and ceremonies of a "church, which they held to be ſinful and abo-"minable (1)."

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Petitions againſt the union.

Reaſons alledged.

At Dumfreis, the articles of the union were publicly burnt, and the people cried aloud, that their commiſſioners muſt either be ſimple, ignorant or treacherous, if not all together; and that the ratification of this treaty would bring them and their poſterity to be tributary and bond-ſlaves to their neighbors. Even in Edinburg, the lord high commiſſioner was inſulted, and ſtones thrown at him in his coach, while he was ſurrounded

The articles of union, burnt in Scotland.

"by France, however ſincere, had no effect; becauſe the three principal powers, on whom this accommodation depended, "were govern'd by three perſons, whoſe private intereſt it was to continue the war, that is Prince Eugene, the duke of "Marlborough, and penſionary Heinſius. It is well known (continues my author) that Prince Eugene, beſide the particular "enmity he had conceived againſt France, his native country, was intirely in the ſentiments of the Emperor, who contri-"buting little or nothing to this war, which was begun in his favor, and in which he could loſe nothing, but had a pro-"ſpect of gaining much, it was his intereſt to ſee it continued; that the duke of Marlborough had an abſolute power over "the minds, not only of the Queen, but of the parliament, and the more, as the principal offices of the kingdom were filled "with his creatures; and laſtly, that penſionary Heinſius, being ſubſervient to the wills of Prince Eugene and the duke of "Marlborough, was ſo intirely maſter of the republic of Holland, that it was, as it were, wholly rob'd of its former liber-"ty; and the good of the public ſacrific'd to his private intereſt." De Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome V. p. 273.

Here, indeed, is a direct charge of private intereſt againſt the penſionary, tho' not ſupported by th e leaſt ſhadow of proof; but for our two warriors, I find nothing like it alledg'd in particular or circumſtantially.

(1) It may not, however, be improper to obſerve, in order to ſet this matter in a true light, that tho' the numerous addreſſes againſt the union in Scotland, ſeem'd to ſhew a great averſion to it, in that nation; yet this oppoſition was far from being the general ſenſe of the nation, as was inſinuated by many: for it is remarkable, that of thirty-four ſhires in Scotland, only thirteen addreſs'd, and of all theſe the better and more ſubſtantial part of the gentlemen refuſed to join with the reſt: That of ſixty-ſix boroughs only, ſeventeen ſent up addreſſes, and moſt of theſe not abſolutely againſt the union, but only for rectification of the articles: that of ſixty-eight preſbyteries, only three, and of 938 kirks and pariſhes, only ſixty addreſs'd againſt an union, by the viſible influence of the great men who thwarted it in the ſenate-houſe. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 271.

with

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with the guards; and, on the 30th of November, the mob entered the parliament close, with loud clamors for rejecting the articles of union, all which circumstances gave the government such apprehensions, that it was thought convenient to march several regiments of horse and dragoons, to the north of England, to be in a readiness to protect the ministry.

The articles of the union ratified in Scotland.

However, notwithstanding all the opposition and clamor that was made, the act for the ratification of the union pass'd, on the 16th of January, by a majority of 110, against sixty-nine. But tho' all the articles were, at length, agreed to, it was with some explanations and alterations (1), and an act pass'd, at the same time, for the security of their kirk, as a fundamental and essential condition of the union. They afterwards proceeded to an act, prescribing the manner of electing the members of Scotland to be their representatives in the first parliament of Great-Britain. An act of supply likewise pass'd this session, by which an eight months cess was granted, amounting to 576,000 l. 15 s. and 4 d. Scots. The remainder of the session, which was continued till the 25th of March of the insuing year, was spent in several other public and private affairs, and then the lord high commissioner, having given the royal sanction to twenty other public and private acts, and made a speech, the parliament was adjourn'd to the 22d of April.

The parliament adjourn'd.

Having thus given a brief account of the proceedings of the parliament of Scotland, with regard to the union, let us now return to England, where we shall soon see what reception that treaty met with there.

The English parliament meets.

The 3d of December, the parliament of that kingdom met, pursuant to its last prorogation, and was open'd by the following speech from the throne.

The Queen's speech to both houses of parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope we are all met together, at this time, "with hearts truly thankful to ALMIGHTY GOD, "for the glorious successes with which he has "bless'd our arms, and those of our allies, thro' "the whole course of this year; and with serious "and steady resolutions, to prosecute the advan- "tages we have gained, till we reap the desired "fruit of them, in an honorable and durable "peace.

"The goodness of GOD has brought this happy "prospect so much nearer to us, that, if we be "not wanting to ourselves, we may, upon good "grounds, hope to see such a balance of power "established in Europe, that it shall no longer be "at the pleasure of one Prince, to disturb the "repose, and indanger the liberties of that part of "the world,

"A just consideration of the present posture "of affairs, of the circumstances of our enemies, "and the good disposition of our allies, must "needs excite an uncommon zeal, and animate "us to exert our utmost indeavors, at this critical "juncture."

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"As I am fully persuaded you are all of this "mind, so I must earnestly desire you, to grant "me supplies sufficient for carrying on the war "next year, in so effectual a manner, that we "may be able to improve every where the advan- "tages of this successful campain; and I assure "you, I shall make it my business to see all you "give, applied to those ends, with the greatest "care and management."

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My lords and gentlemen,

"In pursuance of the power vested in me, by "acts of parliament, both in England and Scotland, "I have appointed commissioners to treat of an "union between the two kingdoms; and tho' this "be a work of such a nature, as could not but be "attended with great difficulties; yet such has "been the application of the commissioners, that "they have concluded a treaty, which is at this "time before the parliament of Scotland: and I "hope the mutual advantages of an intire union of "the two kingdoms will be found so apparent, "that it will not be long before I shall have an op- "portunity of acquainting you with the success "which it has met with there.

"Your meeting at this time being later than "usual, I cannot conclude without earnestly re- "commending to you, to give as much dispatch "to the public affairs, as the nature of them will "admit, it being of the greatest consequence, "that both our friends and our enemies should be "fully convinced of your firmness, and the vigor "of your proceedings."

This speech met with an uncommon applause, both within doors and without; and, on the 5th, the two houses, each in a body, attended the Queen with their congratulatory addresses.

Addres of the lords.

The lords, after having congratulated her Majesty on the great success of her arms this wonderful year; observed, "That nothing could be "more glorious, than the opening the campain "by the ever-memorable victory gained at Ra- "mellies, under her wise and valiant general, the "duke of Marlborough, and nothing more sea- "sonable, at the close of the campain, than the "compleat victory gain'd by the duke of Savoy "and Prince Eugene, before the walls of Turin: "and if they should not do all that lay in their "power, towards improving the advantages divine "providence had given her Majesty and her allies, "they should be inexcusable: nor could they suf- "ficiently express the universal satisfaction of the "people, on the declaration her Majesty and the "States had made to the ministers of the rest of "the allies; that no negociations of peace should "be entered upon, but in junction with all the "members of the grand alliance. That the ex- "ample of her Majesty and the States ought to "inspire the rest of the allies, with a noble emu- "lation of acting with the like vigor. If any of "them had failed formerly, they hoped her Ma- "jesty would find proper means to let them see, "that the only right amends they could make to "the cause of liberty, was by doubling their ef- "forts at this important juncture, which was the "true way to obtain such a peace, as might secure "the Protestant succession; the advantages of trade "and commerce; restore the whole Mouarchy of "Spain to King Charles III; fix a barrier for the "States-general as might be to their satisfaction, "and procure such terms for the rest of the allies, "as might be just, safe, and honorable; con-

(1) There was a small alteration in the fifth article: several additions and explanations in the sixth. An amendment to the fourteenth, importing that, during the present war, Scotland should be exempt from the malt-tax. Some alterations and amendments in the fifteenth and sixteenth. An amendment to the nineteenth, with respect to qualifications: an addition of the word superiorities: some amendments to the second paragraph of the twenty-second, relating to the calling the representatives of Scotland, to the parliament of Great-Britain: and an explanatory clause to the twenty-fourth. All which explanations and alterations were not so very essential, but that the lord high commissioner and the court party, readily come into them, and thereby, gradually brought over several to that side, who, in the begining, shewed a total averson to the union.

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" cluding with their thanks, for her Majeſty's in-
" deavors to compleat the union of the two king-
" doms."

Addreſs of the commons.

The commons, beſide their congratulations, aſ-ſured her Majeſty, " that as her allies had ſhewn " their firmneſs and good diſpoſition to carry on " the war vigorouſly, ſo they were determined, " that no ſpecious pretences of peace ſhould di-" vert them from their ſteady reſolution of inabling " her Majeſty to improve, in all places, the ad-" vantages of this ſucceſsful campain. The ex-" perience they had of the prudent adminiſtra-" tion, and the great care and management in the " application of the public treaſure, incouraged " them to aſſure her Majeſty, they would chear-" fully give ſuch ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies, " as by God's bleſſing might eſtabliſh the balance " of power in Europe, by a ſafe, honorable and " laſting peace: and they returned her Majeſty " their thanks for her care in promoting the union " of the two kingdoms."

The duke of Marlborough coming, the ſame day, to the houſe of peers, the lord-keeper, by direction from their lordſhips, made the following ſpeech to his grace:

The lord-keeper's ſpeech to the duke of Marlborough.

My lord duke of Marlborough,

" I am commanded by this houſe, to give your " grace their acknowledgments and thanks for the " eminent ſervices you have done, ſince the laſt " ſeſſion of parliament, to her Majeſty and your " country, together with their confederates, in " this juſt and neceſſary war.

" Tho' your former ſucceſſes againſt the power " of France, while it remain'd unbroken, gave " moſt reaſonable expectation that you would not " fail to improve them, yet what your grace has " performed, this laſt campain, has far exceeded all " hopes, even of ſuch as were moſt affectionate and " partial, to their country's intereſt, and your " glory; the advantages you have gain'd againſt " the enemy, are of ſuch a nature, ſo conſpicuous " of themſelves, ſo undoubtedly owing to your " courage and conduct, ſo ſenſibly and univerſally " beneficial in their conſequences, to the whole " confederacy, that to attempt to adorn them, " with the coloring of words, would be vain and " inexcuſable, and therefore I decline it, the ra-" ther, becauſe I ſhould certainly offend that " great modeſty which alone can and does add " luſtre to your actions, and which, in your grace's " example, has ſucceſsfully withſtood as great trials, " as that virtue has met with in any inſtance what-" ſoever; and I beg leave, to ſay, that if any " thing could move your grace to reflect, with " much ſatisfaction on your own merit, it would " be this, that ſo auguſt an aſſembly does, with " one voice praiſe and thank you: an honor, which " a judgment, ſo ſure as that of your grace's, to " think rightly of every thing, cannot but prefer " to the oſtentation of a public triumph."

His grace's anſwer to this ſpeech was:

His grace's anſwer.

" I eſteem this a very particular honor, which " your lordſhips are pleaſed to do me; no body in " the world can be more ſenſible of it than I am, " nor more deſirous to deſerve the continuance of " your favour and good opinion."

The commons had, the day before, unanimouſly voted;

The commons vote thanks to the duke.

" That the thanks of this houſe be given to his " grace the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent " ſervices to her Majeſty, and this kingdom, in " the great and glorious victories, and ſucceſſes " obtain'd over the common enemy, in the laſt " campain." And the commitee appointed by the commons having, this day, attended the duke, with the thanks of that houſe, his grace made the following anſwer. " If any thing could add

His anſwer.

" to my ſatisfaction, in the ſervices I have indea-" vored to do the Queen and my country, it would " be the particular notice, which the houſe of " commons is pleaſed to take of them, ſo much " to my advantage."

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At the begining of this ſeſſion, the houſe of commons came to the following reſolutions, in relation to their privileges.

Reſolution of the commons as to their privileges.

1. " That no peer has a right to give his vote " at the election of a commoner.

2. " That where the houſes judge a petition, " touching an election, to be frivolous and vexa-" tious, they will order ſatisfaction to be made to " the perſon petition'd againſt.

3. " Where a perſon procures himſelf to be " elected, by bribery or corruption, they will " proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt him.

4. " That where any perſon ſhall tamper with " the witneſſes, or deter any from appearing as " witneſſes, at a controverted election, they are " guilty of a miſdemeanor, and ſhall be proſe-" cuted with the utmoſt ſerverity.

5. " That if any perſon give falſe evidence " to the houſe, he ſhall be proſecuted with the ut-" moſt ſeverity.

6. " That for any peer, or lord-lieutenant of a " county, to concern himſelf in the election of a " member, is a high infringement of the liberties " and privileges of the commons."

Supplies voted.

The commons were likewiſe not only juſt to themſelves, but as good as their words to her Majeſty, in voting the neceſſary ſupplies, with all the diſpatch and unanimity that could be wiſh'd. I ſhall give the reader a liſt of them in one view, without regard to the particular days on which they were voted, and they were as follows: " For " 40,000 men in the ſea ſervice, including the " 8000 marines, at 4 l. per man, per month, " for thirteen months. For the ordinary of the " navy, 120,000 l. For guards and gariſons, " 357,000 l. For 40,000 land-men, to act in con-" junction with the allies, 893,706 l. For the ad-" ditional 10,000 men, and for her Majeſty's " proportion of 3000 Palatines, 211,762 l. For " paying a years intereſts of unſatisfied deben-" tures, 49,000 l. For the wharf and ſtore-houſe, " at Portſmouth, 10,000 l. For the ordnance for " land-ſervice, 120,000 l. For tranſport-ſervice, " 144,000 l. For circulating exchequer-bills, " 3500 l. For the Queen's proportion of ſubſides, " to the King of Denmark, for the year 1707, " 37,000 l. For the Queen's proportion of the " charges of 13,000 men, in the ſervice of the King " of Portugal, for the year 1707, 150,000 l. For " the Queen's proportion of ſubſidies to the duke " of Savoy, 160,000 l. For ſubſidies to the Land-" grave of Heſſe-caſſel, 5952 l. For ſubſidies to " the Elector of Triers, 5952 l. For ſubſidies to " to the Elector-Palatine, 4761 l. For the Queen's " proportion of the charge of 8000 men, ſent " to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, 50,000 l. " For the charge of maintaining 20,562 men, " part of her Majeſty's forces to be imployed in " Spain and Portugal, next year, and for the " gariſon of Gibraltar; for general officers, hoſ-" pitals and contingencies, 445,350 l. For 8833 " men, additional forces, to ſerve next year in " Spain, and Portugal, 186,296 l. For ſo much " advanced by the Queen to the duke of Savoy, " for the better defence of Turin, laſt year, " 50,000 l. For her Majeſty's ſhare of a loan to " the Emperor, for the ſervice in Italy, laſt " year, 47,500 l. For the expence of levying, " paying, and contingencies of the forces, in the " expedition under the earl of Rivers, 63,661 l. " For the pay of the general officers, of the " 13,000 men, in Portugal, 3014 l. For her

" Majeſty's

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" Majeſty's ſhare of the pay of 3000 Palatines, " in the laſt year, 26,692 l. For the agio, bread " and forage-mony of the Pruſſians, in the " Queen's ſervice in the Netherlands, 37,012 l. " For an additional ſubſidy to the Landgrave " of Heſſe-Caſſel, and for defraying diverſe ex- " pences, on his troops, for next year, 20,000 l. " For the agio and bread-mony of the Pruſſians, " for the year paſt, 19,755 l. For the Queen's " proportion of extraordinary expences, on the " Heſſe-Caſſel troops, in the laſt year, 11,780 l. " or levy-mony to recruit horſes of the forein " troops, in our pay, kill'd laſt year in Flanders, " 34,607 l. For the ſame recruit for the Engliſh " troops, 1140 l. For the horſes of the Engliſh " troops, which died in 1705, 7532 l. For the " ſame in the year 1706, 11,298 l. For the " horſes of the Danes, in thoſe two years, 16,055 l. " For the Hanover horſe, 1775 l. For proſecuting " the ſucceſſes of King Charles, for recovering " the monarchy of Spain, 150,000 l. In all, " 5,540,131 l. not reckoning 398,085 l. for the " equivalent allowed the Scots, by the union, " which was likewiſe granted this ſeſſion."

Ways and means.

To raiſe this vaſt ſum, the parliament gave a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and the duty upon malt, for one year. The duties upon low-wines, the ſtamp-duty, and that upon hawkers, which had been continued to 1710, were now continued for ninety-ſix years, to be a fund for 1,155,000 l. to be taken in for annuities, at ſixteen years parchaſe. The duty upon houſes was continued, for circulating exchequer-bills, by which 1,500,000 l. was raiſed. The old tonage and poundage, and ſeveral other duties at the cuſtom-houſe, which were already continued to 1710, for paying off deficiences, were now continued for two years more, for a loan of 822,381 l. at ſix per cent. intereſt.

Creations and promotions.

About this time, her Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following promotions among the nobility: Henry, earl of Kent, was creared viſcount Goderick, earl of Harold, and marquis of Kent: Robert, earl of Lindſey, was created marquis of Lindſey, in the county of Lincoln; Evelin, earl of Kingſton, marquis of Doncaſter, in the county of Dorſet; Thomas lord Wharton, viſcount Winchindon, in the county of Bucks, and earl of Wharton, in the county of Weſtmorland; John, lord Poulet, of Hinton St. George, viſcount Hinton St. George, in the county of Sommerſet, and earl of Poulet; Sidney, lord Godolphin, viſcount Rialton, and earl of Godolphin, in the county of Cornwall; Hugh lord Cholmondley, viſcount Malpas, and earl of Cholmondley, in the county of Cheſter; Henry, lord Walden, ſon and heir of the earl of Suffolk, baron of Cheſterford, in the county of Eſſex, and earl of Bindon, in the county of Dorſet; the lord keeper Cowper, lord Cowper, and baron of Wingham, in the county of Kent; and ſir Thomas Pelham, lord Pelham, and baron of Laughton, in the county of Suſſex.

The 17th of December, the houſe of lords preſented the following addreſs to the Queen, in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

The lords addreſs in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient " ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in par- " liament aſſembled, having, with much ſatiſ- " faction, conſider'd the many great actions which " the duke of Marlborough has performed in your " Majeſty's ſervice, to the honor of his country, " and for the good of the common cauſe of Eu- " rope (ſuch actions as the wiſeſt and greateſt " people have rewarded with ſtatues and triumphs) " are extreamly deſirous to expreſs the juſt ſenſe " we have of his merit, in a peculiar and diſtin- " guiſhing manner, and in order to perpetuate the " memory thereof, to ſettle and continue his titles " and honors, with his right of precedence in his " poſterity, by act of parliament, as the method " moſt effectual for that end, and beſt ſuiting ſo " great an occaſion: but yet having always a juſt " regard for the prerogatives of the crown (your " Majeſty being the ſole fountain of honor) we " thought it our duty, in the firſt place, to have " recourſe to your Majeſty, for your royal allow- " ance, before any order given for bringing in " a bill of ſuch nature, and, at the ſame time, to " deſire your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, " to let the houſe know, in what manner it will " be moſt acceptable to your Majeſty, that the " ſaid titles and honors ſhould be limited."

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Her Majeſty's anſwer to this addreſs ran thus.

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The Queen's anſwer.

" Nothing can be more acceptable to me than " your addreſs; I am intirely ſatisfied with the " ſervices of the duke of Marlborough, and there- " fore cannot but be pleaſed you have ſo juſt a " ſenſe of them.

" I muſt not omit to take notice, that the re- " ſpectful manner of your proceeding, in deſiring " my allowance for bringing in the bill, and my " direction for the limitation of the honors does " give me great ſatisfaction.

" My intention is, that after the determination " of the eſtate, which the duke of Marlborough " now has in his titles and honors, the ſame ſhould " be limited to his eldeſt daughter, and the heirs " male of her body, and then to all his other " daughters ſucceſſively, according to their priority " of birth, and the heirs male of their reſpective " bodies, and afterwards, in ſuch manner, as may " effectually anſwer my deſign, and yours, in " perpetuating the memory of his merit, by conti- " nuing, as far as may be done, his titles and " name to all his poſterity.

" I think it would be proper, that the honor " and manor of Woodſtock, and the houſe of " Blenheim, ſhould always go along with the " titles, and therefore I recommend that matter " to your conſideration."

Then the duke of Marlborough, on this occaſion, ſpoke to the Lords in theſe words:

My lords,

The duke of Marlborough's ſpeech on that occaſion.

" I cannot find words ſufficient to expreſs the " ſenſe I have of the great and diſtinguiſhing " honor which the houſe has been pleaſed to do " me, in their reſolution, and their application to " her Majeſty. The thoughts of it will be a con- " tinual ſatisfaction to me, and the higheſt in- " couragement; and the thankful memory of it " muſt laſt as long as any poſterity of mine.

" I beg leave to ſay a word to the houſe, in " relation to that part of her Majeſty's moſt gra- " cious anſwer, which concerns the eſtate of Wood- " ſtock and the houſe of Blenheim; I did make " my humble requeſt to the Queen, that thoſe " might go along with the titles; and I make the " like requeſt to your lordſhips, that after the " ducheſs of Marlborough's death, upon whom " they are ſettled in jointure, that eſtate and houſe " may be limited to go always along with the " honor."

The ſtandards and colors taken at Ramellies hung up in Guild-hall.

The 19th, her Majeſty having been pleas'd, at the requeſt of the city of London, to order, that the ſtandards and colors taken at the famous battle of Ramellies, which were lately brought from the Netherlands, ſhould be put up in Guild-hall, a detachment of her Majeſty's horſe-guards, and horſe-grenadiers, and a battalion drawn out of both regiments of her Majeſty's foot-guards, were drawn up, on the parade, in St. James's park, and having received the ſaid colors and ſtandards, which had been laid up at Whitehall, they proceeded

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ceeded in the following manner: first the troop of horse-grenadiers, then the detachment of the three troops of her Majesty's horse-gards, twenty-six of the gentlemen in the center, carrying each a standard taken from the enemy. The battallion of foot-guards closed the march, sixty-three of the pike-men, instead of their pikes, each carrying one of the enemy's colors advanced. In this manner, they march'd thro' the Park, and St. James's Meuse, where her Majesty was pleased to see them pass by, from the right honorable the lady Fitzharding's lodgings, the guns in the Park being fired at the same time. Thence they proceeded down Pall-mall, the Strand, &c. to Guild-hall, where the standards and colors were put up, to remain there, as trophies of that signal victory, wherewith it pleased Almighty God to bless the arms of her Majesty, and her allies, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough; and as a lasting monument of the immortal honor gained by her Majesty's arms, on that memorable day.

The duke of Marlborough dines with the lord-mayor.

The duke of Marlborough having been invited by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen to dine with them, in the city, his grace went thither, the same day, about noon, accompanied by the lord high-treasurer, and the duke of Sommerset and Ormond, in one of her Majesty's coaches, and was follow'd by a train of other coaches, in which were several of the nobility, the forein ministers, and other persons of quality, with the generals, and other chief officers of the army. They were received, at Temple-bar, by the city-marshal, and were conducted to Vintner's hall, where a splendid entertainment was provided for them, by sir Robert Bedingfield, lord-mayor, the court of aldermen, and sir William Benson, and sir Ambrose Crawley, sheriffs, and they were followed, both going and coming, with great acclamations from the people.

The bill in favor of the duke of Marlborough pass'd.

The 20th, the bill from the lords, intitled; "an act for the settling the honors and dignities "of John, duke of Marlborough, upon his po-"sterity, and annexing the honor and manor of "Woodstock, and house of Blenheim, to go along "with the said honors," was read three times, by the house of commons, and pass'd, nemine contradicente; and, the next day, it had the royal assent.

Extract of the speaker of the house of commons speech to her Majesty.

At the presentation of this, together with the land and malt-tax bill, &c. the speaker of the house of commons made a speech to her Majesty, importing; "that as the glorious victory obtain'd "by the duke of Marlborough at Ramellies was "so surprizing, that the battle was fought before "it could be thought the armies were in the "field; so it was no less surprizing, that the "commons had granted supplies to her Majesty, "before her enemies could well know, that her "parliament was siting;" and the Queen, on her part, in her most gracious speech, to both houses, was pleased to express herself, as follows, in favor of the duke:

Part of her Majesty's speech.

"The particular notice you have taken of the "eminent services of the duke of Marlborough, "is also very agreeable to me; and I make "no question, but it will be so to the whole "kingdom."

A general thanksgiving.

The last day of the year, being appointed a general thanksgiving for the wonderful successes of her Majesty's arms, &c. her Majesty went, with the usual state and solemnity, to the cathedral of St. Paul's; and thereby gave her subjects, and especially the city of London, the joyful spectacle of TWO TRIUMPHS IN ONE YEAR.

An' 1707. The parliament was no sooner met again, after the Christmas-holidays, than the house of commons having, on the 7th of January, taken into their consideration "the eminent services of John, "duke of Marlborough," that they might not be behind hand with the lords, agreed upon the following address to the Queen: Q. Ann, An' 1707.

Most gracious sovereign,

Addres of the commons in favor of the duke of Marlborough.

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal "subjects, the commons of England in parlia-"ment assembled, taking into our consideration "the many eminent services of John duke of "Marlborough, whereby the glory of your Ma-"jesty's government, the honor and safety of your "kingdom, and the interests of the common cause, "have been so highly advanced, do, with all "submission, address ourselves to your Majesty's "most sacred person, humbly to desire, that as "your Majesty is, at your expence, graciously "pleased to erect the house of Blenheim, as a "monument of his glorious actions; and the "house of peers, by your Majesty's permission, "have given rise to a law for continuing his honors "to his posterity; we, your most obedient com-"mons, may be permited to express our sense of "so distinguishing a merit, and our ready dispo-"sition to inable your Majesty to make some pro-"vision for the more honorable support of his "dignity, in his posterity, in such a manner, as "shall be most agreeable to your Majesty."

This address being presented, the next day to the Queen, by the whole house, her Majesty was pleas'd to give the following answer:

Gentlemen,

The Queen's answer.

"I am very glad you have so just a sense of the "repeated services of the duke of Marlborough: "I will consider of your address, and return an "answer very speedily."

Accordingly, on the 9th of January, mr. secretary Harley deliver'd to the house the following message, sign'd by her Majesty.

Ann R.

A message from the Queen to the house of commons in his grace's favor.

"Her Majesty, in consideration of the great "and eminent services, performed by the duke "of Marlborough, in the first year of her reign, "as well by his prudent negociations, as her ple-"nipotentiary at the Hague, as by his valor "and good conduct in the command of the con-"federate armies abroad, thought fit to grant him "and the heirs male of his body, the title of a "duke, of this realm; and as a farther mark "of her favor and satisfaction with his services, "and for the better support of his dignity, her "Majesty granted to the said duke, and the "heirs male of his body, during his life, a pen-"sion of 5000 l. per annum, out of the revenue "of the post office, and an act having pass'd "this session, for settling the honors and dignities "of the duke of Marlborough, upon his poste-"rity, and annexing the honor and manor of "Woodstock, and house of Blenheim to go along "with the said honors, it would be very agreable "to her Majesty, if the pension of 5000 l. per "annum, be continued and limited, by act of "parliament, to his posterity, for the more "honorable support of their dignities, in like "manner, as his honors, and the honor and ma-"nor of Woodstock, and house of Blenheim, "are already settled and limited," Kensington, January 9, 1707.

A bill pass'd thereupon.

Upon the reading of this message, the house resolved, "That a bill be brought in pursuant to "the tenor of the said message;" which having pass'd both houses, receiv'd the royal assent, the 28th: and thus this matter, which had been opposed, with so much warmth, in a former parliament, pass'd in this, by an emulation in the house of commons, not to be out done by the house of peers, in shewing a true sense of the duke of Marlborough's great merit.

At

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At the ſame time that the Queen gave the royal aſſent to this bill, in favor of the duke of Marlborough, ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" Having acquainted you, at the opening of " this ſeſſion, that the treaty for an union be- " tween England and Scotland, which had been " concluded here, by the commiſſioners appointed " for that purpoſe, in purſuance of the powers " given by the parliaments of both kingdoms, " was then under the conſideration of the par- " liament of Scotland; I can now, with great " ſatisfaction, inform you, that the ſaid treaty " has been ratified, by act of parliament, in Scot- " land, with ſome alterations and additions.

" I have directed the treaty, agreed to by the " commiſſioners of both kingdoms, as alſo the " act of ratification from Scotland, to be laid be- " fore you; and, I hope, it will meet with your " concurrence and approbation.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" It being agreed, by this treaty, that Scot- " land is to have an equivalent for what that " kingdom is obliged to contribute towards pay- " ing the debts of England, I muſt recommend " to you, that, in caſe you agree to the treaty, " you would take care to provide for the payment " of the equivalent to Scotland accordingly.

My lords and gentlemen,

" You have now an opportunity before you, " of puting the laſt hand to a happy union of the " two kingdoms; which, I hope, will be a laſt- " ing bleſſing to the whole iſland; a great addi- " tion to its wealth and power, and a firm ſecurity " to the Proteſtant religion.

" The advantages that will accrue to us all " from an union, are ſo apparent, that I will add " no more, but that I ſhall look upon it as a par- " ticular happineſs, if this great work, which has " been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, can " be brought to perfection in my reign."

Debates in the houſe of commons about the union.

The articles of the union being ſoon after laid before both houſes, together with the Scotiſh act of ratification, and a copy of the minute-book of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, the houſe of commons took that matter into conſideration, and it was moved to addreſs her Majeſty, that the minutes of the proceedings of the commiſſioners appointed to treat of an union, in the firſt year of her reign, might be laid before them; but, upon the queſtion, it paſs'd in the negative. Sir John Packington urged, that this union, being a thing of the higheſt importance, required the moſt deliberate conſideration. That the people without doors had been, long ſince, tongue-tied, by an order of council (to forbid wagering, &c. about the union) but that ought to have no influence within thoſe walls; every gentleman ought freely to communicate his thoughts about it there; as he, for his part, ſhould: that he was abſolutely againſt this incorporating union, " becauſe it was " like marrying a woman againſt her conſent: " that this union had been carried on in Scotland, " by corruption and bribery within doors, and " by force and violence without:" but ſeveral members taking notice of this laſt bold expreſſion, as reflecting highly, not only on her Majeſty's miniſters, but on the Scotiſh commiſſioners in Scotland, he ſoftned it, by ſaying, " he was told, " that in Scotland they ſaid ſo:" adding, however, " that the promoters thereof, in thus baſely " giving up their independent conſtitution, had " actually betray'd the truſt repos'd in them; " and he appeal'd to the judgment of the houſe, " whether men of ſuch principles were fit to be " admited to ſit amongſt them; that among the " many inconveniencies and irreconcileable con- " tradictions this union was liable to, there was " this material one, that the Queen was oblig'd " by oath, to maintain the church of England, as " by law eſtabliſh'd, and bound likewiſe to main- " tain and defend the kirk of Scotland, in one " and the ſame united kingdom: that the church " of England look'd upon their eſtabliſhment as " Jure Divino, and the Scots pretended their kirk " was ſo likewiſe; and how two nations, who " claſh'd in ſo eſſential a point, could unite, he " could not ſee; and he thought it very proper to " conſult the convocation in this matter." To this it was anſwered, by colonel Henry Mordaunt, " that he did not look either upon the one " church or the other to be Jure Divino, any " farther, than that they were eſtabliſh'd by God " Almighty's permiſſion; and ſo they might " both be ſaid to be Jure Divino. As for con- " ſulting the national ſynod or convocation, in " matters of religion, this, he ſaid, any gentle- " man might do, for his private ſatisfaction; but " he thought it derogatory to the rights of the " commons of England, to adviſe, on this occa- " ſion, with an inferior aſſembly, who had no " ſhare in the legiſlature." Little was ſaid, in anſwer to this ſpeech, only ſome members moved, " that the firſt article of the treaty, which implies " a peremptory agreement to an incorporating " union, might be poſtponed; and that the houſe " ſhould proceed to the conſideration of the terms " of that intended union, contained in the other " articles." This being rejected by a great majority, ſeveral members, who were againſt the union, left the houſe; upon which the four firſt articles were read and approved, without oppoſition: and the 8th, in a commitee of the whole houſe, they went thro' and approved the remaining articles.

The main objection of the oppoſite party was, that the houſe was too precipitate, or, as it was expreſs'd, went poſt-haſte, in a buſineſs of the higheſt importance: to which ſir Thomas Littleton, purſuing the allegory, anſwered ſmartly enough; " that they did not ride poſt-haſte, but " a good eaſy trot; and that, for his own part, " as long as the weather was fair, the roads good, " and their horſes in heart, he was of opinion " they ought to jog on, and not take up, till they " got home.".

Proceedings thereupon in the houſe of lords.

The houſe of peers, in the mean time, brought in a bill for the ſecurity of the church of England, to be inſerted in the act of ratification, as the act for the ſecurity of the kirk of Scotland was to be, on their part. When this bill was paſs'd and ſent down to the commons, it was offer'd, by way of amendment, that ſo much of the act of the 13th Car. II. " for the well governing and re- " gulating corporations," as was not repeal'd; and alſo, that ſo much of the act of the 25th Car. II. " for preventing dangers which may happen from " Popiſh recuſants," as was unrepeal'd, might be recited in it; but it was carried againſt this amendment; as it had likewiſe with regard to the latter act, in the houſe of lords; and this was thought the harder, by the ſticklers for the church; becauſe the Scots had recited the material parts of their acts, for the eſtabliſhment of their kirk: but it was anſwered, that theſe matters were effectually and ſufficiently provided for in the bill. It was alſo propoſed, that the commitee might receive a clauſe, " that the two univerſities of this " kingdom might continue for ever, as they were " now by law eſtabliſh'd;" and another clauſe, " that the ſubjects of this kingdom ſhould be, for " ever, free of any oath, teſt or ſubſcription, within " this kingdom, contrary to, or inconſiſtent with

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" the true Proteſtant religion, worſhip, and diſ-
" cipline of the church of England, as now by
" law eſtabliſh'd ;" the queſtion was put for in-
ſerting theſe clauſes; but, notwithſtanding, it was obſerved, that the Scots had ſecured their church and univerſities in the very ſame words, they both paſs'd in the negative. Another clauſe was offer'd in favor of the convocation and clergy, but this was treated ludicrouſly, tho' the privileges of the general aſſembly of the Scotiſh kirk was expreſly reſerved and ſtipulated for. The 11th, this bill was read the third time, paſs'd without any amendment, and ſent back to the lords.

During the debates, in the commitee of the houſe of peers, the lord Haverſham made a very remarkable ſpeech, the Queen being, at the ſame time, preſent: he began by telling their lordſhips, that he hop'd it would be evident to them, with what diſpoſition he came thither, by the motion he had made laſt year, for repealing certain clauſes that were grievous to Scotland; and that he would do any thing for the benefit and good of both nations. He then obſerved, among other things;

The lord Haverſham's ſpeech.

" that theſe articles came to their lordſhips with
" the greateſt countenance of authority; and tho'
" authority, he ſaid, was the ſtrongeſt motive to
" incline the will, it was the weakeſt argument in
" the world, to convince the underſtanding: that
" it was the argument the church of Rome made
" uſe of for their ſuperſtitious worſhip, where there
" were ten Ave-Mary's for one Pater-noſter;
" which he thought juſt as unreaſonable, as if ten
" times the application and addreſs were made to
" a ſhe-favorite as to the perſon of the ſoverein,
" which was a kind of ſtate-idolatry. He ſaid
" he was not againſt a fœderal union, an union
" in intereſt, and in the ſucceſſion: but this was
" a matter of a different nature, where two na-
" tions, independent in their ſovereinties, that had
" diſtinct laws and intereſts, and, what he could
" not forget, different forms of worſhip, church-
" government and order, ſhould be united into
" one kingdom: an union, he ſaid, made up of
" ſo many miſmatch'd pieces, of ſuch jarring in-
" congruous ingredients, that he feared it would
" require a ſtanding force to keep us from falling
" aſunder, and breaking in pieces every moment.

He ſaid, by this act, " above 100 Scotiſh
" peers, and as many commoners, were excluded
" the Britiſh parliament; gentlemen, who as little
" thought of being excluded a year or two ago,
" as any of their lordſhips did now; that their
" rights too were as well and ſtrongly fenced and
" ſecured to them, as their lordſhips preſent, by
" the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the
" claim of right, and by act of parliament; where-
" by it was made treaſon to make any alteration
" in the conſtitution of that kingdom.

" That the lords, the biſhops, had once been
" voted out of the houſe by the temporal lords;
" and who knew what queſtion might ariſe here-
" after: that, for his part, he would venture his
" life for the church of England, tho' he owned
" himſelf an occaſional conformiſt: but if the
" lords, the biſhops, would weaken their cauſe ſo
" far, as to give up the two great points of epiſ-
" copal ordination and confirmation; if they
" would approve and ratify the act, for ſecuring
" the Preſbyterian church of Scotland, as the true
" Proteſtant religion, and purity of worſhip, ac-
" cording to the words in the Scotiſh act; they
" gave up that which had been contended for, be-
" tween them and the Preſbyterians, many years,
" and what had been defended by the greateſt and
" moſt learned men of the church of England;
" and he hoped their lordſhips would give ſome
" light to one who deſired inſtruction, that he
" might not ignorantly do any thing to their pre-
" judice in this matter."

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His lordſhip added; " that the act for ſecuring
" their Preſbyterian church-government, and ge-
" neral aſſemblies of their kirk, ſeemed to him
" like thoſe little clouds, in a warm calm ſummer's
" day, that were generally the ſeeds and attrac-
" tives of approaching tempeſts and thunder. That
" he ſaw no neceſſity for this incorporating union,
" ſince Scotland had offered to come into the ſuc-
" ceſſion without it; and he thought it a very
" dangerous experiment to both nations."

Notwithſtanding theſe and other oppoſitions, in both houſes, which however were not very conſiderable, the " act of ratification of the union," including an act " for ſecuring the Proteſtant reli-
" gion, and Preſbyterian church-government in
" Scotland," and an act " for ſecuring of the
" church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed," paſs'd both houſes, in a very ſhort time: ſeveral lords having nevertheleſs entered their proteſts, in the houſe of peers, ſome againſt all the articles in general, and others againſt ſome in particular only. This act having, I ſay, paſs'd both houſes, received the royal aſſent, together with ſeveral other acts, on the 4th of March, on which occaſion her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The act of ratification of the union paſſes both houſes:

And receives the royal aſſent.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I have
" given my aſſent to a bill for uniting England
" and Scotland, into one kingdom.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes, on that occaſion.

" I conſider this union as a matter of the great-
" eſt importance to the wealth, ſtrength and
" ſafety of the whole iſland, and, at the ſame
" time, as a work of ſo much difficulty and
" nicety, in its own nature, that, till now, all at-
" tempts which have been made towards it, in
" the courſe of above a hundred years, have
" proved ineffectual: and therefore I make no
" doubt, but it will be remembered, and ſpoke of
" hereafter, to the honor of thoſe who have been
" inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy con-
" cluſion. I deſire and expect from all my ſub-
" jects of both nations, that from henceforth they
" act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs to one
" another; that ſo it may appear to all the world,
" they have hearts diſpoſed to become one people."

" This will be a great pleaſure to me, and will
" make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effect
" of this union.

" And I cannot but look upon it as a particular
" happineſs, that, in my reign, ſo full a proviſion
" is made for the peace and quiet of my people,
" and for the ſecurity of our religion, by ſo firm
" an eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion
" throughout Great-Britain."

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I take this occaſion to remind you of making
" effectual proviſion for the payment of the equi-
" valent for Scotland, within the time appointed
" by this act; and, I am perſuaded, you will
" ſhew as much readineſs in this particular, as you
" have done in all the parts of this great work.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſeaſon of the year being now pretty far
" advanced, I hope you will continue the ſame zeal,
" which has appeared throughout this ſeſſion, in
" diſpatching what yet remains unfiniſhed of the
" public buſineſs before you."

The 11th, both houſes attended her Majeſty with an addreſs, in the following words:

Addreſs of both houſes, on this occaſion.

" We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects, the
" lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in
" parliament aſſembled, return our moſt humble
" thanks to your Majeſty, for your gracious ac-
" ceptation of the ſhare we had in bringing the
" treaty of an union, between your two kingdoms

" of

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" of England and Scotland, to a happy conclu-
" ſion: a work that, after ſo many fruitleſs in-
" deavors, ſeems deſign'd by Providence to add
" new luſtre to the glories of your Majeſty's reign.
" The ſucceſs of your arms having ſecured us from
" all attempts from abroad, and the care your Ma-
" jeſty has taken of the firm eſtabliſhment of the
" Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having given a great and
" laſting ſecurity to our religion, as, in the church
" of England, by law eſtabliſh'd, we beg leave
" humbly to aſſure your Majeſty, that our indea-
" vors ſhall never be wanting to ſupport your go-
" vernment at home, and ſo to eſtabliſh the peace
" of this iſland, that no diſpute may remain among
" us, but how to acknowledge, in the moſt dutiful
" manner, the auſpicious conduct of ſo great and
" ſo renowned a Queen.

To this addreſs, her Majeſty anſwered:

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I am glad to find your opinion ſo perfectly
" agrees with mine, concernion this union: you
" cannot do me a more acceptable ſervice, than
" by uſing your utmoſt indeavors to improve all
" the good conſequences of it."

The remaining part of this ſeſſion was ſpent in voting a ſupply for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland, in finding ways and means, and in preparing bills to prevent the runing of forein goods to Scotland, and their importing them duty-free into England, after the 1ſt of May, when the union was to take place; but the houſes diſagreeing about the expedients propoſed for the latter, thoſe bills came to nothing: upon which, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, the 24th of April, and having given the royal aſſent, to ſuch acts as lay ready for that purpoſe, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech at proroguing the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I return you my hearty thanks for the great
" zeal and affection which you have ſhewn for my
" ſervice and the public good, in the ſeveral af-
" fairs which have been before you, eſpecially
" in that of the union with Scotland; which I
" doubt not, will prove a laſting happineſs to
" this iſland.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I am to thank you, in particular, for the great
" diſpatch you have made in providing the largeſt
" and moſt effectual ſupplies that have ever been
" given to the crown, for the current ſervice, in
" any one ſeſſion of parliament: I am very much
" concerned, that the public occaſions require the
" raiſing of ſuch great ſums from my people: I
" will take care they ſhall be applied to the uſes
" for which they are given; and, I hope, by
" God's bleſſing, we may obtain advantages
" from them, anſwerable to ſo great an expence.

My lords and gentlemen,

" It is proper for me, before we part, to com-
" municate to you, that I think it expedient, that
" the lords of parliament of England, ſhould
" be members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt
" parliament of Great-Britain, for, and on the
" part of England: and therefore I intend, with-
" in the time limited, to publiſh a proclamation
" for that purpoſe, purſuant to the powers given
" me by the acts of parliament of both king-
" doms, ratifying the treaty of union: and, after
" we have ſo fully compleated this great work,
" I aſſure myſelf, that, when you return to your
" ſeveral countries, you will omit no opportunity
" of making my ſubjects ſenſible of the ſecurity,
" and the other great and laſting benefits they
" may reaſonably expect from this happy union.

" This will conduce very much to make it prove
" ſo, and be a good preparation to the ſucceſs of
" our next meeting; when, I hope, we ſhall all
" join our ſincere and hearty indeavors, to pro-
" mote the welfare and proſperity of Great-Bri-
" tain."

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After this, the lord-keeper, by her Majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament, till Wedneſday the 30th of the ſame month of April, that being the longeſt day they could be prorogued to as a parliament of England; and the day preceding it a proclamation was iſſued, declaring the lords and commons of the preſent parliament, to be members of the firſt parliament of Great-Britain, for England.

The parliament prorogued.

The principal acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mention'd, were, 1. " An act for the
" better preventing eſcapes out of the Queen's
" bench and fleet priſons. 2. An act for the
" better preſervation of the game. 3. An act for
" the better recruiting the land-forces and ma-
" rines. 4. An act for the incouragement of the
" royal Luſtring company. 5. An act relating to
" bankrupts. 6. An act for diſcharging ſmall
" livings from the firſt fruits and tenths. 7. An
" act for ſecuring her Majeſty's purchaſe of the
" Cotton-library. 8. An act for incouraging the
" diſcovery of houſe-breakers, &c. by day or
" night. 9. An act for continuing an act for
" puniſhing mutiny, nd deſertion. 10. An act
" to repeal all the laws prohibiting the importation
" of forein lace made with thread. 11. An act
" for raiſing the militia for the year 1707. And,
" 12. An act for continuing ſeveral laws therein
" mention'd, relating to the poor, &c." with ſeveral other acts of leſs moment.

Acts paſſed.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the convocation was aſſembled as uſual: but upon the lower houſe ſhewing an inclination to apply againſt the union, they were prorogued, by virtue of her Majeſty's command, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and nothing worthy the reader's attention happen'd in that aſſembly.

The union commencing the 1ſt of May, that day was obſerved as a thankſgiving; when her Majeſty went to St. Paul's, in the uſual ſtate, and a ſermon was preach'd on the occaſion by the biſhop of Oxford. Her Majeſty likewiſe, on this account, received congratulatory addreſſes from moſt of the cities, towns and corporations in England; but it was obſervable, that tho' the univerſity of Cambridge was one of the forwardeſt on this topic, that of Oxford never addreſs'd at all; nor did hardly any thing of that nature appear from Scotland.

Thankſgiving for the union.

The 4th, the lord Cowper was conſtituted lord-chancellor; the 10th, there was a promotion of general officers: and, on the 20th, James duke of Montroſs, James earl of Seafield, John earl of Mar, and Hugh earl of Loudon, noblemen of North-Britain, were ſworn of the privy-council.

Promotions.

The 5th of June, her Majeſty's proclamation was publiſh'd, declaring her pleaſure for holding the firſt parliament of Great-Britain, at Weſtminſter, on the 23d of October. And, the next day, commiſſioners were appointed for managing the equivalent due to Scotland, according to the treaty of union.

Proclamation for holding the firſt parliament of Great-Britain

The 23d, at a council held at Windſor, her Majeſty was pleas'd to make a new appointment (on occaſion of the union) of the lord chancellor, and lord-high treaſurer, who, for ſome time, had left their places of poſt, at the council-table, and ſat only according to their rank of peerage; but now, her Majeſty was pleas'd, after reading a public inſtrument, to re-inveſt them with the titles of lord-chancellor, and lord-high treaſurer of Great-Britain, and new patents paſs'd the ſeal for that purpoſe. In like manner, his Royal-Highneſs Prince

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Prince George of Denmark, took a new oath, in the court of chancery, as lord-high admiral of Great-Britain, &c. and, by a new commiſſion, appointed his council.

Affairs of Ireland.

Before I proceed to give an account of forein affairs, I ſhall juſt mention thoſe of Ireland. The earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident of the council, having been appointed, on the 27th of April, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his excellency arrived at Dublin the 24th of June. The 7th of July the parliament met, and his excellency made a ſpeech to them, in which among other things, having recommended unanimity among themſelves, as the means to attain to the bleſſing of a future poſterity and ſecurity, he told them, "that her Majeſty conſidering the number of "Papiſts in Ireland, would be glad of any ex-"pedient for ſtrengthening the intereſt of her "Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom; and that "he did not doubt but they would make proviſion "of the neceſſary ſupplies for payment of the "army, as well as for defraying the charges of "the government." The lords and commons having preſented their reſpective addreſſes of congratulation, on the accompliſhment of the union between England and Scotland, and of thanks to the lord-lieutenant, on the 10th of July, the commons ordered heads of a bill to be brought in "for explaining and amending an act to pre-"vent the farther growth of Popery:" which bill was however afterwards rejected, and another preſented in the room of it, "for the better ſe-"curing the Proteſtant religion and intereſt in "that kingdom, againſt Popery. The 14th they appointed a commitee to inſpect the public accounts, and the next day unanimouſly voted a a ſupply. The 28th, the commitee of the whole houſe went on the ſupply, and reſolved, 1. "That "the funds formerly granted by parliament, and "the revenue of the kingdom, were ſufficient to "ſupport the government, and diſcharge the public "debts, to and for Michaelmas, 1707. 2. That "the ſupply granted to her Majeſty, be a ſum "ſufficient to make good the neceſſary branches "of the eſtabliſhment, from Michaelmas 1707, "to and for Midſummer 1709." The 4th of Auguſt, the commons reſolved "to grant 135,000 l. to "her Majeſty, for the ſupport of the neceſſary bran-"ches of the eſtabliſhment, from Michaelmals, "1707, to Midſummer, 1709." Till the 24th of October, was ſpent in the preparing ſeveral as well public as private acts, and in ſundry interruptions and adjournments, occaſion'd by ſeveral bills being ſent to England, for the royal approbation. That day, the lord-lieutenant went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſuch acts as were ready, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them; "That he had ſeen, with "great ſatisfaction, their chearfulneſs in the pro-"ſecution of her Majeſty's ſervice, and, in par-"ticular, the unanimity of the commons, in "granting the neceſſary ſupplies for the eſtabliſh-"ment."

The 30th, the lord-lieutenant came again to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal ſanction to the remaining public and private acts, made a ſpeech to both houſes. This done, the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 6th of May next inſuing, and, about a month after, the lord-lieutenant returned to Great-Britain. I come now to forein affairs.

The conſtant ſeries of prodigious ſucceſſes, in almoſt all parts, with which the confederate arms were attended, the laſt campain, made it generally believed, that the King of France would never be able to retrieve ſo many and ſo great misfortunes, and would ſoon be obliged to lay aſide his pretenſions to Spain, to obtain a peace, which his ſubjects ſtood in great need of, and which they implor'd of him, in the moſt ſolemn manner; but, notwithſtanding the great hopes conceived, at this time, the year I am now entering upon will not furniſh us with ſo much matter for triumph as the foregoing; on the contrary, we ſhall ſee the enemy, who was look'd upon as totally overwhelm'd, raiſing his head again, and triumphing, at leaſt in ſome places, in his turn.

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The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

The duke of Marlborough, who, in the foregoing years of her Majeſty's reign, made ſo ſhining a figure by his glorious military atchievements, beſpeaks our attention this year, chiefly by his important negociations. For which he had as happy a talent, and as much ſkill and ſagacity, as conduct and bravery when at the head of an army. The plan for the operations of the campain being concerted, as far as they could be at London, his grace departed thence for Holland; but having been detained nine or ten days, by contrary winds, at Margate, he imbark'd there, the 2d of April in the evening, deſigning to reach Oſtend; the wind however changing, he landed at the Briel, the 16th, N. S. at night.

Acquaints the States with his deſign of going into Saxony.

The next day, the duke arrived at the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the forein miniſters and the deputies of the States, on the affairs of the preſent juncture, and, among other things, he told the latter; "That the troubles of "Saxony occaſioning a great diſtraction in the "Empire, which brought infinite prejudice to the "common cauſe, the Queen, his miſtreſs, had "thought fit, to ſend him thither, to pay a com-"pliment to the King of Sweden, and indeavor "to ingage him to remove the juſt jealouſies, his "long ſtay, in the heart of Germany, gave to "ſome of the high allies. For which purpoſe, "he had the neceſſary powers from her Majeſty, "and deſired to have the ſame from the States."

Which they approve of.

The penſionary having, the next day, acquainted the States of Holland and Weſt-Friezland, with the neceſſity of the duke of Marlborough's journey, the matter was thought of ſo great importance to the common cauſe, that they readily concur'd in thoſe meaſures, and his grace ſet out the ſame evening for Leipſick, by the way of Hanover: while monſ. d'Auverquerque, in the mean time, went for Bruſſels, to aſſemble the confederate troops againſt the duke's return.

The eyes of all Europe on the King of Sweden.

The eyes of all Europe were now on the King of Sweden, who had, with his victorious army, poſſeſs'd himſelf of Saxony, reduced Auguſtus to the neceſſity of making an inglorious peace, with the loſs of his crown, which he had been obliged to renounce in favor of King Staniſlaus. The King of Sweden was in the heart of Germany, in a formidable poſture, with an army fluſh'd with ſucceſs; which, tho' he had concluded a peace with Auguſtus, and had only the Muſcovites, and a ſmall party of Poles to incounter with, he was recruiting in all the neighboring provinces of the Empire, and equiping, in the moſt powerful manner, with the ſpoils of Saxony. This gave great apprehenſions to the allies, and indeed their jealouſies ſeem'd to be but too well-grounded.

The allies under apprehenſions of him.

The 26th, in the morning, his grace arrived at Hall, a famous univerſity belonging to the King of Pruſſia, about five German miles diſtant from Leipſick. Here his grace was met by mr. Robinſon, her Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary, by count Zinzendorf the Imperial envoy, and by monſieur Cranenburg, the Dutch miniſter. After dinner, his grace received the compliments of the magiſtrates and of the univerſity; and then proceeded, accompanied by mr. Robinſon, and monſ. Cranenburg, to Alt-Ranſtadt, about two German miles

miles from Leipſick, where the King of Sweden had his head-quarters. He went directly to count Piper's quarters, which were not far from thence, where he had a conference with that prime miniſter, for about an hour, and then retired to the quarters the King of Sweden had ordered to be prepared for him, at Tauche, a village about two German miles diſtant from Leipſick, and not far from thoſe of the King's.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at the King of Sweden's quarters near Leipſick.

Has audience of the King of Sweden.

The 27th of April, in the morning, the duke of Marlborough was complimented on his arrival, by the miniſters and general officers; at half an hour paſt eight, he went in a coach of count Piper's to Alt-Ranſtadt, and, about ten, had his firſt audience of the King, which laſted about two hours; when his Majeſty received him with all demonſtrations of eſteem and honor. He preſented to his Swediſh Majeſty a letter from the Queen of Great-Britain, and, at delivering it, made him the following compliment:

His compliment to the King.

Sir, "I preſent to your Majeſty a letter, not "from the chancery; but from the heart of the "Queen, my miſtreſs, and written with her own "hand. Had not her ſex prevented it, ſhe would "have croſs'd the ſea, to ſee a Prince admired by "the whole univerſe. I am, in this particular, "more happy than the Queen; and I wiſh I could "ſerve ſome campains under ſo great a general "as your Majeſty, that I might learn what I yet "want to know, in the art of war."

Some authors call the genuineneſs of this ſpeech in queſtion, and think it too mean an adulation to proceed from the mouth of one of the duke of Marlborough's rank and experience: but I rather take it to be an evidence of his ſkill in mankind. He knew the character of Charles, and his foible, and could not have ſuited his words more to the purpoſe. They pleas'd not only the King, but his whole army, who ador'd him, as much as ever Frenchman did his grand Monarch. At leaſt, I heard the very words in the mouths of his officers, for many months afterwards.

Very acceptable to his Majeſty.

This well-timed compliment, I ſay, was exceeding agreeable to the King of Sweden, and, no doubt, contributed not a little to incline him in favor both of the duke's perſon and errand.

The ſubſtance of the King's anſwer to his grace's ſpeech was as follows:

The King's anſwer.

"The Queen of Great-Britain's letter, and your "perſon, are both very acceptable to me, and I "ſhall always have the utmoſt regard for the in-"terpoſition of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, and "the intereſts of the grand alliance. It is likewiſe "much againſt my will, if I have been obliged to "give the leaſt umbrage to any of the parties in-"gaged in it: but your excellency cannot but be "convinced, that I had juſt cauſe to come into this "country with my troops. On the other hand, "you may aſſure the Queen, my ſiſter, that my "deſign is to depart from hence, as ſoon as I have "obtained the ſatisfaction I demand; but no ſooner. "However I ſhall do nothing that can tend to "the prejudice of the common cauſe, in general, "or to the Proteſtant religion in particular; of "which I ſhall always glory to be a zealous pro-"tector."

The duke had the honor to dine with his Majeſty in public; and after dinner he had a ſecond audience on buſineſs, at which were preſent count Piper, and monſieur Harmelin, the two chief of his Swediſh Majeſty's miniſters, together with mr. Robinſon. And the audience being over, the duke ſpent the evening in viſits.

The duke having had ſeveral conferences with the Swediſh and other miniſters, and having waited on King Auguſtus, at Leipſick, had, on the 29th, his audience of leave of the King of Sweden. At this audience, the duke had ſufficient aſſurances of what had been before concerted with count Piper, and therefore left the King, extreamly well ſatisfied, not only with his reception at that court, but with his negociations. During this audience, King Staniſlaus came in, and was complimented by his grace, who however could enter into no farther conference with him; becauſe the Queen had not acknowledg'd him as King of Poland. The duke ſoon after took his leave, and went to Leipſick, from whence, without making any ſtay, he proceeded on his journey to Berlin.

The duke has his audience of leave.

Succeſs of his negociation.

Has an opportunity of complimenting King Staniſlaus.

The ſucceſs of the duke of Marlborough's negociations, at the court of Sweden, was generally thought to be owing, not only to the perſonal eſteem which the King expreſs'd to have for his grace, or to the ſoothing and cheriſhing his natural inclination, which luckily happen'd to chime with the duke's wiſhes; but likewiſe to a large ſum of mony, opportunely given to count Piper, who, in return, perſuaded his maſter to that march, which remov'd him to ſo great a diſtance, as freed the allies from any farther apprehenſions on his account (1).

The campain in Flanders,

The duke of Marlborough having, in his return from Saxony, been at the courts of Berlin and Hanover, and having given an account of the ſucceſs of his negociation, to the States-general at the Hague, joined the confederate army, the 21ſt of May, it being then incamp'd, with the right at Bellingen, and the left at Lembeck, having Hall in the rear. Upon advice that the French, who had been drawing together about the ſame time, continued quiet in their lines, the duke of Marlborough advanced nearer to them, in order to meet them half way, for a battle, which they had given out they would offer the confederates; or, if they declined it, to lay ſiege, either to Mons or Charleroy: but, on the 24th, his grace received unexpected information, that the enemy were come out of their lines, and were incamp'd at Haine, St. Paul and Peronne, where the Elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Vendôme, took a review of their army, the 25th. The confederate army, hereupon advanced towards them. The 27th, the duke of Marlborough, accompanied by ſeveral generals, advanced with twelve ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, to view the ground, and the avenues to the enemy's camp: and, upon intelligence, that they were incamp'd in the plain of Flerus, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to march to Nivelle, in order to attack them. Accordingly, a detachment was ſent to view the paſs at Ronquieres, thro' which they were to march. The generals, who were ſent thither reported, that the enemy ſuſpecting the deſign of the allies, had made a detachment to ſecure that important poſt, and would undoubtedly advance, upon the firſt motion of the confederates, to hinder them from

The confederates reſolve to attack the enemy.

(1) This, as well as ſome other circumſtances above mention'd, are either flatly contradicted, or otherwiſe related, in Voltaire's hiſtory of Charles XII. It may therefore be neceſſary to obſerve, that what is here alledg'd is on the beſt authority, and chiefly on perſonal knowledge, I having been an eye-witneſs to moſt of theſe tranſactions. And for the ſum of mony ſaid to be given to count Piper, the ſuppoſition is grounded upon a much better foundation than common fame. To enter into a diſcuſſion of theſe matters cannot be expected here: but thoſe who are curious to be farther inform'd, will find a very exact and circumſtantial account of this whole negociation, in Lediard's life of Marlborough. Vol. II. from p. 161. to p. 179. incluſive.

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marching thro' it; or elſe, would charge the firſt troops which ſhould paſs, with ſo much advantage, that it was not thought adviſable to move that way.

But they prevent it.

This report being maturely weigh'd, in a council of war, and, beſide, the generals wiſely conſidering, that the enemy had drain'd all their gariſons, and got together all their forces, probably with no other view, but to plunder the open, great and wealthy cities of Brabant, particularly Louvain and Bruſſels, as ſoon as they ſhould find the confederates ingaged in any ſiege; which they might have done in leſs time than the bringing up of the heavy artillery and ammunition would require; all theſe things, I ſay, conſidered, it was reſolved to march back to Bruſſels.

This prudent reſolution was executed with ſo much aſſiduity, that the 1ſt of June, the army was poſted at Meldert, the enemy not daring to venture an ingagement, tho' they were ſuperior by thirty-four ſquadrons and twenty-four battalions; and ſo both armies continued above two months, in their reſpective camps, during which time, no action paſs'd between them worth mentioning.

The duke of Marlborough reſolves to attack the enemy.

At length, upon certain advice that the French had detach'd thirteen battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, from their army, towards Provence, the duke of Marlborough, in concert with monſ. d'Auverquerque, and the deputies of the States, reſolved to march from Meldert, towards Genap, in order to attack the enemy, with leſs diſadvantage, in their fortified camp at Gemblours. Accordingly, the 9th of Auguſt, N. S. the diſpoſition was made for the army to paſs the Deule, at the abby of Florival; and, late the ſame evening, orders were given for the march of the heavy baggage towards Bruſſels, and the laying of four bridges over the Deule. At the ſame time, the troops which were incamp'd near Louvain, under major-general Week, and the regiment of Bothmar, were ordered to march to Florival, and the battalions in Bruſſels, to advance to Waterloo. The 10th, in the morning, the artillery was commanded to paſs the Deule at St. Joriſwert, and, about three in the afternoon, the duke of Wirtemberg march'd, with fourteen ſquadrons, to Pieterbais, with orders to ſtay there till morning, to obſerve the enemy, and afterwards to make the rear-guard. At four, the whole army decamp'd from Meldert, and, according to the diſpoſition that had been made, paſs'd the Deule at Florival; and, marching all night, arrived, the 11th, at break of day, about the heights of Waveren, where they made a ſhort halt, and then continued their march towards Genap, where they incamp'd, having made a march of ſeven leagues. The enemy no ſooner received advice that the duke of Wirtemberg was advancing with his detachment to Pieterbais, and that the army of the allies was in motion, than they were extreamly alarm'd, and immediately ordered their troops to arms. They likewiſe cut down ſeveral trees in the roads and paſſages which led to their camp. About midnight, they got certain information which way the allies were moving; whereupon, they begun their march, with all imaginable precipitation, towards Flerus and Heſpenay, intending to be that evening at Goſſeliers, and take poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pieton. The 12th, in the morning early, the confederate generals received advice, that the French army had made but a ſhort halt at Goſſeliers, and were advanced to Seneff about midnight, the Elector of Bavaria having taken his head-quarters in the caſtle of Vanderbeck, and the duke de Vendôme in the farm-houſe of Rel, between Vanderbeck and Seneff, having the river Pieton before them.

Diſpoſitions made for that purpoſe.

The confederate army decamps.

The enemy retires with precipitation.

The duke of Marlborough and monſ. d'Auverquerque, having confer'd together, upon the receit of this advice, it was reſolved to march directly to Nivelle, in order to attack the enemy; and accordingly the army march'd about one in the afternoon, and came into that camp the ſame evening. It was too late to attack the enemy that night, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were therefore made to do it in the morning; and as they had reaſon to believe that the enemy would attempt to retire, in the night, in order to gain the camp at Cambron, all poſſible diligence was uſed to prevent their effecting it. To this end, count de Tilly, with forty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, which were commanded, under him, by the earl of Albermarle, and the major-generals count d'Erbach and Roſs, and a detachment of between five and 6000 grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-general Scholten and major-general Zoutland, was ordered to poſt himſelf between the two armies, with the left at Corneliz, and the right towards the road from Bink to Nivelle; and, in caſe the enemy decamp'd, to fall upon their rear, and keep them in play, till the whole army could come up. Theſe troops, notwithſtanding they march'd with all poſſible diſpatch, could not reach their reſpective poſts before midnight. The French, in the mean time, foreſeeing what was the duke of Marlborough's deſign, and perceiving that it would not be poſſible for them to avoid an ingagement if they continued in their camp till the morning, reſolved to decamp in the night; that they might, if poſſible, avoid coming to any action with the army of the allies, the valor and experience of whoſe generals, and the courage and activity of their ſoldiers, they very well knew and dreaded.

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The duke of Marlborough purſues them.

Thus the confederates continued to purſue, and the enemy to retreat before them, till the latter, at length, retired under the cannon of Liſle, and into their lines: and thus was the remainder of the campain ſpent in fruitleſs attempts to bring the enemy to a battle.

The campain ends without any ſucceſs.

The duke of Marlborough finding it therefore impoſſible to bring the cautious duke de Vendôme to an ingagement, their camp being cover'd with the Scheld, and with their intrenchments, his grace left the camp at Helchin, the 4th of October, N. S. and went for the Hague. He arrived there the 6th, at nine in the morning, and immediately made a viſit to the grand penſionary, and monſ. de Slingerland, ſecretary of the council of ſtate. The ſame afternoon his grace had a conference with the deputies of the States-general, wherein he communicated the orders he had received from the Queen of Great-Britain, his miſtreſs, to repair to Franckfort, and to confer with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover, about the operations of the next campain. The next morning his grace had another conference with thoſe deputies, and, in the evening, ſet out for the army, to give the neceſſary orders for their marching into winter-quarters, which they, as well as the French army, did very ſoon after.

The duke of Marlborough goes to the Hague.

Confers with the deputies of the States.

Returns to the army.

The 15th, the duke of Marlborough ſet out on his journey to Germany, and the 21ſt reach'd Franckfort. His grace found the Elector of Hanover (our late moſt gracious ſoverein King George I.) who had been prevailed upon to command the army on the Rhine, this ſummer, and at whoſe inſtances this interview was appointed, arrived before him, as was likewiſe the Elector of Mentz.

Arrives at Frankfort.

They had ſeveral conferences together, but nothing could be concluded till count Wratiſlau, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, arrived there the 27th; nor indeed then neither; becauſe the latter declared he was not fully inſtructed: whereupon the conferences broke off, and, on the 29th, the two Electors

Has ſeveral conferences with the Electors of Mentz and Hanover.

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Returns to the Hague.

tors of Mentz and Hanover ſet out from Frankfort, the firſt for his reſidence, and the ſecond for the Imperial army; the duke of Marlborough departing, at the ſame time, for the Hague, whither he was attended by count Wratiſlau, and arrived there the 3d of November.

The duke, during his ſtay at the Hague, communicated to the States-general what paſs'd at Franckfort; and their deputies having had ſeveral conferences with the Imperial miniſters, their High-mightineſſes reſolved to uſe all poſſible means to ingage the Empire to make greater efforts for the future than they had hitherto done. In order to this, they wrote a preſſing letter to the diet of Ratiſbon, wherein, after having repreſented the great deficiencies and delays of the Germanic body, from time to time, in the performance of what they were by treaty bound to, and the evil conſequences which had hitherto attended them, they concluded by ſaying; "that their High-mighti-"neſſes would continue to contribute their utmoſt, "towards bringing about the great work they "had, jointly with them, undertaken; but that "they expected the like from his Imperial Ma-"jeſty, and the Empire, ſeeing they were obliged "to it by their alliances and common intereſt; "and in caſe of non-performance, their High-"mightineſſes proteſted againſt all the ill conſe-"quences thereof."

And returns to England.

The duke of Marlborough having concluded ſeveral weighty affairs with the States-general, imbark'd for England, and came to St. James's the 7th of November, O. S.

Having thus given a brief account of the little ſucceſs we had this year in Flanders; let us now ſee how matters went in other parts, and we ſhall find that none was more ſenſible of this fatal turn of affairs as Spain, by the loſs of the battle of Almanza. The grand deſign of the allies, in the ſouthern parts of Europe (excepting that of Naples, which ſucceeded, and for which the Imperial court neglected every thing elſe) was the ſiege of Toulon: but as all theſe tranſactions had ſome connection with our maritime affairs, I ſhall interſperſe them with the account I am now going to give of them.

Proceedings of the confederate fleet.

The confederate fleet, under the command of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſailed the 11th of January, with the land-forces on board, from Liſbon to Alicant, where they arrived the 28th; and the troops (which having been expoſed to all the inconveniencies that attend long voyages, for above ſix months, were reduced to ſeven thouſand men) being landed, left Alicant again the 17th of February, and returned to Liſbon the 11th of the next month.

Sir George Byng detached with ſupplies for the army

There being, at this time, great want of mony, cloaths, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, in the army in Spain, the admiral ordered ſir George Byng to proceed to Alicant with ſupplies, who accordingly ſailed the 30th of March. When he came off of cape St. Vincent, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza; and therefore, purſuant to the lord Galway's deſire, he proceeded for Tortoſa in Catalonia (whither his lordſhip propoſed to retreat with the poor remains of his army) taking with him the ſick and wounded men, at Denia, Gandia and Valencia, which imployed almoſt the whole month of April; after which he proceeded for Barcelona, where ſir Cloudeſly Shovel joined him the 20th of May: but before I proceed to give a farther account of the tranſactions of our fleet, it will be neceſſary to relate the ill ſucceſſes of our land-forces in Spain.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel joins him.

The campain in Spain.

It had been reſolved, in a general council of war, held at Valencia in December 1706, on the operations of the inſuing campain, that the allies ſhould unite all their forces, and act in one body, in order to penetrate into Caſtile again, by the way of Arragon, where the paſſage of the Tagus was moſt practicable. King Charles however receiving intelligence of the great re-inforcements that either had joined, or were about to join the duke of Berwick from France, alter'd his mind, and march'd, with two or three regiments of the army, into Catalonia, in order to defend that province from the attacks of the French from Rouſillon. He, at the ſame time, propos'd it, as his advice to the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas, to diſpoſe the army in ſuch a manner as to cover the frontiers of Arragon and Valencia, from the inſults of the enemy, till ſupplies came from Italy or England. But theſe generals not reliſhing this advice, aſſembled their army, which ſcarce amounted to 16,000 men, and marched to the frontiers of Caſtile, where they deſtroyed ſome of the enemy's magazines; after which they returned and laid ſiege to the town of Villena in Valencia. Before they had made any great advances in this ſiege, they got intelligence, that the duke of Berwick had aſſembled his army near Almanza, being at leaſt one third more numerous than the allies, and that he expected to be joined, in a few days, by the duke of Orleans, with 8000 men more from France; upon which it was reſolved, in a council of war, the 24th of April, to raiſe the ſiege of Villena, and advance to fight the duke of Berwick at Almanza, before he ſhould be joined by the duke of Orleans. Accordingly, the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas immediately began their march, and arrived in the plains of Almanza the next day about noon, where they found the enemy drawn up in battalia, ready to receive them; whereupon the confederate generals formed their line of battle alſo, about a mile from the enemy, and, to ſupply their want of cavalry, interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horſe. The earl of Galway was ſo complaiſant (for which he was afterwards cenſured) to ſuffer the Portugueze to take the right (or poſt of honor) from the Engliſh; and having placed himſelf at the head of the Engliſh dragoons, on the left, marched, about three in the afternoon, to attack the enemy's right wing of horſe. The Portugueſe were ordered to take the charge, as it ſhould come to them gradually from the left, but not before the Engliſh and Dutch were actually ingaged, who preſſing on to come to a cloſe ingagement, little execution was done on either ſide by the cannon. As ſoon as the left wing was advanced within one hundred paces of the enemy's horſe, they likewiſe advanced out of their line to meet the charge, and the conflict on both ſides was obſtinate and bloody. The enemy, by the weight of their ſquadrons, forced the allies to retreat fifty paces, but Southwell's and Wade's regiments of foot coming up, gave fire upon the enemy's flank and rear, and the cavalry renewing, at the ſame time, their charge in the front, drove them, in diſorder, thro' their own lines, with a very great ſlaughter. By this time, the Engliſh and Dutch foot, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freſhem, were ſharply ingaged in the center, and broke thro' the enemy's firſt and ſecond lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza; but this ſucceſs did not laſt long; for the enemy's ſquadrons of the ſecond line fell in upon their flank, and forced back the infantry of the allies with great loſs: and colonel Hill's and the lord Mark Ker's regiments, who had been interlined with the horſe of the ſecond line, marched up and attacked ſome Spaniſh regiments, to favor their retreat.

The battle of Almanza.

The enemy obſerving that the cavalry of the confederate's

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At length, finding their indeavors to break the left of the confederates with horſe only, fruitleſs, they ſent for nine battalions, and drew them up before their front line of horſe, in oppoſition to the Engliſh brigade of foot, which conſiſted of Southwell's, Blood's, Wade's, and Mountjoy's regiments, and were re-inforced by lieutenant-general Steward's regiment, from the rear-line. They brought up, at the ſame time, ſeveral freſh ſquadrons, to make another charge, on the left wing of the confederate horſe, which had ſuffered very much, brigadier Carpenter being the only commanding officer who remained unhurt. In this condition they were not able to ſupport the charge, but gave way; and, at the ſame time, the nine French battalions charged the Engliſh brigade of foot, in front and flank, and intirely broke them. The two French regiments who fell in upon their flank, being too far advanced, the lord Tyrawly ordered colonel Roper, who commanded major-general Harvey's horſe, to attack them, which was done with ſo much vigor, that they broke thro' them, and made them beg for quarter, before the enemy's cavalry could come to their aſſiſtance.

The enemy had now nothing remaining but to ſurround the confederate foot, which were broke on the plain: and to whom for ſome time they gave no quarter. In this ſtate of deſpair, major-general Shrimpton, brigadier Macartney, colonel Britton, colonel Hill, with ſeveral other officers, who had ingaged in the center, took a bold reſolution, and having aſſembled the ſtragglers of the Engliſh regiments, into a body, join'd ſome of the Dutch and Portugueſe, who had been rallied by count de Dhona and don Juan Emanuel, and form'd a body of near 2000 men, who retreated two leagues, the enemy's horſe ſtill purſuing, tho' often repuls'd by the fire of the confederate infantry. Being tired with the fatigues of the day, and wanting both ammunition and proviſions, the men were unable to march farther than the hills of Caudetta, and, the next morning, being ſurrounded by two lines of foot, the commanding officers agreed to the ſame capitulation that was granted the French at Blenheim

During the action, the enemy's loſs was much greater, than that of the confederates (1): but the infantry of the latter, being at length broken, and expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, were moſt of them kill'd, wounded, or taken priſoners. The earl of Galway, who during the whole action, ſhew'd more bravery than conduct, was ſo cloſely ingaged with the enemy's horſe, that he received two cuts in the face, near the right eye. Brigadier Killigrew being wounded, in the firſt aſſault, ſtill kept the field, and was killed in a ſecond. The colonels Dormer, Roper, Lawrence, Green and de Loche, were killed, at the head of their ſquadrons, after a gallant behavior. Colonel Pierce, and mr. Hara, ſon to the lord Tyrawly, were wounded. Of the foot, the colonels Hamilton, Woollet, and mr. Neal, who commanded regiments, were killed, the lord Mark Ker and colonel Clayton wounded. Q. Ann, An' 1707.

This unfortunate battle being thus loſt, the earl of Galway fled, with the cavalry, conſiſting of 3500 men, to the frontiers of Catalonia, to join King Charles; and the duke of Orleans, arriving in the French army, the day after the battle, march'd into Valencia, and before the middle of May, reduced almoſt all that province, as he did afterwards the whole kingdom of Arragon; of all which places, he diſarmed the inhabitants, and made them not only ſubſiſt his army with proviſions, but buy their peace with great ſums of mony. I return now to the confederate fleet.

The attempt on Toulon concerted.

And now an attempt upon Toulon having been concerted by the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and their troops being actually on their march towards that important city, ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, who was to aſſiſt with the fleet in this expedition, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Italy, and the begining of June appeared off of Genoa. The 5th, the fleet came to on anchor before Final, and the ſame day a council was held at Turin, from whence ſir John Norris (who had been ſent thither with diſpatches from King Charles, to the earl of Galway and ſir George Byng) ſet out two days after, and brought word to ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, that Prince Eugene was coming to confer with him. The latter end of this month, the fleet anchored between Nice and Antibes, at the former of which, the admiral had his firſt interview with the duke of Savoy. The paſſage of the Var, where the enemy had intrenched themſelves, being reſolved upon, the laſt of June, four Britiſh men of war, and one Dutch, under the command of ſir John Norris, attended by about 600 ſeamen and marines, in open boats, ſail'd into the mouth of that river, and being advanced within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's works, made ſuch a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, who expected no attack on that ſide, quited their intrenchments. Sir Cloudeſly himſelf followed ſir John Norris to the place of action, and obſerving the diſorder of the enemy, commanded him to land with the ſeamen and marines, and flank them in their intrenchments. This ſervice ſir John performed with ſo much conduct, and his men advanced with ſuch valor and reſolution, that the French fled in confuſion from their works, of which ſir John took poſſeſſion, and open'd a way for the duke of Savoy, who paſſed the river, about half an hour after, without any oppoſition, where he expected to have found a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and march'd towards Toulon. This brave action, I ſay, opened a paſſage for the duke's march, which, it was generally believed, would otherwiſe have been effectually ſtopp'd, by the works the French had raiſed on that river.

The fleet anchors before Final.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel confers with duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene

A brave action under the conduct of ſir John Norris.

This ſervice being done, the fleet ſailed to the iſles of Hyeres, and, the 15th of July, the army came to la Valette, the admiral having promis'd, if occaſion required, or he could not retreat by land, to convoy the duke and his army away by ſea.

The confederate army comes before Toulon.

(1) This the French writers themſelves, who, in their accounts, vary very little from what I have ſaid above, in a great meaſure own; adding only, that they took all our cannon, with 105 ſtandards and colors.

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The French deſtroy their own ſhips in the harbor.

The enemy being now juſtly apprehenſive of a bombardment, were in ſuch a conſternation, that they ſent away their gallies, the 21ſt, for Marſeilles, and, to prevent their whole fleet, which conſiſted of forty-ſix men of war, from 110 to fifty-ſix guns, and twenty-nine frigats and other ſmaller veſſels, being fired, they ſunk about twenty of their men of war, ten or more of which were of three decks, in the harbor, in ſuch manner as render'd them unfit for ſervice ever after.

The fleet comes into the road of Toulon.

The 2d of Auguſt, the batteries on both ſides began to play; and the ſame day the confederate fleet came to an anchor in the road, where they met with ſome ſucceſs, as well that day as the following: particularly a ſquadron under rear-admiral Dilkes forced the enemy to abandon a battery of ten guns, which the French having nailed up, and rendered uſeleſs, the allies threw them into the ſea. The next day, ſome ſhips of the fleet advanced farther into the road, to ſhut up the harbor cloſe, and fort Lewis was battered with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the guns which defended it were ſilenced. The 4th early, the beſieged made a vigorous ſally, forced moſt of the confederates out of their works, and took poſſeſſion to the right, where they continued all day, and upon going off deſtroyed them, drawing ten guns into the town. In this action, William Prince of Saxe-Gotha, uncle to her Royal-Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, one of the braveſt of the confederate-generals, was kill'd. He was not timely ſupported, and choſe rather to die on the ſpot, than to quit his poſt.

The ſame day, the wind was ſo violent that the ſhip on board of which ſir George Byng had hoiſted his flag, loſt her anchors, and fell foul of a Dutchman of war, which received ſome damage thereby. Notwithſtanding the confederates had ſome ſucceſs after this, yet the duke and Prince Eugene were now convinc'd of the impoſſibility of carrying on the ſiege with ſucceſs, and therefore began to withdraw ſome cannon, in order to be ſhip'd again, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to imbark their ſick and wounded.

The town and harbor of Toulon bombarded.

The 10th, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for the march of the army; and, at the ſame time, the fleet drew as near the place as poſſible, and five bomb-veſſels, ſupported by the light frigats, and the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and, notwithſtanding the enemy's great fire, bombarded the town and harbor, from that day at noon till the next morning five o'clock, with great ſucceſs. They ſet fire to the great magazine of cordage, quite ruin'd ſeveral ſtately buildings, and deſtroy'd or made unfit for ſervice, eight men of war, from ninety-two, to fifty-ſix guns. But the enemy, at length, brought ſo many guns and mortars againſt thoſe veſſels, as obliged them to retire, not a little damaged.

The ſiege of Toulon raiſed.

The ſame night, the confederate army quited the camp at la Vilette, and marched away in five columns, taking the ſame rout as they did when they came to Toulon.

The retreat was made in ſo good order, that nothing was left in the camp at la Vilette that could be of any uſe to the enemy; and altho' the marſhal de Teſſe, who commanded in the town, could not but judge that the allies were upon the point of decamping, yet he did not think fit to purſue them, till the 12th, and then only at a diſtance, and either durſt not, or could not come up with them. Q. ANN, AN' 1707.

Thus ended this chargeable expedition againſt the moſt conſiderable poſt the French have in the Mediteranean: but tho' it was not attended with all the ſucceſs which was expected from ſo great preparations, it was far from being fruitleſs: beſide the great damage the enemy ſuſtained in their ſhiping; the burning of above 160 houſes in Toulon, and the devaſtations commited in Provence by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres, this enterprize brought the farther advantage to the common cauſe, that it gave a great diverſion to the enemy's forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakned; the duke of Orleans's progreſs, after the battle of Almanza, was retarded in Spain; the ſuccouring of Naples was prevented, and the conqueſts of the allies in Italy, were ſecured.

Sir Cloudeſly returns for England.

Sir Cloudeſly, being however not a little mortified at the miſcarriage, bent his courſe homewards, with the beſt part of the fleet, leaving ſir Thomas Dilkes with a ſquadron for the ſervice on the coaſt of Italy, who dying at Leghorn, that ſquadron returned to Liſbon the begining of the inſuing year.

Is loſt among the iſlands of Scilly.

Sir Cloudeſly coming into the Soundings, the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the morning, and in the afternoon he brought the fleet to, and lay by, with a very freſh gale, at S. S. W. but hazy weather. At ſix that night, he made ſail again, and ſtood away under his courſes, E. and by N. believing, as it was preſumed, that he had the chanel open, and ſaw the light at Scilly: ſoon after which, ſeveral of the ſhips made the ſignal of danger, as he himſelf did. Sir George Byng was not then half a mile to windward of him, who ſaw the breaches of the ſea, and in a little time the rocks of Scilly above water; on one of which, known by the name of the Biſhop and his Clerks, the admiral ſtruck, and in leſs than two minutes, there was not any thing of his ſhip ſeen. Beſide the Aſſociation (in which ſir Cloudeſly with many officers and gentlemen and eight or 900 ſeamen periſhed) the Eagleman of war, commanded by captain Hancock, with all her company, underwent the ſame fate. The Phœnix was loſt, but all her crew ſaved; and two fireſhips ſtruck, but came off with ſome loſs.

Thus (ſays biſhop Burnet) one of the greateſt ſeamen of the age was loſt, by an error in his own profeſſion: for, as I have already obſerved, he had lain by all the afternoon before, and ſet ſail at night, believing he would have time enough next morning to guard againſt running on thoſe rocks. The body of this brave commander being taken up, imbalmed and brought to London, was magnificently inter'd in Weſtminſter-abby, at the Queen's expence. I ſhall not detain the reader with a relation of other tranſactions at ſea, of leſs moment; but only in general obſerve, that as the royal navy had no great ſucceſs to boaſt of this year, ſo great complaints were made of the vaſt loſſes our merchants ſuſtain'd for want of due and regular convoys (1).

Suſa taken by Prince Eugene.

Notwithſtanding the confederates were diſappointed, in their expectations before Toulon, they were ſtill in condition to attack Suſa, which ſur-

(1) France (ſays biſhop Burnet) ſet out no fleet this year; and yet we never had greater loſſes at ſea. The Prince's council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the cruiſers and convoys. The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reaſon. Convoys were ſometimes denied them, and when they were granted, they were often delayed, beyond the time limited for the merchants to get their ſhips ready; and the ſailing orders were ſometimes ſent them ſo unhappily (but, as many ſaid, ſo treacherouſly) that a French ſquadron was then laying in their way to interrupt them. This was liable to many ſevere reflections: for many of the convoys, as well as the merchant-ſhips were taken. Hiſtory of his own times.

render'd to Prince Eugene within a fortnight after he came before it, and then the army went into winter-quarters.

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The kingdom of Naples reduced by the Imperialists.

When the grand army of the allies, in Italy, entered Provence, in order to beſiege Toulon, count Thaun was diſpatch'd to Naples, with a body of 15,000 men, to reduce that kingdom to the obedience of King Charles; and this expedition was reſolved upon, and undertaken, by the Imperialiſts, notwithſtanding the repeated repreſentations of all the other allies, that ſo great a detachment would, in all probability, break all their meaſures, and ruin their deſigns in Provence, as indeed it happen'd: for the want of thoſe troops may truly be ſaid to have been the occaſion of their precipitate retreat from Toulon, and that the vaſt expence the confederates had been at, both by ſea and land, was, in a great meaſure loſt. The kingdom of Naples was found a very eaſy conqueſt, the people in general being well affected to the houſe of Auſtria. The viceroy retired to Gaeta, the only place that made any reſiſtance; but it was taken by ſtorm, and the caſtle, in which the grandees who were in King Philip's intereſt had retired, ſurrendered at diſcretion ſoon after. Thus was this kingdom reduced with very little bloodſhed: but it was urged by the allies, that it would have fallen of itſelf, had they ſucceeded in other places; and the making ſuch a detachment, at that time, was the occaſion of their ill ſucceſs every where elſe (1).

The campain on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, the marſhal de Villars having ſurpriz'd the Germans, and paſs'd that river, and their lines, laid the circles of Suabia and Franconia under contribution; and had penetrated into Bavaria, if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, and ſend large detachments into Provence: after which he repaſs'd the Rhine, and notwithſtanding things took a better appearance on that ſide, upon the Elector of Hanover's taking the command of the army of the Empire, there happened no farther action. The Emperor had indeed enough to do to defend his hereditary dominions: for the Hungarians were ſtill in arms; and, at the ſame time, the King of Sweden began to call the Emperor to an account for incroaching upon the Proteſtants of Sileſia. The Bavarians were alſo ready to revolt, and give a farther diverſion to his troops: and, in theſe circumſtances, it was no wonder the Imperial army did not purſue the French, in their turn, over the Rhine; they were happy in being able to defend the frontiers of Germany from any farther inſults.

The firſt parliament of Great-Britain meets.

The firſt parliament of Great-Britain met, according to their ſummons, on the 23d of October, when they were directed to chuſe a ſpeaker; and the choice falling upon mr. Smith, ſpeaker of the then late houſe of commons of England, he was preſented to and approved by her Majeſty the 30th, after which both houſes adjourned to the 6th of November, when the Queen made the following ſpeech to them:

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My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" It is with all humble thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and with intire ſatisfaction to " my ſelf, that I meet you here in this firſt parliament of Great Britain, not doubting but you " come with hearts prepared, as mine is, to make " this union ſo proſperous, as may anſwer the " well-grounded hopes of all my good ſubjects, " and the reaſonable apprehenſions of our ene- " mies.

" To this end, nothing is ſo immediately ma- " terial as to convince, as ſoon as poſſible, both " our friends and our enemies, that the uniting " of our intereſts has not only improved our abi- " lities, but our reſolutions alſo, to proſecute this " juſt and neceſſary war, till we obtain a ſafe " and honorable peace for ourſelves, and for our " allies.

" In ſo great and extenſive a war as this, many " things may be uſefully undertaken, which are " not fit to be communicated before hand: the " attempt upon Toulon was of this nature; and " tho' it had not wholly its deſired effect, has " nevertheleſs been attended with many great and " and obvious advantages to the common cauſe, in " this year, and has made our way eaſier, I hope, " to greater in the next.

" As the French have gained ground upon us " in Spain, ſo they have been wholly driven out " of Italy; by which it is become more eaſy for " all the allies to join their aſſiſtance next year, " for inabling the King of Spain to recover his " affairs in that kingdom, and to reduce the whole " Spaniſh Monarchy to his obedience.

" The weakneſs and ill poſture of affairs upon " the Rhine, in the begining of the year, has " given an opportunity to the French to make " themſelves ſtronger in all other parts; but this " defect ſeems in a very promiſing way of being " fully remedied againſt next campain, by the " conduct and authority of the Elector of Han- " over, whoſe ſeaſonable acceptance of that com- " mand has ſtrengthened and obliged the whole " confederacy.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" The juſt application of the ſupplies given me " by former parliaments; the plain neceſſity of " continuing this war, the reaſonable proſpect of " puting a good end to it, if we be not wanting " to ourſelves, and the honor of the firſt parlia- " ment of Great-Britain, are, I make no doubt, " ſufficient arguments to incite you to provide " the neceſſary ſupplies, which I am obliged to " deſire of you, for the inſuing campain, in all " parts;

(1) It is hardly poſſible to paſs over the unaccountable events of this campain without reflection. A late author ſpeaking of the year 1706, being called a year of wonders, will needs have it, that the year 1707 was evidenly a year of blunders, of which he fears ſome were willful. Certain it is, our misfortunes in Spain might have been prevented, had we remained upon the defenſive there till re-inforcements could have been ſent thither from Italy or England, which both King Charles and the earl of Peterborough inſiſted upon, as it appears by a letter, written by the latter the winter before the battle of Almanza, to the Portugueſe embaſſador at King Charles's court, and by a memorial preſented to the Queen, by count Gallas, the Imperial miniſter at London, afterwards. It is as certain, that there was no neceſſity of fighting at this time; for they had forces enough to defend the territories of Valencia and Arragon, and might have been ſupplied with proviſions from the Engliſh fleet. But, to excuſe theſe generals, it is ſaid, that brigadier Stanhope, her Majeſty's miniſter, declared in a council of war, that it was her Majeſty's poſitive orders, they ſhould ſeek the enemy. The obſtinacy of the Imperial court in perſiſting upon dividing their forces, to reduce Naples, when they were wanted intirely elſewhere, proved fatal, as I have already obſerved, to the deſign on Toulon. The duke of Marlborough was not free from cenſure, on account of his pacific campain in Flanders: can we imagine (are the words of the ſame author) " that the duke of Marlborough, at the head of the fineſt army the world ever ſaw (100,000 veteran " troops) who had beaten the enemy the year before, deſtroyed and taken 20,000 of their beſt troops, and taken towns " before their faces, without number, either wanted courage or ſtratagems this campain, to alarm and diſtreſs his baffled " enemy, who fled before him the laſt, and were not yet recovered from their panic? Had the duke of Marlborough (continues " my author) acted with the ſame vigor he had done hitherto, and the duke of Savoy enter'd Provence at the ſame time, with " 60,000 men, inſtead of 40,000, as he might have done, the French King would probably have been brought upon his knees, " and readily have yielded up Spain and the Weſt Indies, as well as the reſt of the Spaniſh territories, notwithſtanding his " victory at Almanza." Salmon's Modern hiſt. Vol. XXV. p. 402 and 409.

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" parts; and particularly for the timely ſupport " of the King of Spain, and the making good " our treaty with Portugal; as alſo for ſtrengthen- " ing the confederate army, under the command " of the duke of Savoy. All which ſervices I " don't doubt but you will think ſo neceſſary, " that they ought not to be neglected, even tho' " they ſhould require an augmentation.

" The ſums already expended in this war have " been very great, and they are ſufficient proofs " how well ſatisfied my ſubjects have always been " with the ends of my government; of which I " am ſo ſenſible, as never to aſk any ſupplies of " them but what are abſolutely neceſſary for the " preſervation of their religion and liberty; and " I look upon it as my great happineſs, that " I have not the leaſt intereſt ſeparate from that " of all my good ſubjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

" In a work ſo great and new in its kind as " that of the union, it is impoſſible but that ſome " doubts and difficulties may have ariſen; which " however, I hope, are ſo far overcome, as to " have defeated the deſigns of thoſe who would " have made uſe of that handle to foment di- " ſturbances.

" There are ſeveral matters expreſly made " liable, by the articles of the union, to the con- " ſideration of the parliament of Great-Britain; " which, together with ſuch others, as may rea- " ſonably produce thoſe advantages that with " due care muſt certainly ariſe from that treaty, I " earneſtly recommend to your ſerious conſidera- " tion.

" On my part, nothing ſhall be wanting to " procure to my people all the bleſſings which can " follow from this happy circumſtance of my " reign; and to extinguiſh, by all proper means, " the leaſt occaſions of jealouſy, that either the " civil or religious rights of any part of this my " united kingdom can ſuffer, by the conſequences " of this union.

" Such a ſuggeſtion ſhall never, in my time, " have any foundation, how reſtleſs ſoever our " enemies may be, in their indeavors and arti- " fices, to diſturb our peace and happineſs; thoſe " great and valuable bleſſings cannot but be al- " ways ſecure to us, if we heartily indeavor to " confirm and improve our preſent union: I hope " therefore you will ſuffer nothing to prevail with " you to diſunite among yourſelves, or abate your " zeal in oppoſing the common enemy."

Addreſs of the commons.

This ſpeech had a various effect on the two houſes: the commons, on the 10th, readily and unanimouſly voted and preſented an addreſs of thanks, in which they aſſured the Queen; " that " no diſappointments ſhould diſcourage them from " making their utmoſt efforts to inable her Ma- " jeſty, in conjunction with her allies, to reduce " the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to the obedience " of King Charles, &c." They concluded, by telling her; " that her Majeſty, thro' her whole " reign, had ſhewn ſhe had no intereſt ſeparate " from her people, and they were ſo ſenſible of " it, as never to be wanting on all occaſions to " expreſs their gratitude to the beſt of Queens; " promiſing all unanimity and diſpatch in the " public buſineſs and ſupply."

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The lords fall upon the grievances of the nation.

The lords, inſtead of addreſſing her Majeſty, fell upon grievances, and particularly, among other things, the decay of trade, occaſioned by the want of cruiſers and convoys. After ſome debate on this topic, the 12th, it was ordered, that the ſtate of the nation ſhould be taken into conſideration on the 19th, in a commitee of the whole houſe. The lord Henry Herbert of Cherbury being choſen chairman of the commitee that day, and the Queen preſent, incognito, a petition given in by the two ſheriffs of London, and ſubſcribed by about 200 conſiderable merchants, was read, complaining of their loſſes at ſea, and deſiring ſome ſpeedy remedy. This petition, which was preſented by the earl of Wharton, being read, his lordſhip began the debate, with laying open the miſerable condition of the nation, and the great decay of trade. Several other peers ſpoke to the ſame effect: and, among the reſt, the lord Haverſham made a ſpeech, on this occaſion, in which he obſerved; " that our ſhips had been taken " by the enemy, as the Dutch take herrings, by " ſhoals, upon our coaſts, and that the royal " navy it ſelf had not eſcap'd: that by theſe " misfortunes our merchants were beggar'd, our " commerce broke, our trade was gone, our ma- " nufactures ruin'd, the Queen loſt her cuſtoms, " and the parliament muſt make good the defi- " ciencies; while our allies had an open and flou- " riſhing trade, and the enemy made uſe of our " ſhips and ſeamen againſt us: that they were " now upon the inquiry, who brought them into " this miſerable condition; but wherever they " began, if they did not end with the miniſtry, " they ſhould be in a worſe condition, than they " were before: that he took the root of all their " misfortunes to ly in the miniſtry, and without " a change of miniſtry, in his opinion, no other " remedy would be effectual. He ſaid, if he was " not confident he ſtood upon ſure grounds, " he ſhould not have ventured to have ſaid ſo " much; but he had his juſtification in his hand: " the Prince he excuſed, and ſaid he thought " the navy ſafer in his hands, than any man's, " as not being capable of being influenced by " any great miniſter; but if his council had " been faulty, it was fit they ſhould have what " they deſerved: nor did he lay any blame " upon the Queen; he ſaid ſhe was a Princeſs of " too conſummate wiſdom to act without the " advice of her miniſtry; that their lordſhips had " long ſince addreſs'd her Majeſty, that particular " care might be taken of theſe points, and none " but they who had her Majeſty's ear could pre- " vail to the contrary; and the want of following " their lordſhips advice had coſt the nation near " ten millions, and therefore it evidently followed, " that the miniſtry had been the occaſion of all " theſe loſſes.

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech on that occaſion.

" In ſhort, ſaid he, to conclude, let our miſ- " fortunes be ſkinned over as they will, if they " feſter and throb, and are foul at bottom, they " will certainly break out with incredible rage " and fury."

Thus was the old queſtion revived; " whether " the land or ſea-ſervice ought to be moſt attended " to" (1). But the debate growing high, ſome members indeavor'd to allay it, by propoſing ways

Debates thereupon

(1) Tho' our fleet and our trade (ſays a late author) is univerſally acknowleged to be of the greateſt importance to the nation, and tho' we were maſters at ſea, yet the enemy domineer'd in the Soundings, and in the Channel, and hardly ſuffer'd a merchant to eſcape them, and, as the lord Haverſham obſerved, even our men of war fell into their hands; and the Prince, bearing the title of admiral, the miniſtry thought themſelves ſufficiently ſcreen'd againſt any complaints, on this head: but the nation could no longer be blinded by the glittering and eclat of our arms in Flanders: The merchants grew clamorous, our manufactures were ruin'd, the workmen and their families were ſtarving, and even the name of the Prince, her Majeſty's deareſt royal conſort, whom the people ſo much adored, could no longer ſtop the mouths of that multitude of ſufferers. Salmon's Modern hiſtory, Vol. XXV. p. 420.

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and means to retrieve our losses at sea; and, among the rest, the lord Hallifax moved; that a commitee be appointed to receive propolals for incouraging of trade and privateers in the West-Indies; which motion, being back'd by the lord-treasurer, was carried in the affirmative: after which their lordships appointed that day sevennight, to hear, in a grand commitee, what the merchants had to alledge, to prove the suggestions of their petition.

Supplies voted.

The commons, in the mean time, made good their assurances to the Queen, and chearfully voted the necessary supplies; the particulars of which, to the 22d of December, I shall again give the reader in one connexion, without regard to the particular days they were granted on; viz.

	l.	s.	d.
For 40,000 seamen ——	2,080,000	00	00
The ordinary of the navy ——	120,000	00	00
The 40,000 men in Flanders	894,272	03	06
The additional 10,000 men	177,511	03	06
The proportion of the Palatines	34,251	13	04
The proportion of the Saxons	43,251	12	06
The proportion of Bothmar's dragoons	9,269	16	06
The forces in Spain and Portugal	586,671	12	06
The subsidies to the allies ——	494,689	08	06
The duke of Savoy's augmentations	500,000	00	00
The guards and garisons, invalids, and 500 men on board the fleet	511,734	08	06
The duke of Savoy's special service in 1707	100,000	00	00
Compleating the payment of the Hessians	22,957	02	00
The fortifications at Gibraltar	12,284	19	06
The payment of 1 ½ years intereſt on debentures	60,334	19	06
A store-house and wharf at Portsmouth	10,000	00	00
Circulating Exchequer-bills	3,500	00	00
Transporting land-forces ——	144,000	00	00
The land-ordnance ——	120,000	00	00
For a debt to captain Roch	2,126	18	06
In all	5,933,657	17	04

Ways and means.

The ways and means for raising these large sums were, the land-tax of four shillings in the pound; the malt-duty; upon the several duties granted last year for annuities, a farther sum was now inacted of 640,000 l. for like annuities of 40,000 per ann. at the same price; customs laid for ninety-five years, on which one million was to be taken in for purchasing more annuities at sixteen years purchase. The East-India-company proposed to advance 1,200,000 l. for the service of the war, if they might have their time inlarg'd to 1726, contenting themselves with the same interest they already received, for the two millions they formerly advanced, which was complied with and inacted accordingly; and the general mortgage, as it was call'd (that is diverse duties at the custom-house) was continued from 1712 to 1714, for a loan of 729,067 l.

Resolution of the commons about the sea-service.

Notwithstanding this, the commons, upon a petition of several merchants of London, complaining of the want of cruisers in the Channel and Soundings, resolved, on the 19th of November, to address her Majesty for an account of all monies annually granted by parliament, for the sea-service, and annually issued for the same, since the commencement of the war: as also, an account of what number of ships were imployed at sea every month the last year, and on what stations. The 27th the commons, in a grand committee, took into consideration the state of the navy and trade of the nation, and several merchants who were admited into the house to make good the allegations of their petition, made long and bold speeches against the admiralty, whom they charg'd with frauds, malice and ignorance: but after all this, the farther inquiries in both houses, into past mismanagements were dropp'd for the present, and the whole affair ended in a bill, "for the future well government "of the navy, in relation to cruisers and convoys, "whereby forty-four ships of war were appointed "to be imployed as cruisers and convoys to mer-"chant-ships, between the coast of England and "Cape Finisterre in Spain; and an account was "to be laid before the parliament annually how "those cruisers were imployed." It was likewise farther inacted; "That all ships taken from the "enemy during the war, and condemn'd as prize, "should be the property of the captors, that is, "the commanders, officers, and seamen; and "that a bounty should be given to the said cap-"tors of 5 l. for every man that should be found "on board such prizes when taken, and 10 l. for "every gun the prize carried.

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Resolutions concerning Scotland.

About the same time, several resolutions were taken with regard to the Scots, and the union; as "an address from the commons to her Majesty, "for the relief of several merchants in Scotland, "who had brought French wines and other goods "to England, after the 1st of May, which had "been seized; a bill was order'd to be brought "in, to repeal the acts passed in Scotland, for "security of that kingdom, and about peace and "war, and another to make the union more com-"pleat.

Acts pass'd

The 18th of December, the Queen came to the house of lords, to give the royal assent, 1. "To "the act for a land-tax; 2. An act for repealing "two acts pass'd in Scotland, for security of the "kingdom, and anent peace and war; and, "3. An act for better securing the duties of East-"India goods:" On which occasion, her Ma-"jesty made the following speech to both houses:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's speech to both houses

"I am very well pleased with the occasion of "my coming hither at this time, and desirous of "taking this opportunity of expressing to you, "the satisfaction I have in seeing so good a pro-"gress made in the public business.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I am extreamly sensible of the readiness and "affection with which you have provided so con-"siderable a part of the supplies.

"As I am fully persuaded it must give the "greatest satisfaction to all our allies, so I look "upon it as a sure pledge of your being disposed "to make good those hearty assurances which you "gave me in the begining of the session.

"I told you, at the opening of this parlia-"ment, that I did hope you would look upon the "services relating to Spain, Portugal, and the "army under the command of the duke of Savoy, "to be of so much importance in the prosecution "of this war, that they might deserve an aug-"mentation; which I cannot but think will be "of the greatest use to the common cause; both "with regard to those particular services, and "to the puting ourselves in a condition to improve "such favorable opportunities as may arise in the "insuing year.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I shall only add, that as nothing is more es-"sential to my own quiet, and the happiness of "all my good subjects, than the bringing this war "to a safe and honorable conclusion, so I must think

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" think myſelf obliged to look upon all thoſe who " are willing and deſirous to ſupport me in it, " for attaining that end, as the moſt proper ob- " jects of my favor and incouragement.

" I cannot conclude, without once more repre- " ſenting to you, to confirm and improve the ad- " vantages of our happy union, not doubting but, " at the ſame time, you will have a due regard to " what ſhall be found neceſſary for preſerving the " public peace throughout the whole iſland of Great- " Britain."

This ſpeech, as it was ſuppoſed, to be occaſion'd by a ſuggeſtion, that ſome perſons, in the houſe of commons, had, by their whiſpers and intriegues, ſlacken'd their forwardneſs in granting ſome parts of the ſupplies then not determined, was very much reſented by ſome members, in both houſes, and the next day occaſion'd a long and memorable debate in the houſe of lords, in relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen being preſent, incognito, till five of the clock in the afternoon. The earl of Rocheſter ſpoke firſt, and, having commended the earl of Peterborough's courage and conduct, and inumerated his ſervices, ſaid it had been a conſtant cuſtom, that when a perſon of his rank, who had been imployed abroad in ſo eminent a poſt as his lordſhip had, return'd home, he had either thanks given him, or was called to an account: urging that the ſame ought to be done in relation to the earl of Peterborough. The lord Halliſax, who ſpoke next, inlarg'd likewiſe on the earl of Peterborough's ſucceſsful ſervices, but dextrouſly put off the returning him thanks till the whole tenor of his conduct had been examin'd, than which the earl himſelf profeſs'd he had nothing more at heart: the lord Haverſham was not ſilent; but having highly extolled the earl of Peterborough's labor, ſkill and ſucceſſes, made a ſidewind reflection on the earl of Galway, ſaying, " It was no wonder our affairs in Spain went ſo ill, " ſince the management of them had been intruſted " to a foreiner." Hereupon, ſeveral members ſhew'd the neceſſity of carrying on the war, till the whole Monarchy of Spain was recover'd, and King Charles ſetled on his throne; and, among the reſt, the earl of Peterborough ſaid, " That " they ought to give the Queen nineteen ſhillings " in the pound, rather than to make peace upon " any other terms; adding, that if it was thought " neceſſary, he was ready to return to Spain, and " ſerve even under the earl of Galway." This naturally brought on the conſideration of ways and means to retrieve the affairs of Spain, in relation to which the earl of Rocheſter ſaid: " That we " ſeemed to neglect the principal buſineſs, and " mind only acceſſaries;" adding, he remembred the ſaying of a great general, the old duke of Schomberg, viz. " That the attacking of France " in the Netherlands, was like taking a bull by the " horns." And therefore his lordſhip propoſed, " That we ſhould ſtand on the defenſive in " Flanders, and ſend from thence fifteen or 20,000 " men into Catalonia."

Debate about the affairs of Spain.

That noble peer was ſeconded by the earl of Nottingham, who complain'd of Spain being in a manner abandon'd; but the duke of Marlborough ſhew'd, with ſome warmth, the danger of ſuch an indigeſted council, and the neceſſity of augmenting rather than diminiſhing our forces in Flanders. The two chief reaſons his grace urg'd were, firſt, " That moſt of the enemies ſtrong places there " might be kept with one battalion in each; " whereas the great towns of Brabant we had con- " quer'd, requir'd twenty times that number of " men for their preſervation. Secondly, that if " our army in the Netherlands was weakened, and " the French, by their great ſuperiority, ſhould " gain any conſiderable advantage, which it was " not improbable they might, the diſcontented " party in Holland, who were not a few, and bore " with impatience the neceſſary charges of the " war, would not fail crying aloud for peace." Hereupon the earl of Rocheſter ſaid, " He won- " der'd that noble peer, who had been ever con- " ſpicuous for his calmneſs and moderation, ſhould " now be out of his temper; adding, that there " being an abſolute neceſſity to ſuccor Spain, his " grace would oblige their lordſhips, if he would " let them know, where they might get troops to " ſend thither; and the more, becauſe the earl of " Peterborough had that very day aſſur'd them, " that he had heard Prince Eugene ſay, that the " German ſoldiers had rather be decimated than " ſent into Spain." The duke of Marlborough wiſely anſwered the reproach of having ſhewed ſome warmth, by ſaying, " The thing was of " too great importance to be ſpoken of without " concernment." And as for the queſtion propoſed by the earl, he added, " That altho' it was " improper to diſcloſe ſecret projects in ſo great " an aſſembly (to which that day many ſtrangers " had been admited by the favor of the Queen's " preſence) becauſe the enemy would not fail being " inform'd of them; yet, to gratify their lord- " ſhips, he might aſſure them, that meaſures had " been already concerted with the Emperor, for " the forming an army of 40,000 men (whom " he ſpecified under the command of the duke of " Savoy) and for ſending powerful ſuccors to " King Charles; adding, it was to be hoped, " that Prince Eugene might be prevailed with to " go and command in Spain, in which caſe " the Germans would gladly follow him thither. " The only difficulty which his grace ſaid might " be objected againſt this ſcheme, was the uſual " ſlowneſs of the court of Vienna, to which pur- " poſe he took notice, that if the 7000 German " recruits, which the Emperor had promiſed for " the army in Piedmont, had arrived time enough; " the enterprize againſt Toulon, might have been " attended with ſucceſs; but that it was to be " hoped, and he durſt ingage his word for it, that, " for the future, his Imperial Majeſty would punc- " tually perform his promiſes."

This put an end to the debate, and a commitee was appointed to draw up an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame day, and in which they " thank'd her for her moſt gracious ſpeech, " and the ſpirit and reſolution ſhe had been plea- " ſed to expreſs for the vigorous carrying on the " war in Spain and Portugal, and ſtrengthning the " army of the duke of Savoy; aſſuring her, they " would do all that lay in their power for ſupporting " her Majeſty in this juſt war, till brought to a " ſafe and happy concluſion." And ſo zealous were both houſes, at this time, in proſecuting the war, till the whole Spaniſh Monarchy was recovered, that they joined in a farther addreſs to her Majeſty, on that ſubject, in which they offered it as their opinion; " That no peace could be ho- " norable or ſafe for her Majeſty, or her allies, " if Spain, the Weſt-Indies, or any part of the " Spaniſh Monarchy, was ſuffered to remain under " the power of the houſe of Bourbon:" they took occaſion, at the ſame time, to obſerve; " that if " ſome of our allies, who ſeemed principally con- " cerned, and had reaped the moſt immediate ad- " vantage, had ſeconded her Majeſty, with a vi- " gor equal to the efforts of Great-Britain, a much " greater impreſſion might have been made on the " enemy: they beſought her Majeſty to make " the moſt preſſing inſtances on this head, to the " Emperor; concluding, that they believed no- " thing could be refuſed to the earneſt interpoſi-

Addreſs of the lords.

Addreſs of both houſes.

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" tions of her Majeſty, who had done ſuch great " things for the houſe of Auſtria, in which aſſu- " rance they hoped, by God's aſſiſtance, the next " would prove a glorious and happy campain." To both which addreſſes the Queen gave moſt gracious and ſuitable anſwers: and, the next day, her Majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and paſs'd the act " for continuing the duties upon malt."

Gregg executed for treaſonable practices.

The laſt day of the year, mr. William Gregg, a clerk in mr. ſecretary Harley's office, whoſe extravagancies had run him in debt, and who to ſupply his neceſſities had entered into a treaſonable correſpondence with the court of France, which was diſcovered by the poſt-maſter of Bruſſels, was firſt taken into cuſtody of a meſſenger, and, after ſeveral examinations, commited to Newgate: from whence he was afterwards carried to his trial at the Old-bailey, condemn'd and executed for high-treaſon, taking upon himſelf the whole guilt, and, to the laſt moment of his life, acquiting every body elſe from having any knowledge of his crime.

An' 1708. Before I reſume the proceedings of parliament, at the begining of the new year, I ſhall take this opportunity to make a brief obſervation or two on the ſituation of the court of Great-Britain at this time. The miniſtry continued ſtill the ſame, tho' ſeveral attempts were made to ſupplant it. Beſide what was level'd at the duke of Marlborough, in the memorable debate I have mentioned above, complaints were alſo made of his grace for continuing the war; tho' it was ſaid, that, at the concluſion of the year 1706, the French had offered to yield up Spain and the Weſt-Indies: but this (ſays biſhop Burnet) was a falſe ſuggeſtion. Whether France did actually make that offer or no, I ſhall not pretend to ſay: but if Spain had not been neglected (by whom it is not for me to determine) in the winter of 1706, nothing is more probable, than that the grand Monarch muſt have condeſcended to ſeek peace on thoſe terms. Be this as it will, the duke of Marlborough, and his friends had, at this juncture, ſeveral uneaſineſſes to incounter with; for the better underſtanding whereof, I muſt previouſly inform the reader of ſome things, which were, as I may ſay, a prelude to what inſued.

Situation of the court, at this time.

The ducheſs of Marlborough declines in the Queen's favor.

The ducheſs of Marlborough, who hitherto had almoſt ingroſs'd the Queen's favor, began now very much to decline in her Majeſty's eſteem, and in the credit ſhe had formerly held. Her grace had introduced a relation of hers, one mrs. Maſham, into the Queen's ſervice (1); and this lady had found means to inſinuate herſelf ſo far into the Queen's good graces, that ſhe began to eclipſe the ducheſs, and to become almoſt her Majeſty's only favorite. She had this advantage of her predeceſſor, that while ſhe began to ſlight her Majeſty's favors, and inſiſt much on the duke's merit, claiming a kind of right to direct the Queen in diſpenſing of her favors; mrs. Maſham, on the contrary, aſſumed no ſuch liberty, but was all obedience and ſubmiſſion. Mr. Harley (afterwards earl of Oxford) then ſecretary of ſtate, and at the head of the party which oppoſed the duke and his adherents, and was indeavoring to ſupplant them at court, began likewiſe to grow daily in the Queen's favor, and to have great influence over her meaſures; in which he was ſupported by the new ſhe-favorite.

Mrs. Maſham and mr. Harley gain her eſteem.

It has been ſaid, that the Prince begining to be jealous of the too great power of the miniſtry, obſerved that he was in a manner excluded from the adminiſtration, and therefore concured with mr. ſecretary Harley in indeavoring to procure a change in the miniſtry; which the two great ſtateſmen, who yet managed every thing, diſcovering, reſolved to be before-hand with him, and, if poſſible, to drive him from court. Biſhop Burnet gives us the following account of their management of this affair.

The duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin make complaints againſt mr. Harley.

" The duke of Marlborough and the lord-treaſurer (ſays the biſhop) having diſcovered " many of mr. Harley's practices, laid them be- " fore the Queen: ſhe would believe nothing " that was ſuggeſted to his prejudice; nor would " ſhe enter into any examination of his ill con- " duct; but was uneaſy when ſhe heard it ſpoke " off: ſo theſe lords wrote to the Queen, that " they could ſerve her no longer, if he was con- " tinued in that poſt. The Sunday following,

And offer to lay down their places.

" when they were ſummoned to a cabinet-council, " they both went to the Queen, and told her, " they muſt quit her ſervice, ſince they ſaw ſhe " was reſolved not to part with Harley. She " ſeemed not much concerned at the lord Godol- " phin's offering to lay down, and it was believed " to be part of mr. Harley's new ſcheme to re- " move him; but ſhe was much touched with the " duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and " ſtudied, with ſome ſoft expreſſions, to divert him " from that reſolution; but he was firm, and ſhe " did not yield to them; ſo they both went away, " to the wonder of the whole court. Immediate- " ly after, the Queen went to the cabinet-council, " and mr. Harley opened ſome matters relating " to forein affairs: the whole board was very " uneaſy; the duke of Somerſet ſaid, he did not " ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters, " ſince the general was not with them; he repeated " this, with ſome vehemence, while all the reſt " looked ſo cold and ſullen, that the cabinet-coun- " cil was ſoon at an end; and the Queen ſaw, " that the reſt of her miniſters, and the chief offi- " cers, were reſolved to withdraw from her ſervice, " if ſhe did not recall the two that had left it. It

(1) This mrs. Maſham, afterwards lady Maſham, having had a great ſhare in the univerſal change of the miniſtry, which the reader will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory, it may be proper to give a brief account here who ſhe was, and by what means ſhe came to have ſo great an influence over her Royal Miſtreſs. The ducheſs of Marlborough, either weary of a conſtant and cloſe attendance at court, or, as ſome would have it, thinking herſelf, as a Princeſs of the Empire, above it, had prefer'd mrs. Abigail Hill, her kinſwoman, to be one of her Majeſty's dreſſers and chamber-women, thinking ſhe might ſecurely eaſe herſelf, by leaving a dependant and relation, in whom ſhe intirely confided, near the Queen. Mrs. Hill diſcharg'd her duty with great obſequiouſneſs, and having a tolerable ſhare of wit and good humor, made herſelf ſo agreeable, that, as the ducheſs of Marlborough let ſometimes whole months paſs, without waiting on the Queen, ſo her Majeſty very eaſily diſpenſed with her abſenſe. On the other hand, the growing favorite as eaſily forgot her benefactreſs, and reſolved to ſet up for herſelf. Her principal adviſer was mr. ſecretary Harley, who judging her a proper inſtrument for his deſigns, apply'd himſelf to her, with all the cunning and addreſs he was maſter of; ſhew'd her more regard than ſhe had reaſon to expect from a perſon in his poſt, and infuſed ſuch notions into her as ſoon taught her to ſet a ſuperior value on herſelf. At length, there grew ſuch an intimacy and confidence between them, that mrs. Hill being ſmiten with mr. Maſham, a comely youth, formerly a page to the Queen, but afterwards gentleman of the bed-chamber to Prince George, ſhe did not ſcruple to diſcloſe the ſecret to mr. Harley, by whoſe means the match was made. Mrs. Hill (now mrs. Maſham) having thus her wiſhes, became, out of gratitude, intirely devoted to the perſon to whom ſhe was indebted for obtaining them; ſo that, by her means, mr. Harley had freer acceſs to the Queen, than any other miniſter. This advantage he improved ſo dextrouſly, by entertaining her Majeſty with diverting ſtories of the town, that, on pretenſe of buſineſs, he was, at laſt, admited into her pleaſurable retirements, where he had opportunities, not only to ſtudy and humor her inclinations, but alſo to inſinuate ſuch hints of perſons and things as were agreeable to his deſigns: and thus was the foundation laid to thoſe great and unexpected events, which will be the ſubject of the concluſion of this hiſtory.

" was

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" was ſaid, that ſhe would have put all to the ha-
" zard, if mr. Harley himſelf had not apprehended
" his danger (or, as his friends ſaid, finding the torrent run ſo ſtrong againſt him, deſired her Majeſty's leave to reſign his poſt and retire, rather than her affairs ſhould ſuffer any prejudice by her indeavoring to protect him unſeaſonably) and,
" reſolved to lay down. The Queen ſent the
" next day for the duke of Marlborough, and
" after ſome expoſtulations, told him, Harley
" ſhould immediately leave his poſt, which he did
" within two days; but the Queen ſeem'd to carry
" a deep reſentment of his and the lord Godol-
" phin's behavior, on this occaſion; and tho' they
" went on with their buſineſs, they found they had
" not her confidence (1). The ducheſs of Marl-
" borough abſtained for ſome weeks, from court;
" but afterwards that breach was made up, in
" appearance, tho' it was little elſe but appearance.
" As mr. Harley laid down, ſir Simon Harcourt
" then attorney-general, ſir Thomas Manſel
" comptroler of the houſhold, and mr. St. John,
" ſecretary of war, went and laid down with him.
" The Queen took much time to conſider, how
" ſhe ſhould fill up ſome of their places, but mr.
" Boyle, uncle to the earl of Burlington, was, the
" next day, made ſecretary of ſtate."

Mr. Harvey and ſeveral others lay down their places.

Mr. Boyle made ſecretary of ſtate.

The 19th of January, a proclamation was publiſhed for incouraging ſeamen and landmen to enter themſelves on board her Majeſty's ſhips of war; and, on the 26th, his royal highneſs Prince George appointed the commanders of her Majeſty's fleet, who were as follows: ſir John Leake, admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; ſir George Byng, admiral of the blue; ſir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; ſir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, eſq; rear-admiral of the white.

Promotion of admirals.

As ſoon as the commons ſat again, they went upon the affairs of Spain, and after having called for ſeveral papers and accounts, they reſolved,
" that it appeared to them, that of near 30,000
" men, provided for by parliament for the ſervice
" of Spain and Portugal, in the year 1707, there
" were but 8,669 men, beſide officers and ſer-
" vants, in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the
" battle of Almanza." This they repreſented to the Queen in an addreſs, on the 5th of February, and, at the ſame time, deſired her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to uſe her utmoſt indeavors, that the war in Spain might be vigorouſly and effectually proſecuted. To this her Majeſty anſwered: " that what they deſired ſhould be care-
" fully examined, and ſhe would ſend them an
" anſwer in a ſhort time." The Queen being about this time indiſpoſed with the gout, a commiſſion under the great ſeal was granted to ſeveral lords, for giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as had been agreed to by both houſes, which they did accordingly on the 13th. The 18th, the lord Coningſby delivered the anſwer her Majeſty had promiſed to the houſe; which proving unſatisfactory (2), they ordered, that their former addreſſes to her Majeſty be renew'd: however, a motion being made, and the queſtion put, on the 24th,
" that the deficiency of the Engliſh troops, in
" Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of
" Almanza, had been chiefly occaſioned by the
" want of timely and effectual recruits being ſent
" thither." It paſs'd in the negative; and, on the contrary, it was reſolved; " that an addreſs
" be preſented to her Majeſty, returning her the
" thanks of the houſe, for her taking meaſures to
" reſtore the affairs in Spain, and for providing
" forein troops for that ſervice."

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Proceedings in parliament about the affairs of Spain.

To this addreſs, her Majeſty was pleaſed to return an anſwer, importing, " that ſhe had always
" look'd upon the war of Spain to be of ſo great
" importance to us, that ſhe could never fail of
" continuing her utmoſt application to ſupport it
" in the moſt effectual manner; and that the ſatiſ-
" faction they had expreſs'd, in their addreſs, for
" her indeavors, in this matter, was extreamly ac-
" ceptable to her."

The 23d, the Queen went in perſon to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſtate, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills.

The lords had, all this while, the ſame matter, together with the grievances of the merchants, under their conſideration, and, in reference to the firſt, they beſtowed ſeveral ſittings on the examination of the earl of Peterborough's conduct, which appearing to be altogether blameleſs (3), his lordſhip's friends labored to have the thanks of the houſe returned him, which however they could not carry. The firſt of March, the lords preſented a long addreſs to her Majeſty (4) about the miſ-

(1) In this manner were the ſeals taken from mr. Harley; however, by the good offices of his truſty friend mrs. Maſham, he had ſtill privately the Queen's ear and favor, which he continued to injoy, till, at length, he defeated and triumph'd over all his enemies, and put himſelf at the head of a triumvirate, who govern'd as abſolutely as their predeceſſors had done before them, the latter years of this reign.

(2) The ſubſtance of her Majeſty's anſwer was: that the number of officers and ſervants, which were included in that provided for by parliament, made a full fourth of the whole, according to the eſtabliſhment allowed: that the forces under the earls of Peterborough and Galway had been reduced by death, ſickneſs, &c. before that battle to 8207 men, beſide 1792 priſoners with the enemy: that the regiments under the earl of Rivers, which, when they went from Torbay were 8297 men, when they arrived at Valencia were reduced to 4500, and the battle happened ſo ſoon after the vote of parliament for imploying 29,395 men in Spain and Portugal, that it was impoſſible more of the intended number could be there: but that the Queen compleated four regiments, which were on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, and ſent them to Portugal, in April, 1707; and three regiments more were ſent thither ſoon after. That to ſupply the loſs at Almanza, the Queen had hired 7000 Palatines, 3000 Germans, and 12000 Italians, which were imbark'd for Barcelona, in her Majeſty's pay; and that ſhe was treating for 6000 Germans more: tho', it has been obſerved, that if theſe forces were taken into the Queen's pay, they were not ſent to Spain till a great while after.

(3) Biſhop Burnet, who would gladly have had the earl of Peterborough thought criminal, gives a very whimſical proof of it. " The earl (ſays he) brought ſuch a number of papers, and ſo many witneſſes, to juſtify his conduct, that after ten or
" twelve days ſpent in reading papers, and examining witneſſes, both houſes (without paſſing one vote againſt him) thought
" fit to let the charge brought againſt him fall." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 492.

(4) This addreſs, which, when printed, made a large pamphlet, is too long to be either inſerted or abridged here: but the concluſion of it gives ſo glorious an idea of the illuſtrious body which preſented it, that I muſt not omit it. " It is a moſt
" undoubted maxim (ſay their lordſhips) that the honor, ſecurity, and wealth of this kingdom does depend upon the pro-
" tection and incouragement of trade, and the improving and right managing the naval ſtrength Other nations, who were
" formerly great and powerful at ſea, have by negligence and miſmanagement loſt their trade, and ſeen their maritime ſtrength
" intirely ruined. Therefore we do, in the moſt earneſt manner, beſeech your Majeſty, that the ſea-affairs may always be
" your firſt and moſt peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it ſhall be your Majeſty's chief and conſtant inſtruction to all who
" ſhall have the honor to be imployed in your councils, and in the adminiſtration of affairs, that they be continually intent
" and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular
" charge to take care that the ſeamen be incouraged, the trade protected, diſcipline reſtored, and a new ſpirit and vigor put into
" the whole adminiſtration of the navy."

managements

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managements of the navy: to which ſhe anſwered; "that ſhe would make the moſt uſeful obſervations "upon the ſeveral particulars of it: that it was "always her opinion, that the incouragement of "trade and ſeamen, and the good management of "the navy, were of the greateſt importance to the "proſperity of the kingdom; and therefore ſhe "would uſe her utmoſt indeavors to incourage all "thoſe whoſe duty it was effectually to perform "thoſe ſervices."

Great Britain threatned with an invaſion.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the nation was ſuddenly alarmed with the threats of an invaſion (1). Great preparations were carrying on for this expedition at Dunkirk, with all imaginable diligence, and with ſuch ſecrecy, that the deſign was rather gueſs'd at than known, till the Pretender himſelf ſet out from St. Germains the 24th of February; but then it was no longer a ſecret that he intended a deſcent upon Scotland.

The 4th of March, mr. ſecretary Boyle acquainted the houſe of commons with the advices the Queen had received: upon which both houſes addreſs'd her Majeſty, promiſing to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes; as they did afterwards more fully on the 13th of the ſame month. The 6th, her Majeſty iſſued her royal proclamation, declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his accomplices, adherents and abettors, to be traitors and rebels, and for apprehending them, and requiring all Popiſh recuſants not to depart above five miles from their dwellings; and baniſhing Papiſts ten miles from London and Weſtminſter. A bill was alſo brought in for ſuſpending the Habeas-corpus act, by impowering her Majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhould ſuſpect were conſpiring againſt her perſon and government. But to return to the fleet.

Sir George Byng ſent out with a ſquadron.

The admiralty, in the mean time, had fited out a fleet with ſuch incredible diligence, that (without diminiſhing the convoy provided for the Liſbon-fleet) ſir George Byng and the lord Durſley, ſailed from Deal, towards the coaſt of Dunkirk, the 27th of February, in the morning, with twenty-three Engliſh, and three Dutch men of war. The ſame day, about noon, ſir George came to an anchor in Graveling-pits, and immediately after went into a ſmall frigat, and ſailed within two miles of Flemiſh road for intelligence. The French were ſurprized when the Britiſh fleet appeared off of Mardyke, and put a ſtop to the imbarkation of their troops; but their King was ſo fully bent on the deſign, that he ſent poſitive orders to re-imbark the troops, and put to ſea with the firſt fair wind.

To be likewiſe prepared to reſiſt all attempts on ſhoar, and deſigns of landing, not only ten battalions were ſent from Oſtend to Tinmouth, but the firſt and ſecond troops of horſe-guards, and ſeveral other regiments, march'd to the north of England, and the earl of Leven, governor of Edinburg-caſtle, and commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, was ſent thither, and ſeveral regiments in Ireland were commanded to the North, to ly ready to be tranſported to Scotland: but all theſe wiſe precautions by land proved altogether needleſs, by the diſappointment of the enemy's deſign at ſea, as the reader will ſoon find.

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The enemy fails from Dunkirk.

The 6th of March, at four in the afternoon, the French fleet ſailed from the road of Dunkirk; but the wind changing about ten, they were obliged to come to an anchor in Newport-pits, where they continued till the 8th in the evening, when, the wind chopping about, they ſet ſail again, ſteering their courſe for Scotland.

Sir George purſues them.

Sir George Byng, who in the mean time had been driven from his ſtation by contrary winds, and was come back with his fleet into the Downs the 2d of March, being conſiderably re-inforced, ſet ſail again the 6th; and, on the 9th, at ten in the morning, being between Dunkirk and Calais, he received intelligence, by major-general Cadogan from Oſtend, of the ſailing of the Dunkirk ſquadron from the pits of Newport. He immediately purſued them, leaving rear-admiral Baker, with his diviſion, and four other men of war, to convoy ſuch troops as might be thought neceſſary to ſend from thence to Scotland or England; and, the 13th, ſaw the French fleet in the mouth of the Firth, off of which place he anchored the night before.

Diſcovers them on the coaſt of Scotland.

Monſ. Forbin, who commanded the French ſquadron, heard, it ſeems, the ſignal for our ſhips to come to anchor, and knowing the meaning of it, immediately ſent a boat on board of every ſhip in his ſquadron, ordering them to put out their lights, and to ſail, one by one, out of the Firth, and ſteer a north-eaſt courſe, till they ſhould come off of the town of St. Andrews (2). This they did; but both wind and tide being againſt them, ſir George diſcovered them in the morning, and purſuing, took the Saliſbury, in which was a great number of French, Engliſh and Iriſh officers, and, among others, the lord Clermont, mr. Middleton, and the lord Griffin. When there was no farther proſpect of coming up with the enemy, they returned to Leith, where they remained till ſir George was informed of their return to Dunkirk (which was on the 25th of March) and then, purſuant to orders ſent him, returned to the Downs; from whence he came to London, and was graciouſly received by the Queen and his royal highneſs.

Continues the purſuit; and takes the Saliſbury.

The French return to Dunkirk.

The priſoners brought to town and commited.

The priſoners taken in the Saliſbury being brought to London, the lord Griffin, together with the lord Clermont and Charles Middleton, eſq; (two ſons of the earl of Middleton) and colonel Wauchope were commited to the Tower, and about twenty Iriſh officers to Newgate, for high-treaſon. Several priſoners of note were likewiſe brought from Scotland; particularly duke Hamilton and the lord Belhaven; but moſt of them, after examination, were admited to bail (3).

The parliament having, by this time, finiſh'd the

(1) What incouraged France to ſuch an attempt, at this time, was the report, that the Scots were ſo highly diſcontented, on account of the union, as to be ripe for a revolt, and ready to declare for the pretended Prince of Wales, on his arrival among them. De Larrey ſays, that while the preparations were making at Dunkirk, the chevalier de Nangis, captain of a French man of war, was privately ſent to Edinburgh, with credentials and inſtructions to ſound the nobility and people; that he was received by the malecontents with great joy, and found every thing ripe for a revolution: that he landed ſome arms and ammunition; and that he was made to hope there were 30,000 Scots ready to receive the Pretender as ſoon as he ſhould land in Scotland. Hiſt. de France ſous Louis XIV.

(2) Monſ. de Forbin ſays, that while they were in the Firth of Edinburg, they put out ſignals, lit up fires, and fired cannon, to give notice to the friends of the Pretender to riſe in his favor; but to no purpoſe, not a ſoul appear'd. Memoires de Forbin.

F. Daniel will have it, the Pretender did not want friends, at that time, in Scotland; but they were awed by the Britiſh fleet, and the numerous body of troops which were there. Hiſt. de France.

(3) When the news firſt came to London of ſir George Byng's having fight of the French ſquadron, near the Firth at Edinburg, it was thought every ſhip of them would be deſtroyed; but theſe too early hopes being diſappointed, the admiral was blamed and railed at, as if he had been deficient in his duty; others pretended to ſay, that he had actually taken the Pretender, and might have taken the whole fleet; but that he had private orders from the Queen to let both him and them

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the buſineſs before them, the Queen who had been at the houſe, the 11th and the 20th of March, and had given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, came again to the houſe of peers, the 1ſt of April, and having given the royal ſanction to the bills which lay ready for it, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot conclude this ſeſſion, without acknowledging the wiſe and ſpeedy proviſions " which you have made for the public ſecurity.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I am alſo to thank you in particular, for the " large and timely ſupplies which you have pro- " vided for the effectual proſecution of the war. I " aſſure you, they ſhall be carefully and punctually " applied to the uſes for which they are ap- " pointed.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I take theſe, eſpecially at this juncture, to be " ſuch undeniable proofs of your zeal and affec- " tion to my ſervice, as muſt fully convince every " body of your doing me the juſtice to believe, that " all which is dear to you is perfectly ſafe under " my government; and muſt be irrevocably loſt, " if ever the deſigns of a Popiſh Pretender, bred " up in the principles of the moſt arbitrary go- " vernment, ſhould take place.

" I am ſatisfied, that every falſe repreſentation " of the true inclinations and intereſts of my people " muſt have been made by ſome of my ſubjects, " who have given incouragement to this deſperate " attempt; ſince, without ſomething of that na- " ture, it ſeems very little conſiſting with the " uſual precautions of our enemies, to hazard the " expence and diſappointment of ſo vain and ill- " grounded an undertaking.

" However, it is certain, we muſt be all in- " excuſable if we do not take warning, from " this attempt, to compleat what may be neceſſary " for our ſecurity at home, and the diſcouraging " the like for the future; to which, by God's " bleſſing, nothing ſhall be wanting on my part.

" And, to the ſame end, I muſt recommend to " you, at your return into your ſeveral countries, " to uſe your utmoſt care and diligence, in puting " the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, and all " others diſaffected to my government; and in " making them pay towards the public taxes, to " the full of what the law requires of them; no- " thing being more reaſonable, than that they, " who by their principles and practices incourage, " if not actually foment, ſuch diſturbances, ſhould " doubly contribute to the charge of quieting " them, and ſecuring the kingdom's peace, and " ſhould know themſelves, on all ſuch occaſions, " to be reſponſible for the many inconveniencies " that may inſue."

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The parliament prorogued.

The parliament was then prorogued to the 30th of the ſame month.

The principal acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe relating to taxes, which I have mentioned already, were: " 1. An act to repeal two acts " made in Scotland, one for the ſecurity of the " kingdom, and the other anent peace and war. " 2. An act for rendring the union of the two " kingdoms more intire and compleat. 3. An " act for the ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and " government, and of the ſucceſſion of the crown " in the Proteſtant line (1). 4. An act for the " better ſecuring the trade of this kingdom by " cruiſers and convoys. 5. Another act for the " better ſecuring her Majeſty's perſon and govern- " ment (2). 6. An act for raiſing 1,200,000 l. " by extending the term of the privileges of the " Eaſt-India-company. 7. An act to make far- " ther proviſion for electing and ſummoning " ſixteen peers of Scotland to ſit in the Britiſh " houſe of peers, and for the farther regulating of " voters in election of members, &c. 8. An act " for the farther directing the payment of the equi- " valent mony in Scotland. 9. An act for eſta- " bliſhing a court of Exchequer in Scotland. 10. An " act for aſcertaining the rate of forein coins in her " Majeſty's plantations in America. 11. An act " for the better preventing miſchiefs that may " happen by fire; and, 12. An act for the in- " couragement of the trade to America."

Promotions.

After the riſing of the parliament, major-general Stanhope was appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to King Charles III, and commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Spain; and the earl of Cholmondley was made comptroler of her Majeſty's houſhold. The Queen was likewiſe pleaſed to make ſeveral promotions of general-officers, and John Smith, eſq; was made chancellor of the Exchequer. Purſuant to the act for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more compleat, a privy-council was alſo conſtituted for the whole united kingdom.

A new parliament called.

The 15th of April, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and, the 22d, another for the calling of a new parliament, to meet the 8th of July next inſuing.

The 15th of May, the lord Griffin was brought to the bar of the Queen's-bench, and a rule made for his execution on his former outlawry: but tho' her Majeſty ſign'd the warrant, he was reprieved for a fortnight, and afterwards from month to month, till he died a natural death in the Tower.

Campain in Flanders.

The ſtorm which threatned Great-Britain being happily diſpel'd, as I have ſhewn above, and the

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them eſcape. But the houſe of commons, after having examin'd into the number and condition of the ſhips imployed in this expedition, laying nothing to his charge, ſufficiently removed all objections againſt his conduct. It is certain, and monſ. Forbin himſelf owns it, that the French fleet conſiſted of the beſt ſailing runners and privateers that could be found in Dunkirk. Compleat Hiſt. of Europe.

Lewis XIV had conceived vaſt hopes from this undertaking: he imagined, that as ſoon as his fleet had ſet the Pretender on ſhoar, in Scotland, the whole kingdom would riſe in his favor; and that the leaſt advantage gain'd on this ſide would ſoon have brought about a ſuperiority of his troops in Flanders; for he fondly believed Queen Ann would ſoon be oblig'd to draw, at leaſt, thirty battalions out of thoſe parts; and this he concluded would quickly oblige the States-general to accept of the terms he ſhould propoſe them, to quit the grand alliance, and to make a ſeparate peace. But this vaſt project vaniſh'd into air. Contrary winds prevented their fleet puting to ſea till the whole matter was diſcover'd. An ague hinder'd the Pretender from imbarking when he ſhould have done; and he imbark'd afterwards, when it was too late, and when all reaſonable hopes of affecting any thing to the purpoſe were loſt; inſomuch that it was next to a miracle, that he, together with his little fleet, did not fall into the hands of the Engliſh; all which gave occaſion to a report, that Lewis XIV would willingly have loſt his ſhips to have been rid, at the ſame time, of his gueſt; and that this ſquadron was fited out with that view, if it ſhould fail of ſucceſs: but if this was the deſign, the officers of the fleet do not ſeem to have been in the ſecret. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 234.

(1) It was, among other things, hereby inacted; " that the parliament ſhould not be diſſolved by the death of the Queen, " or her ſucceſſors; but ſhould continue to act ſix months, unleſs prorogued or diſſolved by the ſucceſſor: if ſuch parliament " were prorogued or adjourn'd, it ſhould immediately meet, and in caſe there ſhould be no parliament, on the demiſe of the " crown, the preceding parliament ſhould meet and act. A regency was alſo appointed, in caſe of a demiſe, and all officers " and miniſters impower'd to act ſix months, unleſs removed by the ſucceſſor, as in the former acts of ſettlement.

(2) By this act, all officers, civil and military, in Scotland, were required to take the abjuration-oath, and the other oaths mentioned in this act.

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neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the government taken, the duke of Marlborough left London, the 29th of March, and arrived the next night late at the Hague, where he found Prince Eugene arrived before him. They had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, the reſult of which were then kept a ſecret; but afterwards appear'd to be:

Reſolutions taken thereupon.

"That moſt of the Imperialiſts imployed, the "year before, on the Upper-Rhine, with the "Saxons and Heſſians, in the pay of Great-Britain "and Holland, and the troops which the Elector "Palatine was to furniſh, in conſideration of his "Imperial Majeſty's reſtoring him to the poſ-"ſeſſion of the Upper-Palatinate, with the prero-"gatives injoy'd by his anceſtors, ſhould march "into the Netherlands, to act there under Prince "Eugene, in concert with the Britiſh and Dutch "forces, commanded in chief by the duke of "Marlborough, and, under him, by Velt-marſhal "d'Auverquerque." As by theſe reſolutions, the army on the Upper-Rhine, under the command of the Elector of Hanover, would be extreamly weakned, and obliged to act on the defenſive only, that Prince's conſent to this ſcheme was abſolutely neceſſary; to obtain which, both our generals went to that court, and having, with ſome difficulty, brought the Elector into their meaſures, Prince Eugene went for Vienna, and the duke returned to the Hague; where it was induſtriouſly reported, and every where believed, that the former was to command a ſeparate army on the Moſel, which obliged the enemy to ſend a conſiderable number of forces that way.

Diſpoſitions of the French.

The French King had given the command of his army in Flanders, this year, to the duke of Burgundy, as generaliſſimo, to be aſſiſted by the duke de Vendôme, and accompanied by the duke of Berry and the Pretender. The Elector of Bavaria was to command on the Rhine, with the duke of Berwick under him; the marſhal de Villars being recall'd, and appointed to command in Dauphiny.

Force of both armies.

The confederate army was formed by the latter end of May, and incamp'd at Billinghen and Hall; within three leagues of the enemy's army, which was incamp'd near Soignies; the former conſiſting of 112 battalions and 180 ſquadrons, and the latter of 124 battalions and 197 ſquadrons.

The enemy take Ghent and Bruges by treachery.

Notwithſtanding this ſuperiority in number, it ſoon appear'd that the French had no inclination to ingage, but indeavored to poſt themſelves on the banks of the Deule, to prevent the allies from paſſing that river, and to ſeize Louvain, in which the duke of Marlborough prevented them by an expeditious march. However, tho' they were defeated in this enterprize, they ſucceeded in another, which was the taking of Ghent and Bruges (where the confederates had left no gariſons but the militia and burghers) by treachery; the former opening their gates to the French brigadiers la Faille and Paſteur, and the latter to the count de la Motte.

Damme attempted by them in vain.

This done, the count de la Motte march'd immediately to Damme, hoping to meet with the ſame ſucceſs there; but as this place was fortified and gariſon'd, the governor open'd the ſluices, and put the whole country under water, which oblig'd the count to retire. From thence he march'd to Plaſſendahl, a little fort on the canal which leads from Bruges to Oſtend, and is a ſecurity to the communication of theſe two places. The officer, who commanded in it, refus'd to ſurrender, upon which the count attack'd and took it ſword in hand.

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Fort Plaſſendahl taken.

The duke of Marlborough was too ſenſible of the importance it would be to recover Ghent and Bruges not to be thoughtful of the ſpeedieſt methods to effect it; but none ſeem'd to him ſo conducive thereunto, as to bring the enemy to a battle, the happy ſucceſs of which muſt of courſe be attended with the recovery of thoſe places; he therefore directed all his meaſures to this end: which he afterwards attain'd to, in the famous battle of Oudenarde. I ſhall not detain the reader with an account of the ſeveral marches and countermarches, which preceded this memorable action, but only obſerve, that the French, fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, had the vanity to lay ſiege to Oudenarde, the only paſs the allies had left on the Scheld, and intended to have taken poſſeſſion of the advantageous camp of Leſſines: but having before received intelligence that Prince Eugene was bringing a re-inforcement, of about 30,000 men, with all expedition from Germany, and finding now that he advanc'd too quick upon them to think of taking Oudenarde, as they had flatter'd themſelves, before he could join the confederate army, they were glad to quit that ſiege, with precipitation. They were likewiſe diſappointed of taking the camp of Leſſines, by an almoſt incredible march of the duke of Marlborough's army, which made five leagues in a very cloſe country, where they had their ways to make, and paſs'd the Dender in leſs than twenty-four hours. The enemy perceiving themſelves diſappointed of this camp, left their road towards it, in which they had march'd ſeveral hours, and advanced towards Gavre, in order to paſs the Scheld there.

Oudenarde attack'd by the enemy in vain.

The battle of Oudenarde.

The 11th of July, in the morning, upon intelligence that the enemy had quited Oudenarde, major-general Cadogan was ſent, with ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons, to make the ways and bridges to that town. The army began to march at eight, in four columns; and after the news came that the enemy were ſtill paſſing at Gavre, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene (who had left his detachment on the march, which did not arrive till after the battle) reſolved, if poſſible, to bring them to an ingagement. In order to this, they continued their march with ſuch diligence, that by two in the afternoon the head was at the bridges, over which major-general Cadogan's ſixteen battallions were then paſſing.

Major-general Rantzau, with eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, being poſted on an eminence, behind a narrow but marſhy rivulet, which runs into the Scheld, ſaw ſeveral French ſquadrons drawn up on the plain, on the other ſide the rivulet; and the march of the French army being directed towards the right, they had thrown ſeven battalions into the village of Heynem, thro' which the highway runs along the Scheld (1). By theſe appearances they could not judge, with any certainty, whether the true deſign of the enemy was to op-

(1) The deſign of the duke de Vendôme in placing the ſeven battalions in the village of Heynem, and the ſquadrons that the confederates had diſcover'd on the plain, which were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced towards the bridge, over which the allies were paſſing, to a certain diſtance, to have waited till half their troops were paſs'd, and then to have attack'd them, with all the advantage which his ſuperiority of number could have given him, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily have defeated them before the other half of their army could come to their aſſiſtance. It was with that intent theſe troops were advanc'd, and the duke would ſoon have follow'd with the whole army; but happily the duke of Burgundy did not approve of this project. He had all along ſhewn an inclination to retire towards Ghent, and this propenſity appear'd now ſtronger than ever; he order'd the troops to ſtop ſhort in their march at Gavre, in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recall'd the ſquadrons which were in the plain, and prepar'd to retire: and to this the French attribute their misfortune which inſued. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 260.

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poſe the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over the Scheld, or to gain their own lines between Liſle and Tournay, which they might reaſonably think they had time enough to do.

Miſconduct of the enemy before the battle.

It would have been an eaſy matter for the French, either to have cut off the detachment of the allies, which had advanced, and laid bridges over the Scheld, or, at leaſt to have deſtroy'd thoſe bridges, before the whole confederate army could come up; and if then they had ſupported their left at Heynem, poſted their horſe behind the caſtle of Beveren, towards the mill of Oycke, and placed their center on the height between Wertigem and Heurne, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage the moſt difficult ground could give them; and perhaps the choice would have been on their ſide, whither to ingage in a general action or not? But the dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, who had been at variance for ſome days before, what courſe they ſhould take, ſtill differed in their opinions, and were both yet ſtrangely at a loſs what meaſures they ſhould reſolve upon, and what diſpoſitions to make. This irreſolution laſted till three in the afternoon, when moſt of the young commanders in the French army, who had more fire than prudence, and who, to make their court to the duke of Burgundy, thwarted all that was adviſed by the duke of Vendôme, declared loudly for an ingagement, which, in a great meaſure, determined the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Vendôme was obliged to ſubmit.

Diſſentions among their generals.

The enemy prepare to begin the attack.

Major-general Grimaldi was therefore ordered by the duke of Burgundy, with the horſe of the King's houſhold, to begin the attack on the right, and diſlodge major-general Rantzau from the eminence on which he was poſted; but when they came to the rivulet, and found it marſhy, they were diſcouraged from attempting the paſſage, and retired towards their own right. Tho' their army had 12,000 men more in number, than the confederates, and ſeveral other advantages (1).

But are diſcouraged.

M. Gen. Cadogan begins the attack.

Upon this, major-general Cadogan, who had paſs'd the river with twelve of his ſixteen battalions, between three and four o'clock, attack'd the village of Heynem, with ſuch reſolution (brigadier Sabine, with his brigade being at the head) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters thereof, and found ſeven French battalions in it, three intire, and the greater part of the other four were taken priſoners.

And is ſeconded by M. Gen. Rantzau.

Immediately after, major-general Rantzau, with the eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, paſs'd the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horſe had been drawn up, between the villages of Singhem and Mullem. Several of the ſquadrons of their rear-guard (French authors ſay four) being ſtill paſſing thro' the plain, the eight ſquadrons, with the quarter-maſters, attack'd them with great vigor, and drove them into the cloſe ground, and the highway, which led into the march of their own army.

Bravery of his preſent Majeſty of Great-Britain.

In this action, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, (his preſent Majeſty of Great-Britain) who had joined the army, the 22d of June, to ſerve as a volonteer, gave diſtinguiſh'd proofs of his early courage and activity. He charg'd, ſword in hand, at the head of a ſquadron of Bulau's dragoons; his Highneſs's horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſchki, who commanded the ſquadron, was kill'd fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-general Schulenburg, and ſeveral other volunteers, behaved with great reſolution, and led up the ſquadrons. Here the French regiment of la Bretêche, and ſeveral other regiments, were intirely broken; and the colonel himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken, together with a great many other officers, and twelve ſtandards and kettle-drums.

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Part of the French army defeated.

The confederate army continued, in the mean time, to paſs the bridges, with all imaginable diligence. The Pruſſian horſe formed themſelves upon the right, in the ſame plain, where the advanced guard was, and the reſt of the horſe as they paſs'd, followed the Pruſſians, thro' the village of Heurne, into the plain; but the foot, becauſe of the length of the march, and the horſe having galloped a good part of the way, came later to the bridges; ſo that none but the above mentioned ſixteen battalions were there till five o'clock.

All the confederate horſe paſs the Scheld.

The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, being at the head of the horſe, which were forming in the plain, and obſerving the great want there was of infantry, ſent orders to the foot, which had been imployed in attacking the village, to leave their poſt there, and fling themſelves into the hedges, on the other ſide of the plain, whither the enemy ſeemed to be marching with great diligence. On that ſide of the plain were no more than two battalions, of major-general Colliar's and brigadier Grumko's, and thoſe the enemy attack'd with great fury, but they maintained their poſt with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their aſſiſtance.

The ingagement continued.

The duke of Marlborough hereupon diſpatched orders after orders to the foot, to preſs their march, the enemy being then forming and ready to attack the infantry which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the duke of Argyle arrived, with twenty battalions; which were ſcarcely placed, when the French attack'd them very briſkly, and drove ſome Pruſſian battalions from their poſt; but, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, about ſix in the evening, they retook it again, ſword in hand. By this time, count Lottum was coming up, to ſuſtain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the duke perceiving that the great ſtreſs of the battle would ly on the right, ſent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived ſomething later than the right, and having paſs'd their horſe thro' Oudenarde, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themſelves into two lines, with the village of Moreghem behind them.

The confederate infantry comes up.

The ſucceſs which the confederates had already obtained in the ſeveral ingagements near the villages of Heynem, Mullem and Heurne, made the French generals ſenſible they ſhould ſoon be attack'd on all ſides: they therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſtand, to which end they poſted their foot very advantageouſly, before the villages of Wanigen, Lede and Huyſe, having in their front ſeveral defilees, fenced with incloſures of hedges, ditches or thickets, and placed moſt of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of Oycke and Wertegem.

The enemy at a ſtand.

And ſeek ſhelter.

As ſoon as the confederate foot arrived, they formed themſelves into two lines before the horſe, and then attack'd, in very good order, the incloſures and villages in their front, where the French were poſted; inſomuch that about ſeven o'clock, the fire grew general, both on the right and on the

The attack general.

(1) This attack the duke of Vendôme diſapprov'd of; and, therefore ſent monſieur Jennet, his aid de camp to the left, to attack the allies on that ſide. But the duke of Burgundy countermanded it upon information, as it was ſaid, that there was an unpaſſable moraſs on that ſide; which, however, the duke of Vendôme had paſſed over but an hour before. The marquis de Quincy, to clear the duke of Burgundy from the imputation of this miſcarriage, pretends, that monſieur Jennet was kill'd, going from the right to the left of their army; and that therefore the duke of Vendôme's orders, not being delivered, could not be executed, which (continues he) gave the allies a great advantage. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand.

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left; and tho' the enemy gave way in moſt places, yet being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after.

The fight very obſtinate.

There was before the left of the left wing, a kind of an opening, thro' which run a road that led into the plain, on the top of the hill, and which the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared, with great vigor and reſolution. At the ſame time, the duke of Marlborough diſpatch'd orders to the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, and the count de Tilly, who were on the top of the hill near Oycke, to preſs the enemy as much as poſſible, on that ſide. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed, and monſieur d'Auverquerque order'd major-general Weck to march, with the brigades of Waſſenaer and Oudenburg, which being ſupported by count Tilly, with the Daniſh cavalry under his command, paſſed thro' a narrow defilee, into a field, where all the French houſhold were drawn up. The confederate troops no ſooner approach'd, than the French, who did not in the leaſt apprehend being attack'd on that ſide, retired, and indeavored to ſhelter themſelves under the hedges, between Wertigem, and the caſtle of Beveren, or Broan, towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot: but the Prince of Orange-Naſſau, with count Oxenſtiern, coming up with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, paſs'd ſome defilees, attack'd the enemy in flank, and obliged them to give way. Thoſe who were thus retiring being forced back into the incloſures, in great diſorder; and it growing dark, many battalions, and more ſquadrons flung themſelves out, in a deſperate manner; ſome of them, piercing thro' others, were cut in pieces; others paſs'd thro' unperceived, and again others deſired to capitulate,

Bravery of the Prince of Orange-Naſſau.

The French houſhold retires,

And is drove to deſpair.

During theſe tranſactions, on the left, the duke of Marlborough who, till then, had been the whole time in company with Prince Eugene, viſiting the field of battle, leading on, poſting and ranging the reſpective bodies of troops, but thinking now it would be more advantageous to ſeparate, and direct in different places, arrived there; having left the care of the right to Prince Eugene, who ſhewed great pleaſure and ſatisfaction in leading on the Engliſh troops, whom he ſaw perform wonders; inſomuch that at laſt, the enemy finding themſelves charg'd, and born down on all ſides, by the confederate forces, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving great numbers of priſoners behind them. Their dragoons favor'd their retreat, and to ſave the troops of the houſhold, receiv'd ſeveral diſcharges from the confederate infantry, and were moſt of them either kill'd or taken.

The enemy's army retires, in the utmoſt confuſion.

Their dragoons almoſt all cut off, or taken.

The night coming now on, and the fire being directed ſo many ſeveral ways at once, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from foes, the confederate generals gave poſitive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy eſcape, rather than to venture puting themſelves into diſorder. This put an end to the ſlaughter, and ſaved the remainder of the enemy's army: for had there been but two hours more of day-light, in all probability, their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, would have been intirely cut off, they being ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide.

Night puts an end to the ſlaughter.

During this whole memorable action, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, diſpens'd their orders, with ſo much compoſedneſs of mind, and clearneſs of judgment, as ſeem'd peculiar alone to thoſe two heroes of the age. They expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers, when neceſſity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to come off unhurt: nor did the Electoral Prince of Hanover (now our moſt gracious ſoverein) come far ſhort of their glory, conſidering his youth. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the French King's houſhold, bearing down all that oppos'd his career of glory. Next to him, hiſtory muſt juſtly commemorate the due praiſe of the young Prince of Orange-Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friezland, and father of the Prince of Orange, now ſo nearly allied to the crown of Great-Britain, by his marriage with our illuſtrious Princeſs Ann, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf equally by his martial ardor, bravery and conduct. The brave velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, tho' worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campains, and in a languiſhing condition, exerted his expiring vigor, and was on horſeback at the head of his troops, in the hoteſt of the fire. Count Tilly, the Prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-general Rantzau and Natzmer, major-generals Webb and Cadogan, brigadier Sabine, and in ſhort, all the generals and officers, animated the ſoldiers every where, by their own brave example. Nor were the different troops, of which the confederate army conſiſted, leſs worthy of the greateſt applauſe.

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Juſt encomiums of the confederate generals, officers and troops.

If we may believe ſome of the French writers, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Pretender, had a great ſhare in this battle: but if the Dutch accounts are to be credited, they, or at leaſt the two latter, only beheld the ingagement, from the ſteeple of an adjacent village; and conſulted betimes for their ſafety, by a retreat.

The French indeavored, by their partial relations, to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it; for which they had only one poor pretence, that of having ſaved their baggage, as well they might, ſince they left it behind them, as they did likewiſe their artillery, having only made uſe of four or five pieces of cannon, during the whole action. But the field where the battle was fought, of which the confederates remained maſters, with ſix or 700 of the enemy's officers, and about 6000 (ſome accounts ſay 7000) private ſoldiers, that were taken priſoners, together with ten kettle-drums, and above one hundred ſtandards and colors taken, were all evidences of an indiſputable victory, on the ſide of the great duke of Marlborough, and his companion in glory, Prince Eugene.

The victory indiſputable, on the ſide of the allies.

The enemy retired, under favor of the night, by the road which leads thro' the village of Huyſe, from Oudenarde to Ghent. And no ſooner was the word given for a general retreat, than every one, as well general and other officers as ſoldiers, fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the ingagement the next morning; and impatient for day, to have a true information, how far their victory had extended: but, when morning appear'd, they found they had nothing to do, but to purſue a flying enemy; which they did, tho' to no great purpoſe.

The enemy retreat in the night.

As to the killed and wounded on either ſide, the allies reckoned among the firſt, major-general Berenſdorf, the colonels Adercaſz and Bolzen, count Rantzau, and ſir John Matthews, with captain Dean of the Britiſh guards, and about 800 private men; and among the wounded, lieutenant-general Natzmer, major-generals Gaudecker and Berner, the colonels Groves, Pennyfeather, and four others, 160 other officers, and about 2000 private ſoldiers: which loſs was abundantly repair'd by deſerters and priſoners, Germans, Switzers, and Savoyards, who liſted themſelves voluntarily in the ſervice of the allies. The French indeavored to conceal their loſs with all poſſible induſtry; but that it was infinitely greater than that of the allies, is beyond diſpute. The largeſt account I have ſeen makes their loſs to have been 9800 priſoners (including two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, five brigadiers

Loſs on both ſides.

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brigadiers, about thirty colonels, above 100 officers of the ſtate-major, and 400 ſubalterns) 4200 killed and wounded, 2400 deſerted, together 19400, beſide ten pieces of cannon, fifty-ſix pair of colors, fifty-two ſtandards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and 4500 horſes taken: on the other hand, the loweſt computation I have ſeen on our ſide, amounts together to 14,700 killed, wounded and priſoners, without mentioning deſerters, and the loweſt calculations given by the French themſelves, allows their loſs to have been upwards of 10,000 men.

The French lines level'd.

The confederates, having gained this advantage, level'd the French lines between Ipres and the Lys, and raiſed contributions in Artois and Picardy, and a detachment took poſſeſſion of Lens, which was abandon'd by the French: and to demonſtrate their ſuperiority, as well as to ſhew the contempt they had of the French, as ſoon as they had receiv'd their heavy artillery, they reſolved upon the ſiege of Liſle (1).

The ſiege of Liſle.

Prince Eugene ſat down before this important place, the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. while the duke of Marlborough covered the ſiege with the reſt of the army, and, on the 22d, the trenches were open'd. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, having join'd the duke of Berwick, who was come with a re-inforcement from the Moſel, march'd towards the duke of Marlborough's camp, which they cannonaded for ſeveral days together, whereupon Prince Eugene joined him, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, from the ſiege: but the allies finding the deſign of the French was only to retard the ſiege, the duke of Marlborough intrench'd himſelf, and Prince Eugene returned to Liſle, where the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the French diſputing every inch of ground, with the greateſt obſtinacy. The two warmeſt actions which happen'd at this ſiege, were the attack of the counterſcarp, on the 7th of September, and of the outworks, on the 21ſt, at the former of which the allies had near 2000 officers and men, with ſixteen ingineers, kill'd or wounded, and at the latter, in which Prince Eugene himſelf was wounded in the head, by a muſket-ball, about half the number. The deputies of the States diſcouraged at the great difficulties which attended this ſiege, were for raiſing it; but Prince Eugene ſtrenuouſly perſiſting in the continuance of it, they at length acquieſced, and while the Prince was confined to his tent, by his wound, the duke of Marlborough commanded at the ſiege.

The marſhal de Bouflers having informed the duke of Vendôme, that ammunition begun to be wanting in the town, the duke detach'd the chevalier de Luxembourg, with 2000 horſe and dragoons, each of them carrying a fuſee and a bag with ſixty pound of powder behind him, to indeavor to break thro' the lines of circumvalation, and throw themſelves into Liſle: accordingly having put green boughs in their hats (the ſign whereby the allies diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in an ingagement) they advanced along the cauſway which leads from Douay to Liſle, and meeting with ſome of the out-guards, they pretended to be Germans belonging to the duke of Marlborough's army, who were carrying ſome priſoners to the camp; but an officer being about to examine them more ſtrictly, they rode full gallop along the cauſway, and got into the line of circumvalation. Upon this the guard fired, and the confederate troops, taking the alarm, purſued them to the barrier of the town, where, by ſome accident, ſeveral bags of powder took fire, and about ſixty of the enemy were blown up with their horſes. However 1200 (tho' ſome accounts make them but 300, and others again ſay 1800) of them got into the town (2), and the reſt, by the favor of the night, and the confuſion the beſiegers were in, retired to Douay, except thirty who were blown up by their own powder that was ſcattered on the cauſway, and took fire by their horſes trampling on it. Q. Ann, An' 1708.

The diſtreſs of the beſiegers, for want of ammunition, was not leſs than that of the beſieged, for their communication with Bruſſels was, in a manner, cut off by the duke of Vendôme: the duke of Marlborough therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of geting ſupplies by the way of Oſtend, where a body of Engliſh troops, under the command of general Erle, being lately landed, who had been imploy'd in alarming the coaſt of France, very much favored that deſign: and the duke of Marlborough ſent 700 waggons, under a ſtrong guard to Oſtend, which, with the troops already there, were thought ſufficient to protect the carriages: but the French underſtanding, that the ſucceſs of this ſiege depended on theſe ſupplies, detach'd the count de la Motte, with a great body of horſe and foot, to intercept the convoy: of which the duke of Marlborough having notice, commanded major-general Webb, to march with twelve battalions more, and join the other detachments on the road, whereupon inſued the memorable battle of Wynendale, in which general Webb, and the Engliſh nation, gained immortal honor. Of this battle, I ſhall give the reader an account, as written by major-general Webb himſelf; interſperſing however in parentheſes, and adding, at the concluſion of it, ſuch other circumſtances and obſervations, as I ſhall find elſewhere.

Some reflections on the battle of Wynendale.

Before I proceed to give this account, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Prince of Heſſe, in a letter to the States-general, aſcribes the whole

(1) The city of Liſle, which the confederate generals had reſolved to beſiege, is a large, rich and well fortified place, with a very ſtrong citadel; the capital of French Flanders, the ſtaple of all the trade between the Netherlands and France, and, next to Paris, was reckon'd the chief place of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's dominions. It is ſituate among pools and marſhes, about fifteen miles Weſt of Tournay, twenty-eight North of Douay, thirty-ſix South-Weſt of Ghent, thirty-ſeven South-Eaſt of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight almoſt Weſt of Mons. The merchants of that place were of conſiderable ſervice to the grand Monarch, and a great annoyance to his enemies, eſpecially the maritime powers, as they were the principal owners of the Dunkirk privateers, which, without their aſſiſtance, could not have been fited out in near ſo great numbers. As they were rich, they generally ſupplied the wants of the French King's armies, and the cuſtoms they paid him were a conſiderable part of his revenue. Liſle was the firſt and faireſt of all Lewis XIV conqueſts, and one of the principal keys of France; and as his Majeſty always expreſs'd a more than ordinary value for this place, the famous ingineer, monſieur de Vauban, had exerted his utmoſt ſkill in the fortifications of it, and, at an immenſe charge, rendered it almoſt impregnable. The reduction of a place every way ſo important, could not but redound very much to the honor as well as the advantage of the confederates: and, on the other hand, this great importance of it made the French uſe all humane means for its preſervation. Beſide the preſence of the marſhal de Bouflers, governor of all French Flanders, the lieutenant-generals de Surville, Lee, and other officers of diſtinction, they threw into the place twenty-one battalions, of the beſt troops of France, beſide ſix ſquadrons of dragoons, 140 horſe, and ſeven or 800 invalids, who were yet in a condition to ſerve; a little army rather than a garriſon. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 303.

(2) The marquis de Quincy, in his account of this action, makes the number of troops, which enter'd the town, to have been, as F. Daniel ſays, 1800, but adds, that they carried into the place with them, 80,000 l. of powder, and 1200 muſkets. Be this as it will, the attempt was bold, and well conducted; and the chevalier de Luxembourg was rewarded for it, by the French King, with the imploy of lieutenant-general.

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honor of this glorious action to major-general Cadogan, without ſo much as mentioning major-general Webb; and the London-gazet, of the 20th and 23d of September, O. S. by wrong information, has the ſame miſtake. This induced major-general Webb to come over to England, to ſet this matter in a true light; and, the 6th of October, he had the honor to preſent to her Majeſty the relation I am now about to give, which was afterwards publiſh'd, by authority, in the Gazet. Reflections were, on this account, caſt on a great man, who was eſteem'd a friend and patron of major-general Cadogan, as if done deſignedly to advance his glory and reputation, by eclipſing that of his competitor; but this report ſeems to have been more the effect of malice and envy, than grounded on any reaſonable foundation. Wynendale, which gave name to this remarkable action, is an inconſiderable place in Spaniſh Flanders, adjoining to a wood, call'd the wood of Wynendale, hardly worthy of notice, but on account of this memorable battle. It is eleven miles South-weſt of Bruges, and twenty-eight North of Liſle.

An account of the battle and victory.

"After that the detachments, which were ſent "to cover the march of the waggons from Oſtend "to the ſiege of Liſle, had joined at Turout, the "27th of September, general Webb (who, as "eldeſt major-general, commanded in chief) re-"ceived advice, that major Savory, of the regi-"ment of Gethem, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the "poſt at Oudenburg; whereupon he ſent 600 "grenadiers, under the command of colonel Preſ-"ton, a battalion of Orkney's, under the com-"mand of colonel Hamilton, with that of Fune, "commanded by colonel Vogt, the whole under "the command of brigadier Landſberg, to re-"inforce that poſt. The 28th, at eight in the "morning, all the horſe (under the command of "major-general Cadogan) were ordered to Ho-"glede, to wait the arrival of the convoy there, "except 150 horſe, which were ſent, the night "before, under the command of count Lottum, "to Oudenburg, to carry orders to the two batta-"lions, and 600 grenadiers, to guard the convoy "to Cocklaer, and afterwards to rejoin the foot "at Turout. About noon, count Lottum re-"turned to Turout, with advice, that, in his way "to Ichtegem, he met with an advanced guard "of the enemy, which he puſhed into the plain, "where he obſerved ſixteen ſquadrons, mounting "in great haſte, on the alarm, which their ad-"vanced guard gave them; hereupon he thought "it neceſſary to return, in all haſte, to give the "general an account of it.

"On this advice, all the foot, conſiſting of "twenty-two battalions, count Lottum, with his "150 horſe, making the advanced guard, with "the quarter-maſters, and grenadiers that were "not detach'd, were ordered to march immediate-"ly to gain the village of Ichtegem, by the way "of Wynendale. As ſoon as the advanced guard "got to Wynendale, they perceived the enemy in "the opening of the plain; whereupon the quar-"ter-maſters and grenadiers were drawn up in "order of battle. Major-general Webb, and "count Naſſau-Woudenburg, at the head of the "150 horſe, advanced, to reconnoitre the enemy, "giving orders, at the ſame time, to the foot, to "advance and form themſelves, as faſt as poſſible, "in the plain. The 150 horſe were left, at the "opening of the plain, under the command of "count Lottum, to amuſe the enemy; and to "imbarraſs them the more, the quarter-maſters "and grenadiers were poſted in a low coppice, on "that ſide of the plain where the enemy were ex-"pected to paſs.

"As ſoon as our troops paſs'd out of the de-"filee, into the plain, major-general Webb drew "them up in battle, poſting them in the opening, "between the wood of Wynendale, and the cop-"pice, on the other ſide, where the quarter-"maſters and grenadiers were poſted. We had "ſcarce got ſix battalions into the opening, when "the enemy began to cannonade us with forty "pieces of cannon, whereof ten were of three "bores." (A relation printed at the Hague, by the printer in ordinary to the States, from which monſ. Rouſſet has likewiſe copied, ſays only nineteen pieces; nine whereof were of a triple bore) "But notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, "the 150 horſe kept their ground, which pro-"duced the deſired effect, in giving the general "time to form his foot in two lines. The left "wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as "well to prevent the enemy from paſſing that "way, as to cover our flank. On our right "flank was poſted, in the wood of Wynendale, "the regiment of Heukelum; and, on our flank, "on the left, the regiment of the hereditary Prince "of Pruſſia, commanded by colonel Rhader, with "orders not to diſcover themſelves, nor fire, till "they could take the enemy in flank. Some pla-"toons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces "upon the right and left, with the ſame orders; "and the quarter-maſters were alſo poſted in a "road, on the left, that croſſed thro' the afore-"mention'd low coppice.

"The enemy, after three hours cannonading, "advanced towards us, on the plain, in twelve "lines, ſix whereof were foot, and ſix horſe." (The Hague relation, which I have mentioned above, ſays only four lines of foot, and as many of horſe) "Count Lottum was hereupon ordered "to retire, and poſt himſelf 300 paces behind the "foot, which he did in very good order. The "French continued to march ſtrait up to us, with "forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons (the Hague "relation ſays only forty-eight ſquadrons) but "the general perceiving they extended themſelves "to the right, in the coppice, he ſent count "Naſſau to obſerve their motion, who imme-"diately ordered thither the regiment of Grum-"kau, commanded by colonel Beſchefer; and "brigadier Eltz being come up with the laſt regi-"ment, was poſted, on the right, in the wood "of Wynendale.

"About half a quarter of an hour before the in-"gagement began, brigadier Landſberg, with the "two battalions, and 600 grenadiers that had "been detached, having advice that the enemy "advanced to attack us, rejoined us juſt time "enough to form a third line. Some minutes "after, the enemy began the attack, marching "within 150 paces (the Hague relation ſays fif-"teen) of our flank, on the right, where the "battalions who hid themſelves (another account "ſays they lay flat on the ground) according to "the general's order, and who were not to fire "till the French flank came oppoſite to them, "gave them ſuch a warm welcome, that their left "wing gave into their center; and the regiment "of the hereditary Prince, which was poſted on "the flank, on our left, much about the ſame "diſtance, did not miſs the opportunity of their "diſorder, to give them a very vigorous diſ-"charge, which put their whole line in con-"fuſion. Nevertheleſs, the enemy puſh'd on, and "put two of our battalions in diſorder; but the "Swiſs regiment of Albemarle, under the com-"mand of colonel Hertzell, advancing upon their "horſe, that were indeavoring to penetrate, in-"gaged them long enough to give time to the "general, and count Naſſau, to bring up the regi-"ments of Bernſdorf, Gauvain, and Lindeboom (the

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(the Hague relation does not mention Gauvain's regiment) "to ſupply the room of thoſe that "were preſs'd, which was done in a moment. "However, the enemy, ſupported by ſo many "lines, made another attempt to penetrate; but "our battalions rather advanced than gave way; "tho' the general gave orders againſt advancing, "fearing leſt that might render the fire of our "flanks uſeleſs. This precaution had all the de-"ſir'd ſucceſs; the regiments and grenadiers ma-"king ſuch a continual fire, as forced their two "wings upon their center, and obliged the whole "to retire in the greateſt confuſion, notwithſtand-"ing all the efforts their officers could make, by "incouragement, or violence, to keep them up; "ſo that they only fired, at a great diſtance, on "our lines, which ours returned, advancing by "platoons, as at their exerciſe, with all the order "imaginable.

"Major-general Cadogan, who came up ſome "time after the action began, offered to charge "the enemy, in their diſorder, with two ſqua-"drons of horſe, the other four, which he had "ſent for, not being arrived till near ſeven at "night; but it was not thought adviſable to ex-"poſe ſo ſmall a number to charge the enemy, "who had brought up all their horſe to favor "their retreat. The battle laſted two hours, and "was very hot, in which we had 912 officers and "ſoldiers kill'd or wounded." (According to a liſt ſent to the States-general, the allies had three colonels, and two lieutenant-colonels, wounded; two majors killed, and one wounded; four captains killed, and eighteen wounded; four lieutenants killed, and thirty-eight wounded; 111 private men killed, and 680 wounded) "The ene-"my, as we were aſſured by letters from Ghent "and Bruges, and by report of priſoners and "deſerters, loſt between ſix and 7000 men (the "Hague account ſays only three or 4000) They "made their retreat in ſo great confuſion, that "they left moſt of their cannon in a wood, which "they did not carry off till next day at eleven "o'clock, after hearing that our convoy were "paſs'd Rouſſelaer. We remained on the field of "battle till two o'clock the next morning, having "firſt carried off all our wounded, and ſeveral of "the enemy. This victory is the more ſurprizing, "that, by reaſon of ſeveral detachments, we had "not above 6000 men in the action, and the "enemy, by their own accounts, had 24,000." (The Hague account ſays between ſix and 7000, and the enemy between twenty-three and 24,000.)

The French and Spaniards lay the blame on each other.

The Spaniſh troops were the greateſt ſufferers in this action; and they made terrible complaints of the French, who form'd the left wing of the enemy's detachment, for not having ſupported them, as they might, or ought to have done; but the French, on their ſide, were as forward in complaining of the Spaniards, and laid the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize on their want of courage and conduct.

The marquis de Quincy; who allows the French detachment to have been far ſuperior to that of the allies, and gives general Webb the honor of the victory, pretends this misfortune was owing to the orders given by monſ. de la Motte not having been duly executed: and leſſens the number of the kill'd and wounded, on their ſide, to about 2500 men. But even this account, partial as it is, does great honor to our brave Britiſh officers, and the troops under their command.

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Major-general Webb's juſt praiſe.

Notwithſtanding this great ſuperiority of the enemy, major-general Webb made this bold and noble ſtand with ſo much preſence of mind, poſted his men ſo advantageouſly, aſk'd the advice of the officers under him with ſuch modeſty (a rare and commendable virtue in ſo young a commander!) and ſuſtained the enemy's repeated efforts with ſo much bravery, reſolution and conduct, as will tend to his immortal honor: and as this critical victory, which prevented the raiſing of the ſiege of Liſle, was owing chiefly to his prudent management, and other military abilities; ſo that eminent ſervice was afterwards deſervedly acknowledg'd, not only by the unanimous thanks of the commons of Great-Britain, but alſo, in a diſtinguiſhing manner, by the King of Pruſſia, who beſtowed upon him the Order of Generoſity. To give this brave and prudent commander the honor juſtly due to him; tho' he could not venture, being ſo inferior in number, to leave the advantageous ground he was in, to purſue the enemy, which, in the conſternation they were in, might probably have ended in the total deſtruction of their whole detachment; yet ſo unequal an action, and ſo ſhameful a flight of the enemy, with ſuch a conſiderable loſs, was look'd upon as one of the moſt extraordinary things which had happened during the whole war.

His eminent ſervice publicly acknowledg'd.

The convoy under his command arrives ſafe in the army.

While major-general Webb ingaged the enemy, with ſo unequal a force, at Wynendale, the convoy march'd on undiſturb'd, arrived that night, in ſafety, at Rouſſelaer, the next day at Menin, and, on the laſt of September, N. S. paſs'd thro' the duke of Marlborough's army (which, the day before, moved from Lanoy to Roncq, with the right at Pont à Marque, and the left at Menin) in its way to the camp before Liſle.

The duke of Vendôme being convinced of what importance it was to cut off the communication of the beſiegers with Oſtend, marched himſelf towards Bruges, with a ſtrong detachment, and cauſed the dykes to be cut, and laid the country under water; inſomuch that it was with infinite hazard and difficulty, that the allies brought over their ammunition afterwards in boats, to the places where the waggons waited to carry it to the camp: but the allies having ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, on the 23d of October N. S. the town of Liſle ſurrendered upon articles, and, on the 25th, the garriſon march'd into the caſtle (1). Some days before, the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, very much lamented by every one; by whoſe death, the command of the Dutch troops fell proviſionally on the count de Tilly.

Liſle ſurrender'd.

A fruitleſs attempt on Bruſſels.

The caſtle of Liſle ſtill continued to make a vigorous defenſe, and, while the allies lay before it, the Elector of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Bruſſels, which he had very near executed: but the duke of Marlborough march'd himſelf to its relief, with the army (2). The 8th of December,

(1) Many cauſes were aſſigned for the length of this ſiege, beſide the ſtrength of the place, and the brave reſiſtance of the gariſon. Much blame was laid on the conduct of ſome of the chief ingineers, which fell very ſhort of what had been experienced in Cohorn. It was ſuſpected that there was treachery among ſome of the officers of the allies. It was openly ſaid, that the city was attack'd in the very ſtrongeſt part of it. It was aſſured, that the beſieged had always intelligence of the time and place, when and where any attack was to be made; becauſe they were always found in a perfect good poſture of defenſe. It was even affirm'd, that the fire of the beſieged was more ready and more violent, than that of the beſiegers; and that many of the bombs of the latter had but very little effect; becauſe they frequently went quite over the town; and that in attacks, the beſieged were ſo prepar'd for their defenſe, that they fired upon the aſſailants, from ſeveral places, and made them indure a greater fire, than was that from without. Le Clerc Hiſt. des Prov. Unies.

(2) Biſhop Burnet mentions upon this occaſion a ſtratagem of the duke of Marlborough's, which, tho' I do not find it mentioned elſewhere, I ſhall relate, as it perfectly anſwers the character of our great commander. "The duke of Marlborough (ſays

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ber, N. S. the citadel of Liſle beat a parley, and the 10th, the marſhal Bouflers marched out with the gariſon, with the uſual marks of honor, and was conducted to Douay.

The citadel of Liſle ſurrender'd.

The 18th, the duke of Marlborough inveſted Ghent, where the count de la Motte commanded, with thirty battalions; the 24th, the trenches were opened, and notwithſtanding the numerous gariſon, the town ſurrender'd the 30th. The 2d of January, the magiſtrates of Bruges came to Ghent to make their ſubmiſſion, and acquainted his grace, that the French march'd out of that place the day before. About the ſame time, they abandon'd Plaſſendael and Leffinghen, and retreated within their own limits.

Ghent taken.

Bruges and other places abandon'd by the French.

Prince Eugene ſet out, the 3d in the morning, for Bruſſels, whither he was follow'd, the next day, by the duke of Marlborough; and having there ſettled the winter quarters, for the confederate troops, the command of which was given to count Tilly, they ſet out together, the 9th of January, from thence for the Hague. Thus theſe two great commanders put an end to their glorious campain, which, for its lengh, and the variety of critical turns, as well as important ſucceſſes of it, is hardly to be parallel'd in hiſtory; and proved as much to the advantage, as well as glory of the confederates, as themſelves cou'd have wiſh'd or deſired.

The duke of Marlborough ends his glorious campain;

And goes to the Hague.

The campain on the upper Rhine was this year inconſiderable, and produced nothing very material, or, at leaſt, nothing that occaſion'd any alteration in the general affairs of Europe; I ſhall therefore paſs them by without any farther notice. In Piedmont, the duke of Savoy obtained ſeveral advantages over the marſhal de Villars, who commanded on that ſide. In Italy, the moſt remarkable incident of this year was the differences between the courts of Rome and Vienna, the Pope having, by his manifeſt partiality for the houſe of Bourbon, ſo far incur'd the indignation of the Emperor, that he was reſolved to curb the haughtineſs and pride of his ſpiritual father. The old gentleman, in the mean time, buoy'd up by the vain promiſes of the French, talked of chaſtizing his rebellious ſon, with temporal as well as ſpiritual ſcourges, and began to raiſe an army for that purpoſe: but count Thaun having invaded the Papal territories; and the Holy-father being apprehenſive of a bombardment at Civita Vecchia, from the Engliſh fleet, his ſtomach came down.

Campain on the Rhine.

And in Italy.

I have reſerved my account of the maritime tranſactions of this year to the laſt, in order to combine them with thoſe of Spain. Sir John Leake ſet ſail from England, with the fleet under his command, the begining of March, and arrived the 27th at Liſbon, where he found a ſquadron under commadore Hicks. Having there provided what tranſports he could get, he ſet ſail the next day, with the Dutch vice-admiral Waſenaer, from thence for the Streights. His fleet then conſiſted of one ſecond-rate, twelve third-rates, two fourth-rates, a fire-ſhip and ſome bomb-veſſels, together, with as many tranſports as would carry 1500 horſes, and twelve Dutch ſhips of the line; having firſt appointed cruizers off of the Terceras and Streights mouth, and ordered thoſe ſhips which were not ready, to follow him.

Maritime Affairs,

Sir John Leake ſent to the Mediteranean.

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The 11th of May, being on the coaſt of Catalonia, he had the good fortune to intercept a French convoy of about ninety Sattees and Tartanes, bound with wheat, oil, and barley to Peniſcola, for the uſe of the enemy's army, of which he took about ſeventy, and ſo diſpers'd the reſt, that few arrived at their port. King Charles having received this welcome news, ſent a felucca with letters to the Britiſh and Dutch admirals, congratulating their arrival and ſucceſs, and deſiring that the corn and other proviſions might be diſpoſed of for his Magazines, which was granted. The 15th, in the morning, the fleet came to an anchor before Barcelona, where they found four more of her majeſty's ſhips. The admirals going on ſhoar, were received with great marks of eſteem by his Catholic Majeſty.

Takes a large convoy of proviſions.

Arrives at Barcelona;

King Charles having lately married the Princeſs of Wolfembuttel, by proxy, and ſhe being arrived at Milan, in her way to Barcelona, ſir John Leake was appointed, as well to convoy that Princeſs, as to bring the troops from Italy, which were to reinforce the army in Spain. To this end, the fleet ſail'd again, from Barcelona, the 19th, and arrived the 28th off of Vado.

And Vado.

The 17th of June, ſir John Leake having left his fleet at Vado, to take in the troops, arrived at Milan, where he was received with all poſſible marks of eſteem by her Catholic Majeſty, who, at his preſſing inſtances, ſet out the 24th; and, the 2d of July, imbarking on board the Albemarle, near Genoa, for Catalonia, arrived at Mataro, near Barcelona, the 14th. The Queen landed the next day, received the firſt viſit from King Charles, the 17th, and, the 21ſt, having made her public entry into Barcelona, the marriage was the ſame day ratified, in the church of St. Mary, by the archbiſhop of Terragona.

Convoys the Queen of Spain to Barcelona.

Admiral Leake having concerted matters at Barcelona for the reduction of the iſland and kingdom of Sardinia, and, for that purpoſe, taken a few troops on board the fleet, commanded by the conde de Cifuentes, arrived before Cagliari, the capital of the iſland, the 1ſt of Auguſt, which, with the whole iſland, ſoon ſubmited to the Conde, who had been declared viceroy for King Charles.

Subdues the Iſland of Sardinia;

Sir John, with the aſſiſtance of lieutenant-general Stanhope, was no leſs ſucceſsful in the reduction of the iſland of Minorca. He left Cagliari, the 18th of Auguſt, and arrived before Port-mahon the 25th; from whence he ſent two third-rates to Majorca, to haſten the imbarkation of the troops which were to be furniſh'd from that iſland. They returned the 1ſt of September, with a ſmall number of Satties, laden with materials of war, for the army; and, the 3d, the Milford, and three Dutch men of war, with the lieutenant-general, arrived, being followed by five third-rates and fifteen tranſports, with the land-forces. That and the following day the troops were all landed; upon which the

And Minorca.

" (ſays he) hearing of the Elector of Bavaria's deſign to attack Bruſſels, made a ſudden motion towards the Scheld; but, to " deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he deſign'd to march towards Ghent, and this was not only believed by the whole " army, but was probably carried to the enemy; for they ſeem'd to have no notice nor apprehenſion of his deſign on the Scheld. And what the biſhop adds, is no leſs remarkable: " The lines (ſays he) were ſo ſtrong, that it was expected, the breaking " thro' them muſt have been a very hot action. Some of the general officers (continues he) told me, that they reckoned it " would have coſt them 10,000 men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſs'd the river, the French ran away, without " offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Their conduct was a ſurprize to all the world: their counſels ſeem'd to be weak, and the " execution of them was worſe; ſo that they, who were ſo long the terror, were now become the ſcorn of nations." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 510.

The Elector of Bavaria was inraged at this diſapointment, and complained loudly of the court of France, which, he ſaid, ſacrificed him in the midſt of his enterprize,, when they might have ſupported him, by puting a ſtop to Prince Eugene's and the duke of Marlborough's paſſage over the Scheld: and he had the more reaſon to be diſſatisfied, if, as the marquis de Quincy ſays, he was put upon this enterprize, by the French, againſt his will: Memoires du Prince Eugene, Tom. II.

inhabitants

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inhabitants declared for King Charles: but the enemy had yet three ſtrong holds in their hands.

Sir John returns to England.

It being ſoon after reſolved, in a council of war, that ſir John Leake, with part of the fleet, after they had landed what was neceſſary for the ſiege, ſhould return to England, he ſet ſail the 6th, leaving ſir Edward Whitaker, with his ſquadron, before Port-mahon. Being informed, off of Gibraltar, that ſome French men of war from Cadiz had taken ſome of our merchant-men, near cape Spartel, and carried them into that port, he left a ſquadron to cruiſe in that ſtation, and, purſuing his voyage, arrived at St. Helens the 19th of October.

Port-mahon taken.

Sir John Leake being departed, ſir Edward Whitaker made preparation for attacking the caſtles of Port-mahon: but while the artillery and all things neceſſary were puting on ſhoar, he ordered captain Butler, in the Dunkirk, and captain Fairborn, in the Centurion, to go and batter fort Fornelle, that the tranſports might ſafely ride in the harbor of that name. They anchored before it the 9th; and, after ſome reſiſtance, obliged the gariſon, of about fifty men, to ſurrender priſoners of war. They found in the harbor a Tartan laden from Marſeilles, and a good quantity of corn. The 11th, at the ſight of a detachment of our troops, and two of our men of war, the gariſon of Ciutedella, conſiſting of 100 French-men and 100 Spaniards, ſurrender'd likewiſe. The 17th, they began to play from their batteries on the two middlemoſt towers, and the line they ſupported; and having beat down the former, and made ſome breaches in the latter, they attacked and took the lines by ſtorm, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire from the three forts, with the loſs only of captain Stanhope, of the Milford-galley, the general's brother, and about forty men kill'd and wounded. The enemy beat a parley, the next morning, and the capitulation being agreed to, the general took poſſeſſion of this important place the 19th (1).

Campain in Spain and Portugal.

Port-mahon being thus reduced, we ſhall leave ſir Edward Whitaker, with the ſquadron under his command, continuing his ſervices for his Catholic Majeſty; who however was not very fortunate in his affairs on land. The duke of Orleans preſs'd the allies in Catalonia, and beſieged Tortoſa, which ſurrender'd the 11th of July, as did, afterwards, the towns of Denia and Alicant in Valencia. Count Stahremberg had indeed been ſent from Italy to Catalonia, with a ſmall re-inforcement of troops, the begining of the year, which inabled him to ſave the remainder of Catalonia; but he was not in a condition to act offenſively till the latter end of it; for the marquis das Minas, the Portugueſe general, and the earl of Galway, with the Portugueſe forces in Catalonia, had been tranſported from thence to Portugal, to defend that kingdom, which was now become neceſſary: the troops, which were afterwards tranſported from Italy to Catalonia, might indeed have inabled the allies to act offenſively there, in the autumn-campain, the forein troops being commanded by count Stahremberg, and the national troops by general Stanhope; but his Catholic Majeſty was ſo taken up with the ſolemnity of his wedding, and the feſtivals which inſued, that there was no farther action in Catalonia this campain.

Succeſs of commadore Wager in the Weſt-Indies.

Before I return to England, I muſt not omit mentioning a glorious action perform'd this ſummer by commadore (now ſir Charles) Wager, who had the good fortune to meet with the Spaniſh gallions off of Carthagena: but tho' he did all that could be expected from a brave and ſkilful commander, being ill ſeconded by captain Bridges in the Kingſton, and captain Windſor in the Portland, moſt of them eſcaped. However, the Spaniſh admiral, which was the richeſt among them, computed to be worth three millions of pieces of eight, blew up, while the commadore was ingaged with him. He was ſo fortunate afterwards to take the rear-admiral with a conſiderable booty; and tho', by the neglect of thoſe two commanders, a much greater eſcap'd, yet the loſs ſuſtain'd by the Spaniards, in this action, as well as the benefit and honor which accrued thereby to the nation, was very great.

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Promotions at court.

Having thus given an account of the principal occurrences abroad, I ſhall now take notice of ſome few which happen'd, in the mean time, at home. In the begining of October, the earl of Cholmondley was appointed treaſurer of the houſhold, in the room of the earl of Bradford, deceaſed, and ſir Thomas Felton was made comptroler of the houſhold; ſir James Montague was made attorny-general, in the room of ſir Edward Northey, and Roberty Eyres, eſq; was made ſollicitor-general.

Death of Prince George.

The ſame month, his royal highneſs Prince George of Denmark, having been long afflicted with an aſthma, was taken very ill; his aſthma increaſed, and was attended with a cough, a ſpitting of blood and a coma or ſleepineſs, which, being followed by convulſions, ended his life the 28th, to the unſpeakable grief of her Majeſty and the whole nation. The Queen conſtantly attended her royal conſort in his laſt illneſs, and they were allowed to have been the moſt illuſtrious inſtance of conjugal affection that ever adorn'd a court. His corpſe was brought from the palace of Kenſington, where he died, on the 11th of November, and laid in ſtate, in the Painted-chamber, till the 13th, when it was privately interr'd in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Other promotions at court.

The 25th of the ſame month, the earl of Pembroke was conſtituted lord-high admiral; the lord Sommers, preſident of the council; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the earl of Dorſet, conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports.

The new parliament meets.

The 16th, being the day appointed for the meeting of the new parliament, purſuant to the laſt prorogation, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint commiſſioners to repreſent her perſon: accordingly the lord-chancellor Cowper, in the name of the commiſſion, after the ſpeaker (ſir Richard Onſlow) was choſen and preſented, open'd the parliament, with the following ſpeech, on the 18th:

My lords and gentlemen,

The lord chancellor's ſpeech.

" In purſuance of the authority given us by her " Majeſty's commiſſion, under the great ſeal, a- " mong other things, to declare the cauſes of her " Majeſty's calling this parliament;

" We are, by her Majeſty's command, in the " firſt place, to obſerve to you, that the extra- " ordinary length of this year's campain hath " obliged her Majeſty to defer your meeting longer " than otherwiſe ſhe would have done, that you " might be inform'd, with the greater certainty, " of the ſtate and poſture of the war, in order to " take your reſolutions for the inſuing year.

" This neceſſary delay has now ſo far ſhewn us " the ſucceſs of affairs abroad, as that, whether " you conſider the places acquired by the allies,

(1) In the caſtles and forts they found about 100 pieces of cannon, 3000 barrels of powder, and all things neceſſary for a good defence. The gariſon, conſiſting of about 1000 men, half French, half Spaniards, were to be tranſported to their reſpective countries; but the former were detained by way of reprizals for the gariſon of Xativa, treated by the French in the ſame manner. Thus we became poſſeſs'd of Port-mahon, the advantage of which to our fleets, when in the Mediterranean, we have ſufficiently experimented, and ſhall do more, ſhould the happy peace we have ſo long injoyed, ever be turned into a war with France and Spain, ſince we are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 832.

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" or the farther and continued proofs, given this " laſt year, of their ſuperior courage and conduct " (which, as to the future part of the war, is " equal to all other advantages) we may, with " thanks to God, and juſtice to thoſe he has been " pleas'd to uſe as inſtruments of this great work, " conclude, that, upon the whole, we are brought " much nearer than we were, the laſt ſeſſion, to " the end of our undertaking this war, the re- " ducing the dangerous power of France, and " ſettling ſuch a peace as may ſecure itſelf from " being violated.

" Her Majeſty therefore commands us to aſſure " you, ſhe has not the leaſt doubt, but that this " parliament will be of the ſame opinion with her " laſt, as to the vigorous proſecution of the war, " and the ends of it; believing it impoſſible the " repreſentatives of the Britiſh nation can indure " to think of loſing the fruits of all our paſt in- " deavors, and the great advantages we have " gain'd (particularly in this preſent year) by ſub- " miting at laſt to an inſecure peace.

" And therefore, ſince probably nothing can " hinder our ſucceſs abroad, for the time to come, " but miſunderſtandings among ourſelves at home, " we have in command to conjure you, by your " duty to God and to her Majeſty, your zeal for " the Proteſtant religion, your love for your " country, and the regard you cannot but have " for the liberty of Europe in general, to avoid " all occaſion of diviſions, which are ever hurtful " to the public; but will more eſpecially be ſo " at this juncture, when the eyes of all our neigh- " bors are upon you, with a very particular con- " cern, and your unanimity and good agreement " will be the greateſt ſatisfaction and incourage- " ment to all our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" You cannot but be convinced, that the ſe- " veral parts of the war, which were provided " for by the laſt parliament, will require your " ſupport, at leaſt, in the ſame degree; but in " Flanders the nature of the war is much alter'd, " by the great advances made there towards en- " tering into France, which has ſo far alarm'd our " enemies, that they are drawing more troops " daily to that ſide, for the defence of their own " country: and therefore her Majeſty hopes you " will have ſo right a ſenſe of our preſent advan- " tages, as to inable her Majeſty to make a con- " ſiderable augmentation for preſerving and im- " proving them; which, by the continuance of " God's bleſſing on our arms, muſt ſoon put a " glorious period to this long and expenſive war.

" As to the condition of the fleet, we have it " in command from her Majeſty to acquaint you, " that the conſtant and remote ſervices, in which " the ſhips have been imployed, have made a " greater ſum requiſite than uſual, as well for the " extraordinary repairs, as the building of new " ſhips: and the taking of Port-mahon, as it has " afforded the means of having a part of the fleet " operate, with more readineſs and effect on the " enemy, or wherever it may be uſeful to the " common cauſe in thoſe parts; ſo the making " ſuch proviſions, at ſo great a diſtance, as will " be proper for that ſervice, muſt of neceſſity " cauſe ſome extraordinary expences. All which, " her Majeſty recommends to your ſerious con- " ſideration, deſiring you to provide timely and " effectual ſupplies for thoſe ends; and likewiſe, " for the carrying on ſuch fortifications, for the " ſecurity of our ports, and extinguiſhing the " enemy's hopes of profiting by diſturbances in " Scotland, as you ſhall think fit.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" The union is eſteem'd by her Majeſty to be " ſo happy and great a part of the ſucceſſes of her " reign, and her Majeſty has ſo much at heart " the confirming and improving it, that ſhe is " pleaſed to command us to remind you of pre- " paring ſuch bills as ſhall be thought conducing " to that end; and particularly to make the laws " of both parts of Great-Britain agree as near as " may be for the common intereſt of both people, " eſpecially as to thoſe laws which relate to cri- " minal caſes and proceedings, and ſettling the " militia on the ſame foot throughout the united " kingdom.

" Her Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed we ſhould " alſo aſſure you, that if you can propoſe any " means for the improvement of our trade or " manufactures, or better imploying of the poor, " her Majeſty will take the greateſt ſatisfaction " in inacting ſuch proviſions, there being nothing " ſhe ſo earneſtly deſires, as that God would bleſs " her with more and more opportunities of doing " all poſſible good to ſo well-deſerving a people, " ſo firm and affectionate to her intereſt.

" And as her Majeſty does not doubt, by " God's bleſſing, and your good affections, to " continue to defeat the deſigns of the Pretender, " and his open and ſecret abettors; ſo her Majeſty " will always indeavor, on her part, to make her " people happy to ſuch a degree, as that none " (except of deſperate fortunes) ſhall enter into " meaſures for the diſturbance of her government, " the Union, or the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law " eſtabliſh'd, without acting, at the ſame time, " manifeſtly againſt their own true and laſting in- " tereſt, as well as their duty."

The 20th, the houſe of peers preſented an addreſs to her Majeſty, in a private manner, by the earl of Dorſet, in which they ſaid; " they could " not forbear condoling her Majeſty, upon the " great loſs ſuſtain'd in the perſon of the Prince, " whoſe eminent virtues muſt render his memory " ever dear to them and the whole kingdom: but " they beged ſhe would moderate her grief, and " take care of her health; upon which the hopes of " her people, and the ſafety of Europe ſo much " depended. Addreſs of the lords.

" They congratulated her Majeſty on the ſucceſs " of the campain, and promiſed her their aſſiſtance " in proſecuting the war; being (they ſaid) con- " vinced, that no peace could be ſafe or honorable " till the whole Monarchy of Spain was reſtored " to the houſe of Auſtria: and as her own ſubjects " made ſuch extraordinary efforts, they deſired ſhe " would preſs her allies, who were more nearly " concerned, to ſhew an equal vigor.

" That they ſhould do every thing, on their " parts, towards perfecting the union; and that " they would ſupport her Majeſty and the Prote- " ſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all pretenders, and all " her enemies."

To this addreſs her Majeſty anſwered: " that " ſhe thanked the houſe of peers very kindly for " their addreſs, as well as for the manner of ſend- " ing it to her on that occaſion." Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The clergy of the province of Canterbury met likewiſe in convocation, but, the 19th, before the divine ſervice and ſermon, which were to precede the choice of a prolocutor, they were unexpectedly prorogued, by the metropolitan, purſuant to the Queen's writ to him directed (1). The convocation meets, but is prorogued.

(1) This ſudden diſmiſſion was generally aſcribed to the late indeavors of the lower-houſe, to withdraw themſelves from the legal and ancient authority of their metropolitan; and to the bold attempts of ſome of their members, who, to maintain their pretended right and privilege of adjourning themſelves, and holding intermediate ſeſſions, invaded her Majeſty's royal ſupremacy.——— It was obſerved, that, inſtead of entertaining the thoughts of peace, ſome time before the new parliament was to meet, great intereſt was uſed in making a party for the chuſing dr. Atterbury prolocutor, which (ſays my author) look'd like a new inſult upon the archbiſhop and biſhops, and an expreſs defiance to them. Boyer's reign of Queen Ann, p. 360.

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The commons having ſpent three or four days in qualifying themſelves by taking and ſubſcribing the oaths, voted two addreſſes to her Majeſty, one of condolance, and the other of congratulation, which, according to her deſire, were preſented the 25th, by ſuch members of that houſe as were of the privy-council, and very graciouſly received.

Addreſſes of the commons.

In their addreſs of condolance, "They bewail'd the loſs her Majeſty and the kingdom had "ſuſtained in the death of the Prince, whoſe tender affection to her Majeſty, and love to this "kingdom, had gained him the hearts of all her "ſubjects. They beſought her Majeſty, not to "indulge her juſt grief, and aſſured her of their firm "reſolution to ſupport her againſt all her enemies."

In their addreſs of congratulation they tell her, "That thoſe ſignal advantages, which had been ſo "wonderfully obtain'd, and ſo vigorouſly proſe-"cuted and improved, were repeated inſtances, "that no difficulties were inſuperable to her great "commanders, and that no force of the enemy "was able to ſtop her victorious arms.

"That they had ſeen ſuch fruits of their former "zeal, that they ſhould never be wanting to give "ſuch ſupplies as might be moſt effectual for re-"ducing the power of the common enemy, and "force him to accept ſuch a peace as her Majeſty "and her allies ſhould think honorable and laſting; "that they would do every thing on their parts, to "improve and ſtrengthen the union, but above all, "it ſhould be their utmoſt care to defend her Ma-"jeſty's perſon, to ſupport her undoubted title to "the crown, to diſappoint the hopes and deſigns "of the Pretender and his abettors, and to main-"tain the Proteſtant ſucceſſion."

Proceedings on the ſupply.

The ſame day, the commons unanimouſly voted a ſupply, and having called for ſeveral accounts and eſtimates, the next day went upon ſome of the ſeveral ſums for the reſpective ſervices of the inſuing year, of which, with what were afterwards voted, at different times, I ſhall here give the reader a liſt, in one view.

	l.	s.	d.
For 40,000 ſeamen, at 4 l. per man, per month	2,080,000	00	00
The ordinary of the navy	120,000	00	00
For 40,000 landmen	901,827	00	00
For 10,000 additional forces	177,511	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of 3000 Palatines	34,251	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of 3,439 Saxons	43,251	00	00
For her Majeſty's proportion of Bothmar's regiment	9,269	00	00
For augmenting the troops that were to act in Flanders with the allies	220,000	00	00
For guards, gariſons, and invalids, including 5000 men to ſerve on board the fleet	549,235	00	00
For the ordnance for land-ſervice	180,000	00	00
For a year's intereſt of unſatisfied debentures	49,310	00	00
For circulating old exchequer bills	3,500	00	00
For maintaining the forces in Spain and Portugal	1,081,083	00	00
For tranſport-ſervice	144,000	00	00
For ſubſidies to the allies	553,845	00	00
For extraordinary ſervices already incur'd	310,748	00	00
In all	6,457,830	00	00

To raiſe theſe ſums they gave, at ſeveral times, the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and 2,500,000 l. by exchequer-bills: for the bank of England propoſed to add 400,000 l. upon the old fund granted to them, and upon condition of their being continued a corporation for twenty-one years longer, they propoſed to receive ſubſcriptions for doubling their ſtock, to inable them to circulate 2,500,000 l. in exchequer-bills; praying that a fund be appointed for paying off and cancelling the ſaid bills, in ſome certain time; and that a fund be granted for paying 150,000 l. yearly, being the intereſt for the ſaid ſum, at ſix pound per cent, with ſome other conditions relating to the iſſuing the ſaid bills: which propoſal was received by the parliament, and inacted accordingly.

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Ways and means.

The 3d of December, the queſtion being put in the houſe of commons, "That the eldeſt ſons "of the peers of Scotland were capable, by the "laws of Scotland, at the time of the union, to "elect, or be elected as commiſſioners of ſhires or "burghs to the parliament of Scotland; and there-"fore, by the treaty of union, were capable to "elect, or be elected, to repreſent any ſhire or "burgh of Scotland, to ſit in the houſe of com-"mons of Great-Britain? It paſs'd in the nega-"tive."

Votes againſt the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland.

The 23d, the Queen having granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal for paſſing the royal aſſent to a "bill for granting an aid to her Majeſty, "to be raiſed by a land-tax in Great-Britain, for "the ſervice of the year 1709," the lords-commiſſioners gave the royal aſſent to that bill accordingly, after which, both houſes adjourned to the 10th of January. Before they adjourned, they had agreed on an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame afternoon, by the lord-chancellor, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. In this addreſs, "They congratulated her ſucceſs in "the reduction of Ghent, the laſt great effort of "this glorious year, which (they ſaid) would be "ever famous in hiſtory; as well for the intire "diſappointment of all the attempts and hopes of "her enemies, as for the many wonderful ſucceſſes "with which GOD had bleſs'd her arms. That "the unuſual length of the campain, the variety "of events, and the difficulty and importance of "the actions, had given many opportunities to her "Majeſty's general, the duke of Marlborough, "to ſhew his conſummate ability, and all the great "qualities neceſſary for ſo high a truſt."

Land-tax act paſs'd.

Addreſs of both houſes on the reducing of Ghent.

The 30th, the Queen ſign'd proclamations for a public thankſgiving, on the 17th of February, throughout the whole united kingdom.

Proclamations for a thankſgiving.

AN' 1709.

Two days after the meeting of the parliament again, viz. the 12th of January, a complaint was made to the houſe of a printed pamphlet, intitled; "Of the ſacramental teſt; to a member of this "parliament, who was for the occaſional bill in "the former, when that bill was on foot, &c." and the ſame being delivered in at the table, where the title and ſeveral paragraphs were read, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "that the ſaid pamphlet "was a ſcandalous and malicious libel, and tended "to create miſunderſtandings among her Majeſty's "ſubjects:" ordered, "that the ſaid libel be burnt "by the hands of the common hangman, and a "committee was appointed to examine, who was the "author and printer of the ſaid libel."

A printed pamphlet cenſured.

The ſame day, the houſe of peers, having ſummon'd their members to attend, took into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, in reſpect to the late intended invaſion of Scotland. The lord Haverſham open'd the debate with a long ſpeech; which he concluded by moving; "That her Majeſty "will pleaſe to order, that there may be laid be-"fore this houſe, at what time her Majeſty "received

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech concerning the invaſion.

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" received the first account of the intended invasion? What orders were thereupon issued into Scotland, with relation either to the forces or garisons? What was the number of regular troops there, at the time of this intelligence? What was the state of the garisons there at that time? What augmentation was made, or forces sent thither, from the time of the intelligence to the time of the invasion? What orders had been given with relation to the garisons, and when, both before and since the invasion, from the time of the first intelligence?"

Papers relating thereunto call'd for.

The lord Haversham having ended his speech, several other peers spoke, tho' with more temper, on the same subject. The house, hereupon appointed a commitee to inquire into the state of the nation, with respect to the intended invasion; and ordered an address to be presented to her Majesty, to desire that the papers concerning that affair might be laid before them, which was readily complied with.

The 22d, the house of commons resolved to address the Queen, for a "list of the ships of war "which were imploy'd upon account of the late "intended invasion, under the command of vice-"admiral Byng and rear-admiral Baker; and of "the names of the captains who were imployed in "that expedition, and what journals had been de-"liver'd in relation to the same. As also for such "treaties or agreements as had been made, in re-"lation to contributions:" which papers were accordingly laid before the house.

The commons vote their solemn thanks to the duke of Marlborough.

The same day likewise they unanimously resolved, "That the commons of Great-Britain, "being truly sensible, not only of the great and "eminent services, perform'd by his grace, the "duke of Marlborough, the last successful cam-"pain, so much to the honor of Great-Britain, "and the advantage of all Europe, but also the in-"defatigable zeal he persevered in, for the service "of the common cause abroad, while he might "with reason, expect to be receiv'd with all the "marks of honor and satisfaction at home, did "with a just regard to his glorious actions, return "him the thanks of the house." And order'd their speaker to transmit the same to his grace; which being done accordingly, the duke of Marlborough was pleased to return the following answer:

Brussels, February 13, 1709.

Sir,

His grace's answer.

"I am extreamly sensible of the great honor "which the house of commons have done me, in "the vote you have been pleased to transmit to "me by their order; nothing can give me more "satisfaction than to find the services I indeavor "to do the Queen, and my country, so acceptable "to the house of commons: and I beg the favor "of you to assure them, I shall never think any "pains or perseverance too great, if I may (by "God's blessing) be instrumental in procuring a "safe and honorable peace for her Majesty, and "my fellow-subjects. I am with truth,

SIR,

Your most faithful
Humble Servant,
Marlborough.

The parliament address her Majesty to marry again.

An order having been made, on the 13th of January, by the privy-council, pursuant to her Majesty's pleasure to them signified, "That in the "form of prayer, with thanksgiving, to be used "every year, on the 8th of March, the words, "for making her a happy mother of children, &c. "be left out;" this occasion'd an address from both houses; "That she would not indulge "her just grief, so much as to decline the thoughts "of a second marriage;" she thank'd them for the frequent marks they gave her of their duty and affection; and said, "the provision she "had made for the Protestant succession would be "always a proof how much she had at heart "the future happiness of the kingdom: but the "subject of that address was of such a nature, "that she was persuaded they did not expect a "particular answer."

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Acts pass'd.

The 26th of January, the lords-commissioners gave the royal assent to the "act for the speedy "and effectual recruiting of the land-forces and "marines."

The 17th of February, the thanksgiving was observed with the usual solemnities; and the 24th, the lords-commissioners, impower'd by the Queen for that purpose, gave the royal assent to the malt-bill, and some private acts. The 25th, the lord Haversham again made a long and memorable speech, concerning the Scotish invasion, and the ill-state that part of Great-Britain was then in, to resist the attempts of the enemy, concluding with the following words:

Part of lord Haversham's speech.

"I will not trouble you farther: I think this "matter is now very plain before your lordships; "I could wish I had not said one word of truth, in "what I have said to you: but the vouchers shew "it to be so; and if all this be true, it is a very "strange, a very surprizing, and a very astonishing "truth.

"I shall not move any thing to your lordships "farther in this matter: I believe there has been "enough now said, to justify those lords for "moving this inquiry, and shall add but this "word; that if there be no greater care taken "for the future, than there was at this time, of "such imminent danger, it will be the greatest "miracle in the world, if without a miracle, "the Pretender be not placed on the throne."

Debates on this matter.

The duke of Buckingham, and several other peers, spoke to the same purpose, and some observations were made upon the papers communicated by the ministry, at the desire of their lordships: upon which it was ordered, that this important affair should be considered in a full house. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, their lordships debated the dangers to which this kingdom had been exposed, by the Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, with French forces; and, thereupon resolved to address her Majesty: "That she would "be pleas'd to cause an account to be laid before "them of the stores, garisons and fortifications, in "that part of the united kingdom; as also of its "revenues since the union, and of the distribution "of the equivalent mony."

The duke of Marlborough arrives in England.

The same day, the duke of Marlborough, who had staid longer than usual in Holland, on account of some negociations for a peace, which had been set on foot privately, arrived at London. The house of lords being then siting, and it being generally believed, that he brought over with him propolals made by the enemy for a peace, which the miseries and necessity of France seem'd to drive them to; the lord Sommers, president of her Majesty's council, moved for an address to be made to the Queen, "That her Majesty would be pleas'd "to take care, at the conclusion of the war, that "the French King might be oblig'd to own her "Majesty's title, and the Protestant succession; "that her Majesty's allies might be guarantees of "the same; and that the Pretender might be re-"moved out of the French dominions:" this motion was unanimously approved of, and a commitee thereupon appointed to draw up the address. This done their lordships ordered the lord-chancellor to return the thanks of their house to his grace the the duke of Marlborough, for the eminent services performed by his grace, the last campain.

Accordingly,

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Thanks of the houſe of peers return'd to the duke of Marlborough.

Accordingly, his grace having the next day taken his ſeat in the houſe of peers, the lord chancellor return'd him the thanks of that illuſtrious and auguſt aſſembly, in the following words:

My lord duke of Marlborough,

"I have the honor to be again commanded by "this houſe, to give your grace their hearty and "unanimous thanks, for the great and eminent "ſervices you have perform'd this laſt campain; "particularly to her Majeſty and her kingdoms, "and in general to all the allies.

"When I laſt obey'd the like commands, I "could not but infer from your grace's former "ſucceſſes, we had ſtill moſt reaſonable expecta- "tions, you could not fail to improve them.

"I beg leave to congratulate your grace, that "the obſervation then made has proved, as it was "indeed intended, perfectly true.

"I hope, I ſhall not be thought to exceed my "preſent commiſſion, if, being thus led to con- "template the mighty things your grace has done "for us; I cannot but conclude, without acknow- "leging, with all gratitude, the providence of "GOD, in raiſing you up to be an inſtrument of "ſo much good, in ſo critical a juncture, when it "was ſo much wanted."

To which compliment his grace made the following anſwer:

My lords,

The duke of Marlborough's anſwer.

"I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe, "there are very few things could give me more ſa- "tisfaction than the favorable approbation of my "ſervice by this houſe.

"And I beg leave to aſſure your lordſhips, it "ſhall be the conſtant indeavor of my life to de- "ſerve the continuation of your good opinion."

Addreſs of both houſes to the Queen.

The ſame day, the lords ſent down their addreſs to the commons, for their concurrence: whereupon, mr. ſecretary Boyle repreſented, "That the Britiſh "nation having been at a vaſt expence of blood "and treaſure, for the proſecution of this neceſſary "war, it was but juſt they ſhould reap ſome bene- "fit by the peace: and the town of Dunkirk, being "a neſt of pirats, that infeſted the ocean, and did "infinite miſchief to trade, he therefore moved, "that the demoliſhing of its fortifications and har- "bor be inſiſted upon, in the inſuing treaty of "peace, and inſerted in the addreſs;" which, with that amendment, being unanimouſly approved of, it was carried back to their lordſhips, by mr. ſecretary Boyle, and preſented to her Majeſty, the next day, accordingly. Her Majeſty received and anſwered it very very favorably; and this addreſs was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies.

The commons approve the conduct of the government.

The 10th, the commons took into conſideration the papers relating to the deſign'd invaſion in Scotland, and the proceedings thereupon, and againſt the lord Griffin, and others taken in rebellion; as alſo relating to the perſons taken up on ſuſpicion, and to the gariſons in Scotland, and, thereupon approved the conduct of the government on that occaſion: notwithſtanding, when the ſame papers which had been laid before the houſe of lords, were, by their deſire, laid before them likewiſe, they produced the like obſervations there, as had been made in the houſe of lords, by the lord Haverſham, and others.

Acts paſs'd.

The 23d, the lords-commiſſioners, impower'd thereunto by the Queen, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts. The 24th, the commons took into conſideration the report from the commitee, to whom it was refer'd, to examine the accounts, which had been laid before the houſe, of what ſhips had been imploy'd as cruizers and convoys, over and above the ſhips for the line of battle, and for convoys to remote parts; and alſo the eſtimate of the debt of her Majeſty's navy, as it ſtood on the heads mentioned in the ſaid eſtimate, the 30th of September, 1708. whereupon it was reſolved; "That an addreſs be preſented "to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to "give directions to the proper officers, to lay be- "fore the houſe, an account of all ſums of "mony granted or voted, ſince her Majeſty's ac- "ceſſion to the crown, and how far the ſame had "proved deficient;" and ordered, "That the "commiſſioners of the navy do lay before this "houſe, the cauſes of the increaſe of the debt of "the navy:" but no anſwer was return'd to that addreſs.

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An addreſs of the commons not anſwer'd.

All the other buſineſs of parliament being finiſh'd, the lords-commiſſioners, impower'd by the Queen, gave the royal aſſent to twenty-two public, and thirty-one private bills, and then the lord chancellor, in the name of them all, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The lord chancellor's ſpeech to both houſes.

"Being now, by the Queen's directions, to put "an end to this ſeſſion, we have it in command "from her Majeſty, to aſſure you, ſhe is extreme- "ly ſenſible of the zeal and affection you have "ſhewn for her ſervice, and the good of her "people, and of the prudence and diſpatch with "which you have compleated the important buſi- "neſs of this ſeſſion.

"The vigor and firmneſs of your proceedings "have already had a very good effect on affairs "abroad, and there is ground to hope, by GOD's "bleſſing on her Majeſty's indeavors, that this "will every day appear more evident.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"We are to return you, in particular, her Ma- "jeſty's thanks, for your having provided, ſo "timely and ſo effectually, the ſupplies found ne- "ceſſary to the proſecution of this war; with an "augmentation of thoſe forces, which, in con- "junction with our allies, have, by GOD's aſſi- "ſtance, procured us the preſent advantages over "the common enemy.

"Your chearfulneſs, in giving ſuch large ſup- "plies, at this juncture, and the ready advances "which have been made for their being effectual, "with ſo little burden to the people, ſhew you "perfectly underſtand how to make a right uſe of "our paſt ſucceſſes, and that nothing is too diffi- "cult for ſo dutiful and affectionate ſubjects, acting "in defenſe of ſo good a cauſe.

My lords and gentlemen,

"Her Majeſty, thro' the whole courſe of her "reign, having ever been deſirous to ſhew all poſ- "ſible inſtances of goodneſs and clemency to her "ſubjects, has now, for the ſtrengthening the union, "and quieting the minds of all her ſubjects, "throughout the united kingdom, thought fit to "grant them an act of grace and free pardon, in "a more full and beneficial manner, than has been "formerly uſed; not doubting but all her people "will make a right uſe of, and ſuitable returns, on "their parts, for ſo extraordinary an indulgence.

"Her Majeſty having alſo been graciouſly plea- "ſed to give the royal aſſent to the ſeveral bills you "have preſented during this ſeſſion, commands us "to obſerve to you, on that occaſion, that the life "and benefit of all laws, how wiſely ſoever they "are framed, do chiefly conſiſt in a due and re- "gular execution of them; and therefore to exhort "you, that when you return to your countries, "you would think it indiſpenſably your duty, to "ſet a good example towards an impartial and "ſteady obſervation of the many good laws "which have been inacted (eſpecially ſince the laſt "revolution) and which fall within your provinces "to execute; it being but too evident, that the "defect at preſent attending us, is not ſo much

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"the want of new laws, as the neglect and dif-
"regarding of thoſe already made."

The parliament prorogued.

After this, the lord chancellor declared, it was her Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament ſhould be prorogued to the 19th day of May next enſuing.

Acts paſs'd.

The moſt important acts, which received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mentioned, were: "1. An act for the naturalization "of forein Proteſtants: 2. Two acts for inlarging "the powers of commiſſioners of Sewers in Lon-"don, and elſewhere: 3. An act for preſerving "the privileges of embaſſadors, and other public "miniſters of forein Princes and States (1): 4. "An act for the better preſervation of parochial "libraries, in that part of Great-Britain call'd "England: 5. An act to prevent laying wagers "relating to the public: 6. An act for making "more effectual the act for the better preventing "miſchiefs that may happen by fire: 7. An act "for the public regiſtring of deeds, wills, and "other incumbrances on lands, &c. in the county "of Middleſex, after the 29th of September 1709. "8. An act for improving the union of the two "kingdoms: 9. An act for the Queen's moſt "gracious, general and free pardon: 10. An act "for incouraging the bringing in of forein coins "and plate to be coined, and for making provi-"ſion for the mints in Scotland: 11. An act for "appointing commiſſioners to agree for ſuch lands "and tenements as are proper to be purchaſed, "for the better fortifying of Portſmouth, Cha-"tham and Harwich: 12. An act for inlarging "the capital ſtock of the bank of England, and "for raiſing a farther ſupply to her Majeſty, for "the ſervice of the year 1709: 13. An act for "circulating a farther ſum in exchequer-bills, &c. "14. An act for raiſing the militia for the year "1709, &c."

Occurrences out of parliament.

Having thus finiſh'd my account of parliamentary proceedings, I ſhall juſt mention ſome occurrences out of parliament, during this time.

The 11th of January, George Brudenel, earl of Cardigan, renounced Popery, and qualified himſelf to ſit in the houſe of peers.

The 3d of February, the Queen, in council, was pleaſed to declare; "that the public buſineſs in-"creaſing, her Majeſty had thought fit to ap-"point a third ſecretary of ſtate of Great-Britain; "but that her Majeſty intended, nevertheleſs, to "continue the forein affairs, for the preſent, in "the courſe of diſpatch they were now in: where-"upon James, duke of Queenſberry and Dover, "was ſworn into that office, and the province "aſſign'd him was Scotland;" and, at the ſame time, John duke of Argyle was ſworn of her Majeſty's privy-council, as were, the 3d of March, the dukes of Marlborough and Roxburg.

The begining of April, the following promotion of general officers was made: His grace the duke of Argyle and major-general Webb, were made lieutenant-generals; the lord North and Gray, ſir Richard Temple, and the earl of Stair, major-generals, and colonel Lalo brigadier-general; and, the begining of May, the major-generals Cadogan, Mordaunt and Palmes were made lieutenant-generals; and brigadier Ogilby major-general.

There being a great ſcarcity of corn in France this year, occaſioned by the preceding hard winter, the Dutch, in order to diſtreſs the enemy, publiſhed a placart, prohibiting all neutral ſhips to carry any corn to France, or the dominions of Spain, in the poſſeſſion of King Philip: and, on the 28th of April, an order of council, of the ſame tenor, was publiſhed in England; declaring, that all corn, which ſhould be taken by the ſhips of the confederates going thither, ſhould be ſeized, and condemn'd as lawful prize.

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Negociations for a peace.

As I have mention'd above, that his grace the duke of Marlborough remain'd ſome time in the Low-countries, on account of propoſals made by the French for a peace; it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of that matter, as being neceſſary to give a better idea of what will follow. The reader will remember, that ſoon after the battle of Ramellies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace; and that the King of France would come to a treaty of partition, by allowing Spain and the Weſt-Indies to go to King Charles, provided the dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the States would agree to this, as leſs concern'd in Italy: but they knew the court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands near them, much more than all the reſt of the Spaniſh Monarchy. But at the ſame time that Lewis XIV was tempting us with the hopes of Spain and the Weſt-Indies, that King, by a letter to the Pope, offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles. The parliament had always declared, the ground of the war to be the reſtoring the whole Spaniſh Monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, ſo the duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: he convinced the States of the treacherous deſigns of the court of France, in this offer, and it was not entertained.

The court of Vienna was ſo alarm'd at the inclinations which ſome had expreſs'd towards the entertaining this project, that this was believ'd to be the ſecret motive of the treaty, the ſucceeding winter, for evacuating the Milaneſe, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately, the ſummer after, in their deſigns upon Naples; for by this means they became maſters of both. The French being now reduced to great extremities, by their conſtant ill ſucceſs, and by the miſeries of their people, but more eſpecially by the general decline of public credit, the moſt eminent bankers of Paris and Lions having been oblig'd to ſtop payment, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of a peace, and reſolved to try the States again. When the duke of Marlborough came over to England, monſ. de Rouillé was therefore ſent to Holland, with general offers of peace, deſiring them to propoſe what it was they inſiſted on: and he offer'd them as good a barrier for themſelves as they could aſk. The States, contrary to their expectation, reſolved to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate treaty, but to act in conjunction with their allies. However, upon the arrival of monſ. de Rouillé at Antwerp, they appointed monſ. Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, and monſ. Vanderduſſen, penſionary of Gouda, to have a conference with him at Moerdyke. Upon the report of what paſs'd in this interview, their High-mightineſſes permited this French miniſter to come to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht, that he might be nearer at hand, for the intended negociation; and then the deputies of the States had another conference with him, in which he made ſome looſe propoſals towards a general peace, which however he refuſed to give in writing. The States-general being, as I have ſaid above, very cautious of making any advances in ſo important an affair, without the participation of their allies, gave im-

The preſident de Rouillé comes to Holland.

Conferences with him.

(1) This law was occaſioned by the arreſting the Muſcovite embaſſador, at the ſuit of mr. Morton, a lace-man, in Covent-garden, for 50 l. and his being carried to and detained in a ſpunging-houſe till he gave bail.

mediate

mediate notice of what had paſs'd to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene, who, during this interval, was gone to Vienna, return'd, hereupon, from thence to Bruſſels, on the 27th of March, N. S. with full powers from his Imperial Majeſty; and, on the 8th of April, came to the Hague, where the duke of Marlborough likewiſe arrived the next day from England.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough come to the Hague.

The overtures made by France debated.

Theſe two Princes had a long conference with the great penſionary Heinſius, meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, and other deputies of the States, where they debated the overtures made on the part of France, which being thought inſufficient to be the ground of a treaty of peace, orders were given for carrying on the warlike preparations with all poſſible application and diligence, in order to open the campain, as ſoon as the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon would permit, and purſue the late advantages with the utmoſt vigor.

Monſ. de Rouillé, having been informed by the deputies of the States, that his overtures were not ſatisfactory, diſpatch'd an expreſs for new inſtructions, who was immediately ſent back, with directions (as it appear'd in the ſequel) to amuſe the allies, with a ſeeming compliance with all their demands; but not to ſign any thing.

The marquis de Torcy comes to the Hague.

The deputies of the States, having had a conference with monſ. de Rouillé, after the return of his courier, made a report of what had paſs'd to the duke of Marlborough, who thereupon reſolved to return to England. During his abſence, the French court ſent the marquis de Torcy, ſecretary of ſtate for forein affairs, to the Hague, but the States gave him to underſtand, by their deputies, that they could come to no reſolution till they were informed of the ſentiments of her Majeſty of Great-Britain, by the return of the duke of Marlborough. His grace, who made but a ſhort ſtay in England, returned to the Hague the 18th of May, N. S. and with him the lord Townſhend, as plenipotentiary.

The preliminaries agreed on:

To give a particular account of the tranſactions of every day, during the courſe of this memorable negociation, would carry me too far: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that on the 27th in the morning, the laſt reſolutions of the allies being communicated to the French miniſters, and the duke of Marlborough having ſent them word, that he and Prince Eugene had determined to ſet out for Flanders, within two days, they promiſed to return a final anſwer, the ſame evening, at a conference to be held for that purpoſe. At this conference, which was held at the grand penſionary's, and laſted till two the next morning, the French, after many diſputes, ſeemed to comply with all the preliminary-articles inſiſted upon by the confederates; which being ordered to be fairly drawn in writing, and afterwards examin'd in a conference held the 28th about ten in the morning, another meeting was appointed, in the afternoon, in order to ſign theſe articles. But how great was the ſurprize of every one to find, that after the Imperial, Britiſh, and Dutch plenipotentiaries had ſign'd the articles, the French miniſters refuſed to ſet their hands to them, alleging that they had no directions to do it. However, the marquis de Torcy told the miniſters of the allies, that he would immediately ſet out for Paris, to lay the whole tranſaction before the moſt Chriſtian King, and indeavor to procure his ratification, promiſing an anſwer by the 4th of next month.

But the French miniſters refuſe to ſign them.

As theſe preliminaries ſhew the ſenſe of the allies, at that time, and are a very neceſſary illuſtration of what inſues, an abſtract of them will undoubtedly be acceptable to the reader.

Abſtract of them.

1. "That a firm and laſting peace be forthwith "treated of, &c.

2. "That, to this end, preliminary articles be "agreed on, &c.

3. That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall acknow- "lege King Charles III King of Spain, &c.

4. "The treaty ſhall be finiſh'd in two months, "during which time Sicily ſhall be put into the "hands of King Charles, and the duke d'Anjou "ſhall evacuate Spain; which if he refuſes to con- "ſent to, the French King and the allies ſhall "enter into proper meaſures, that this article may "have intire effect.

5. "That the French King ſhall, within that "time, withdraw his troops out of Spain, &c. "and not aſſiſt the duke d'Anjou, for the future, "with troops, artillery, ammunition or mony.

6. "The Monarchy of Spain ſhall remain in- "tire in the houſe of Auſtria, and no Prince of "the houſe of France ever become ſoverein of any "part thereof.

7. "France ſhall never poſſeſs the Spaniſh "Weſt-Indies, or trade thither.

8. 9. "The French King ſhall deliver up "Straſburg, Fort-Kehl and Briſac, to the Em- "peror.

10. "The French King ſhall poſſeſs Alſace, in "the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, except "Landau, which ſhall belong to the Emperor.

11. "He ſhall demoliſh New-Briſac, Fort- "Lewis and Hunninghen.

12. "Rheinfels ſhall be poſſeſs'd by the Land- "grave of Heſſe, till otherwiſe agreed.

13. "The clauſe concerning religion, in the "treaty of Ryſwick, ſhall be refered to the ne- "gociation.

14. 15. "The French King ſhall acknowlege "the Queen of Great-Britain, and the Proteſtant "ſucceſſion.

16. "The French King ſhall reſtore to Great- "Britain what he is poſſeſs'd of in Newfoundland, "and whatever either party has taken in the In- "dies ſhall be reſtored.

17. "Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſh'd.

18. "The Pretender ſhall retire out of France.

19. A treaty of commerce ſhall be ſettled with "Great-Britain.

20. "The King of Portugal ſhall injoy all that "is ſtipulated for him by the allies.

21. "The French King ſhall acknowlege the "King of Pruſſia, and not diſturb him in the in- "joyment of Neufchattel.

22. "The French King ſhall deliver up Furnes, "Menin, Ipres, Warneton, Commines, Wer- "wick, Poperingen, Liſle, Condé and Maubeuge, "for the barrier of the States.

23. "He ſhall reſtore all the towns and forts "he has taken in the Netherlands, with the ar- "tillery and ſtores, provided the Catholic reli- "gion ſhall ſtill be profeſſed there.

24. "None of the cannon or ſtores to be re- "moved from this time.

25. "The States, as to their commerce, ſhall "have what was ſtipulated at the treaty of Ryſ- "wick, and the Tariff of 1664 only ſhall be in "force.

26. "The French King ſhall acknowlege the "9th Electorate.

27. "The duke of Savoy ſhall injoy all that "has been yielded to him by the Emperor, and "whatever has been taken from him ſhall be re- "ſtored.

28. "The French King ſhall make over to him "Exilles, Feneſtrilles and Chamont, with the "vally of Pragelas, and all on this ſide the moun- "tains, for a barrier.

"29. The pretenſions of the Electors of Ba- "varia and Cologn ſhall be refer'd to the general "negociation; but the Elector Palatine to remain

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" in poſſeſſion of the Upper-Palatinate, &c. The " gariſons of the States, &c. to remain in Huy, " Liege and Bonn, till otherwiſe agreed with the " Emperor and Empire.

30. 31. 32. " The farther demands, on either " ſide, ſhall not interrupt the ceſſation of arms: " the other allies being allowed to make farther " demands at the general congreſs.

33. 34. " The negociation ſhall be finiſh'd in " two months; and in the mean time a ceſſation " of arms be made.

35. " Upon the ratification of theſe articles, " the French King ſhall evacuate Namur, Mons, " Charleroy, Luxemburg, Condé, Tournay, Mau- " beuge, Newport, Furnes and Ipres, and raze " the fortifications of Dunkirk.

36. " The French King to execute what has been " ſtipulated, with reſpect to the other allies, with- " in two months after the concluſion of the treaty.

37. " And if he executes all that is above- " mentioned, and the whole monarchy of Spain " ſhall be delivered up to Charles III, as is ſti- " pulated, within the limited time, then the ceſ- " ſation of arms ſhall continue till the ratifications " of the peace.

38. " All this ſhall ſerve as the baſis and foun- " dation of the inſuing treaties of peace.

39. " The ratification of the preliminary ar- " ticles to be performed by the French King, " the Queen of Great-Britain and the States, be- " fore the 15th of June; and by the Emperor, " by the 1ſt of July, and what is ſtipulated in " favor of each of the allies reſpectively, to be " ſet about as ſoon as they have ratified the pre- " liminaries.

40. " The congreſs to begin the 20th of " June, at the Hague, and to prevent diſputes " about the ceremonial, no embaſſador ſhall take " upon him his character 'till the day of the " ſigning of the peace."

The marquis de Torcy was punctual to his word; for on the 4th of June, Prince Eugene received a letter at Bruſſels from him, to acquaint him, that the moſt Chriſtian King could not accept of the project of peace agreed upon at the Hague; and monſ. de Rouillé upon making the ſame declaration at the Hague, ſaid he in particular, excepted againſt the 10, 11, 28, 29, and 37 (1).

The negociation broke off.

The miniſters of the allies, having hereupon held a conference, among themſelves, came to a reſolution, that no alteration ought to be admited in the preliminary articles: monſ. de Rouillé hereupon declared, " that if the allies would be contented " with the fifth article in relation to Spain, without " inſiſting on the others relating to the delivering up " of the Spaniſh Monarchy, he thought the King of " France would be induced to depart from his other " exceptions;" but the miniſters of the allies continuing firm in their reſolutions, the negociation broke off, and monſ. de Rouillé returned to Paris.

The campain in Flanders open'd.

The allies being juſtly provoked by this unfair proceeding of France, reſolved to improve their late advantages, by a vigorous proſecution of the war; and tho' the campain in Flanders, which was the principal ſcene of action, for this year, was opened pretty late, it did not (as ſome imagined) proceed from any amuſement ariſing from the negociation of peace, but from the extraordinary backwardneſs of the ſeaſon, after an exceſſive hard winter, and the great rains which inſued: for the duke of Marlborough, truſting little to the ſhews of peace, had prepared every thing for opening the campain, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the court of France, and the ſeaſon would admit.

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The confederate troops deſign'd for this campain, to the number of above 110,000 men, being aſſembled about Courtray and Menin, form'd the army, the 21ſt of June, N. S. near the laſt place, and march'd the 22d towards Liſle, incamping between Linſelle, Turcoin and Rabax. The next day, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene put themſelves at the head of the army; the right wing of which, under the command of the latter, paſſed the Lower Deule, as did, at the ſame time, the left, under the duke, the Mark, and the army incamp'd in the plain of Liſle, on both ſides the Upper Deule.

The confederate army aſſembles.

They find it impracticable to attack the French camp.

The French army was in the mean time advantageouſly poſted, between Pont à Vendin, Cambrain and Beauvrain, their right and left being covered by moraſſes, made unpaſſable by the late tedious rains, and their front by ſome villages, which they had fortified, and their intrenchments were ſtrengthen'd by numberleſs outworks, double ditches, and batteries at convenient diſtances. The 25th, the lieutenant-generals Dopf and Cadogan were ſent out with detachments, to take a narrower view of the enemy, and, upon their report of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties, which muſt neceſſarily attend the attacking the enemy, in their advantageous and fortified camp, the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene and the field-deputies of the States, came to the reſolution to beſiege the important fortreſs of Tournay, the gariſon whereof, as well as of ſeveral other neighboring towns, had been very much weaken'd by the marſhal de Villars, to re-inforce his army, on the approach of the confederates. The generals kept this reſolution very private, and the more to increaſe the enemy's jealouſy, the artillery was ſent for up the Lys to Menin; and a council of war was held, the 26th, to take, as it was induſtriouſly reported, proper meaſures to attack the French. The baggage was hereupon ſent to Liſle, which confirm'd the belief in the armies that there would be an action.

Tournay inveſted.

The confederate troops being prepoſſeſs'd with this opinion, decamp'd, about nine in the evening, from the banks of the Deule, and march'd part of the night, without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, towards the enemy; but they were ſurprized, when on a ſudden, they received orders to turn to the left, and arrived, the 27th before Tournay, which was ſoon after inveſted: ſo that the enemy, having no notice, nor ſo much as a ſuſpicion of this deſign, the place was ill-provided to hold out a ſiege, and the marſhall de Villars very much blamed on that acconnt, by thoſe who envied his former ſucceſſes (2).

The trenches before Tournay were opened the 7th

(1) As to the 10th he required Landau to be reſtored to him; to the 11th he would not conſent to the demoliſhing of Hunninghen, New Briſac, and fort Louis. He excepted againſt the whole 28, and would have it refer'd to a farther diſcuſſion: and for the 29th, would have it, likewiſe refer'd to the negociations of a general peace; with the proviſo that the upper Palatinate, &c. ſhould not be confirmed to the Elector Palatine, and that the intereſt of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn ſhould be ſettled in the preliminaries: laſtly, as to the 37th, he would have the term inlarg'd for delivering up the Spaniſh Monarchy: but conſented to recall his own troops out of Spain, by the time limited. Lediard's Life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 439.

(2) Thus was this great general, famous for nothing more than his ſtratagems, outdone in his own way, and caught in his own ſnare, while he was huging himſelf in his own ſecurity. He thought himſelf ſo ſecure of his intelligence, that of the three attacks which the allies made a ſhew of attempting, he pretended to conclude two feign'd and one only real, to oppoſe

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7th of July, and the allies having taken poſſeſſion of St. Amand and Mortagne, two poſts neceſſary to cover the ſiege, and the artillery being arrived, the attacks advanced with ſucceſs. I ſhall not detain the reader with the particulars of this ſiege, which was carried on as uſual; but only obſerve, that the beſiegers making the neceſſary preparations for a general ſtorm, on the 28th, the beſieged prevented it by deſiring to capitulate; and the gariſon, according to agreement, march'd into the citadel, which held out till the 3d of September, and then ſurrender'd, on condition, that all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould retain their ſwords and baggage, and be permited to return into France, provided they did not ſerve, till a like number of officers and ſoldiers of the allies, ſhould be exchanged for them (1).

And taken.

The ſiege of Mons reſolv'd on.

The important town and citadel of Tournay (which the French thought impregnable, as appeared by the lofty inſcription they had cauſed to be affix'd to one of the half moons) being ſurrendered to the victorious arms of the allies, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were immediately intent on new exploits, and reſolved upon another as important conqueſt as that of Mons, the capital of the province of Hainault. But the marſhal de Villars having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the ſtrong camp of Blaregnies or Malplacquet, in the woods of Sart or Sanſart, it was found impracticable to form the ſiege, till the French were driven from that poſt; which brought on the bloodieſt battle that ever was fought in that country (2).

Situation of the enemy's army.

The 8th of September, the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and monſ. Goſlinga, one of the field-deputies of the States, with a ſufficient guard, ſpent the whole day in viewing the ground between the two armies; and when they came over againſt Blaugies and Lamberchies, they diſcovered the enemy's whole army, which was in motion, and poſting themſelves in the plain of Blaugies. The next morning, the French made a motion as if their deſign was to march towards Boſſu: but the confederate-generals, advancing to take a narrow view of their army, ſoon perceived, that the motion of their left was only a feint to cover the march of their right, which filed off at the ſame time, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the woods of Lagniere, la Merte, Taiſniere, and Sart, with the hedges that incompaſs them, where they placed their infantry; and, taking poſſeſſion likewiſe of the hedges of a village call'd Placquet, or Malplacquet, ranged their cavalry in the openings between theſe woods. The confederate-generals, hereupon, order'd their army to march by the left, and face the enemy, the right extending to Sart, the left to Bleron, on the edge of the wood of Blagniere, where they placed their cannon; the center being near Bleron, and the head-quarters not far from thence at Blaregnies. By this means, the left of the confederate army came ſo near to the enemy, about two in the afternoon, that they cannonaded each other till the evening. But the right wing of the allies being too far off to come up to the place of action in time, there was too little day-light left to attack the enemy. The duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Prince Royal of Pruſſia, therefore paſs'd the night with monſ. Goſlinga, that they might be ready if the enemy ſhould make any attempt. But tho' they were much ſuperior in number, and more eſpecially in infantry; yet they were ſo far from deſigning to attack the allies, that, on the contrary, they began to fortify their camp (tho' it was, by nature, very ſtrong and advantageous) with all the induſtry and application imaginable. Beſide the thick hedges, which, like a chain, ran along their whole camp, they made deep lines to cover their foot; and, on their right, caſt up three intrenchments, one behind the other, tho' the acceſs was without that very difficult, becauſe of a marſhy ground which lay before them. Their center, which was in a little plain, was likewiſe ſecured by ſeveral intrenchments, defended, in convenient places, with a good artillery; and beſide all this, they cut down a great number of trees, which they laid a-croſs the ways to obſtruct the paſſage of the confederate-horſe: they alſo cut down the hedges, behind their lines, for the more eaſy march of their cavalry to ſupport their infantry, as occaſion might require; ſo that their camp might not be very improperly call'd a regular, fortified citadel.

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Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, on the other hand, who had, on the 9th, in concert with monſ. Goſlinga, taking the reſolution to attack the French, finding, on the 10th, that they had made uſe of the preceding night to improve the advantage of their ſituation, reſolved only, without altering their deſign, to put off the execution of it till they were re-inforced by eighteen battalions, which had been imploy'd in the ſiege of Tournay. To theſe, orders were immediately diſpatch'd, that they ſhould march, with all poſſible expedition, to join the grand army, which they did, that very night, under the command of count Lottum and baron Schulemburg.

The troops that came from Tournay, having, on the 11th of September, in the morning, joined the right wing, over-againſt the wood by Sart, where the enemy's left was poſted, Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the field-deputies, viz. meſſieurs Rantwyck, Hooft, and Goſlinga, rode together, along the line, between the two armies, and ſeveral men were, in their preſence, kill'd by the enemy's cannon ſhot. A little after eight o'clock, the ſignal for the attack being given, by a diſcharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannon-

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oppoſe which he detach'd ſeventy-three battalions, and order'd 100 pieces of cannon to be placed on the eminences thereabouts. Nay, his vanity and ſecurity was ſo great, that a trumpeter of the confederate-army happening to be in his camp, he ſent a meſſage by him to the generals of the allies, to acquaint them, "that he wondered at their delay, and that, if his intrench-"ments were in their way, he would order them to be levell'd immediately." Rouſſet hiſt. mil. du Pr. Eugene, &c. Tome II. p. 215.

The marquis de Quincy, not to allow that monſ. de Villars was outwited in this manner, pretends the duke of Marlborough was obliged to undertake this ſiege to ſtop the mouths of his troops, who murmured at his not attacking the French camp, in order to beſiege Ipres, which was his real deſign, till he found it impracticable, on account of the good diſpoſitions made by the marſhal. Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand.

(1) "The manner of fighting in this ſiege (ſays the author of the Tatler) diſcovered a gallantry in our men, unknown to "former ages; their meeting with adverſe parties under ground, where every ſtep was taken with apprehenſions of being "blown up with mines below them, or cruſhed by the fall of the earth above them, and all this acted in darkneſs, has "ſomething in it more terrible than ever is met with in any other part of a ſoldier's duty: however this was performed with "great chearfulneſs. Vol. II. p. 60.

(2) This battle was the more remarkable, in that it was, in reality, a battle between two ſeparate armies on each ſide. Prince Eugene commanded a compleat army of 50,000 men, with wings of horſe, on the right and left; and the duke of Marlborough another intire army, of which the Engliſh form'd the right, and the Dutch the left. On the other ſide, the marſhal de Villars commanded a ſeparate army of the French, on the left, drawn up againſt that of Prince Eugene, and the marſhal de Bouflers (who arrived at the French camp the 7th) another upon the right, which ingaged that under the command of the duke of Marlborough.

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The battle of Blareignies, or Malplaquet.

ading continuing very briſk on both ſides, Prince Eugene advanc'd with his right into the wood of Sart; and thirty-ſix battalions of that wing, commanded by general Schulemburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and twenty-two other battalions, under the command of count Lottum, attack'd the enemy with ſuch bravery, that, notwithſtanding the barricadoes of fell'd trees, and other impediments they met in their way, after an hour's reſiſtance, they drove the French out of their intrenchments, in the woods of Sart, and Taiſniere. The deſign of this attack was to drive the enemy out of the wood, and then to attack them in the flank of their intrenchments on the plain; which ſucceeded very happily, and thereby all the enemy's infantry on the left wing were ruin'd. General Withers, with nineteen battalions, attack'd the enemy in another intrenchment, beyond the woods of Taiſniere and Great-Blagniere, with the like vigor and good ſucceſs. Thirty-ſix Dutch battalions, commanded by the Prince of Naſſau-Frieſeland (or Orange) and baron Fagel, who attack'd the enemy's right, poſted in the wood of la Merte, and in an opening, cover'd with three intrenchments, met with greater reſiſtance, and loſt abundance of men before they could penetrate into the intrenchments. The fight was here deſperate; but the Dutch ſoon drove the enemy from off their advantageous ground into their intrenchment, taking their colors. They likewiſe drove them out of their firſt intrenchment; but as they were marching on to the ſecond, they were charg'd with a great deal of vivacity by the enemy, and obliged to retire to their former poſts. The duke of Marlborough hereupon order'd lieutenant-general Withers, to march with the body under his immediate direction, to ſuſtain them; but, upon farther deliberation, and notice that the lieutenant-general was actually ingag'd with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, his grace thought fit rather to preſs on the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left, in the heat of the action. As ſoon as the enemy's left went to retire, and draw off their cannon, the duke of Marlborough commanded the earl of Orkney, with fifteen battalions, to attack them, and force them from their intrenchments in the plain, between the woods of Sart and Janſart, with directions, if he ſucceeded, to poſt himſelf there, and cover the horſe, as they ſhould file off, thro' the woods into the plain, in order to charge the enemy's cavalry, which were there drawn up. This was executed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that after a ſhort diſpute, the enemy quited thoſe intrenchments; which gave the horſe an opportunity to enter them: and tho' the firſt ſquadrons, led by the Prince of Heſſe, had much ado to form themſelves, and were put into ſome diſorder by the French King's houſhold troops, yet being immediately rallied by the duke of Marlborough, and ſeconded by the ſquadrons of Prince Eugene's army, they advanced together into the plain. Being there cover'd by their own foot, and having formed themſelves into very good order, they charg'd the enemy's cavalry, who being ſoon broke and defeated, their whole army fell into diſorder, and made off towards the plain of Bavay, leaving ſome of their cannon behind them. The allies made a good uſe of the begining of the victory, and all their troops moved on with freſh reſolution. General Vinck having with the horſe ſurrounded ſeveral battalions of the enemy's right, ſummon'd them to ſurrender priſoners of war, but the French being cover'd by a moraſs, made their retreat along the edge of a wood; three regiments of Daniſh cavalry falling at the ſame time on the enemy, made a terrible ſlaughter among them, till having gain'd a ſecond wood, they found means to eſcape. Eighteen ſquadrons being detach'd to indeavor to diſperſe them in their retreat towards Quievrain, met their whole left wing on this ſide the little river Quaiſnau, conſiſting of about 100 ſquadrons, commanded by the marſhal de Bouflers in perſon, and perceiving only at firſt the enemy's rear, poſted at the corner of a wood, the dragoons made up to them, and drove them without reſiſtance. But colonel de la Lippe, and a cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceiv'd by their own men. The wood being forc'd, the eighteen ſquadrons advanc'd into the plain, but perceiving before them the enemy's whole left wing, in three columns, one of which retreated in good order, the other two in ſome confuſion, they made a ſhort halt, and were ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee the enemy face about, and draw up in order of battle. However this ſmall body of the confederate horſe kept their ground, and poſted themſelves upon an eminence, with the wood of Elonge on their right, expecting to be attack'd; but they immediately perceiv'd, that the enemy made a ſtand, with no other deſign than to paſs a gutter that was in their way to a defilee, leading to Bavay, which they gained before the allies, who purſued them full gallop, could come up with them. However the latter followed the chaſe as far as the village of Quievrain, where the French having poſted a brigade of foot, and, at the ſame time, ſome of their ſquadrons poſting themſelves on an advantageous ground near the little river of Haiſnau, the confederates thought fit to give over the purſuit, and ſo the enemy paſſed that rivulet, and marched unmoleſted to Bavay. The reſt of their broken army retired in great confuſion, ſome to Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and others to Condé, leaving the allies in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, with ſixteen of their cannon, twenty colors, twenty-ſix ſtandards, and other indiſputable marks of victory; not to mention abundance of priſoners. Some of theſe were taken in the action, others in the purſuit, and the far greater number the next morning in Bavay, and other neighboring places, either their wearineſs or wounds not permiting them to follow the groſs of their army, which having that night paſs'd the rivulet of Ronelle, incamp'd with their right at Queſnoy, extending their left towards Valenciennes.

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The allies gain the victory.

The confederate generals upon viewing, after the battle, the advantageous poſts from whence they had driven the enemy, were themſelves aſtoniſh'd to ſee what difficulties they had ſurmounted; and indeed all the troops, as well officers as ſoldiers, ſhew'd as great reſolution, intrepidity and firmneſs, in this obſtinate action, as were ever known in theſe latter times, or ſtand recorded in ancient hiſtory. The enemy, whether incouraged by their intrenchments, or animated by the ſhame of their former defeats, fought with a bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an hour paſt eight in the morning, 'till half an hour paſt two in the afternoon. They were however at length forced to yield to the ſuperior courage and good fortune of the allies, whoſe generals, the great duke of Marlborough, and the brave Prince Eugene, the gallant count Tilly, and the Prince of Naſſau, were, during the whole fight, continually at the head of their troops, in the hoteſt of the fire.

Bravery of the confederate troops.

Great numbers fell in this bloody action; and the allies frankly own'd, that they had above 18,000 men, either killed or wounded, according to the underwritten liſt (1)

Of

(1) "Had this ingagement, (ſays the author of the Tatler) happen'd in the time of the old Romans, and ſuch things "been acted in their ſervice, there would not be a foot of the wood, which was pierced, but had been conſecrated to ſome deity, "or

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Loſs of the confederates.

Of Prince Eugene's army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battal.	Col. Killed	Col. Wounded	L.Col. Killed	L.Col. Wounded	Maj. Killed	Maj. Wounded	Capt. Killed	Capt. Wounded	Subalt. Killed	Subalt. Wounded	Serj. and com. Sol. Killed	Wounded	Total killed and wounded
Imperialiſts.	7	0	3	1	1	0	0	2	6	4	11	183	307	518
Danes.	8	1	1	1	2	0	2	5	9	8	42	519	694	1284
Saxons.	7	1	1	1	2	0	2	3	6	10	22	184	477	709
Palatines.	7	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	9	1	7	83	253	359
Dutch.	12	2	0	2	1	1	2	7	23	16	44	683	818	1590
Heſſians.	6	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	12	5	20	128	350	527
Wirtembergers.	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	11	15	120	272	422

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Of the duke of Marlborough's army.

Nations and Bodies.	Battal.	Col. Killed	Col. Wounded	L.Col. Killed	L.Col. Wounded	Maj. Killed	Maj. Wounded	Capt. Killed	Capt. Wounded	Subalt. Killed	Subalt. Wounded	Serj. and com. Sold. Killed	Wounded	Total killed and wounded.
Britiſh.	19	4	2	4	3	0	3	13	26	13	61	541	541	1866
Pruſſians.	18	2	4	1	1	1	6	2	17	9	33	294	294	1203
Hanoverians.	12	0	1	1	2	0	4	2	12	10	44	285	285	1417
Dutch.	30	6	6	5	11	5	14	42	116	85	242	2238	2268	8463
Sum total.	129	16	20	16	27	9	36	79	238	169	441	5238	5258	18353

And of the French.

The French were very induſtrious in leſſening and concealing their loſs to the public: but ſome private accounts from their army own'd, that they had about 540 officers kill'd on the ſpot, and 1068 wounded; beſide 301 taken priſoners: and the number of their private men, killed, wounded or taken, was modeſtly computed at 15,000 (1).

The marſhal de Bouflers wrote two letters to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to leſſen and conceal the loſs his army had ſuſtain'd, one the day of the battle, the other two days after, thro' the vanity and adulation of which, the advantage the confederate army had over that of the enemy, was, however, ſufficiently diſcover'd: and the greater the reſiſtance on that ſide was (which the marſhal extols above the ſkies, and makes every one to

" or made memorable by the death of him, who expired in it, for the ſake of his country. It had been ſaid on ſome " monument at the entrance, Here the duke of Argyle drew his ſword, and ſaid March. Here Webb, after having an " accompliſh'd fame for gallantry, expoſed himſelf like a common ſoldier. Here Rivet, who was wounded at the begining " of the day, and carried off as dead, returned into the field, and received his death. Medals had been ſtruck for our " generals behavior when he firſt came into the plain. Here was the fury of the action, and here the hero ſtood as fearleſs " as if invulnerable. Such certainly had been the cares of that ſtate for their own honor, and gratitude to their heroic " ſubjects.

" The wood intrench'd, the plain made more impaſſable than the wood, and all the difficulties oppoſed to the moſt gallant " army, and moſt intrepid leaders, that ever the Sun ſhone on, would each have furniſh'd matter for the ableſt pens to have " recorded them in eulogiums and panegyrics

(1) In the marſhal's account of this action, we muſt make ſome allowance for the vivacity of a French genius, and the neceſſity he lay under of blinding the old King his maſter, and hiding his loſs: and indeed he trifles ſo egregiouſly, that it is difficult to account for his want of reſpect to his ſoverein; unleſs we will ſuppoſe he believed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the ſtate of dotage, and that the moſt palpable falſities, when covered with glavering flattery would go down. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 533.

We have theſe letters very prettily epitomized in the Tatler, in the following words:

SIR,

" This is to let your Majeſty underſtand, that to your immortal honor, and the deſtruction of the confederates, your troops " have loſt another battle. Artagnan did wonders; Rohan perform'd miracles; Guiche did wonders, Gattion perform'd mi- " racles; the whole army diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and every body did wonders. And to conclude the wonders of the day, I " can aſſure your Majeſty, that tho' you have loſt the field of battle, you have not loſt an inch of ground. The enemy marched " behind us with reſpect, and we ran away from them as bold as lions."

have

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have performed wonders) the greater was the glory of the allies, in ſurmounting ſuch difficulties, and obtaining a compleat victory, in ſpite of ſo much valor and conduct.

It is hard to ſay, whether theſe letters contain more inſtances of vanity and flattery, or more inconſiſtencies; but the latter are too palpable to need any illuſtration; I ſhall therefore, only aſk, "if "the French officers and troops perform'd ſuch "wonders, as even ſurpaſs'd human nature (as "monſieur de Bouflers expreſſes himſelf) what muſt "not thoſe officers and troops of the confederate "army have done, who ſubdued theſe ſupernatural "perſons, and drove them from the field of battle, "their fortified camp, and treble intrenchments? "Sure they muſt have been ſomething more than "ſupernatural!" and as for the pretended ſuperiority of the number of the confederate troops, tho' it be not ſo in fact, yet ſuppoſing it to be truth, and that they had been twice the number, the advantages of the enemy's camp, as well with regard to the ſituation as the fortifications of it, rendered the attempt very hazardous, and the glory of the victory incomparable.

Mons beſieged and taken.

After the victory of Blaregnies or Malplacquet, the confederate army march'd towards Mons, to which the retreat of the French had now left a free paſſage. That city was inveſted the 21ſt of September, and ſurrendered the 20th of the inſuing month of October (1); which finiſhed the campain in Flanders, and both armies went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough, having ſetled the repartition, arrived at the Hague the 3d of November, as did Prince Eugene the 7th. The 12th their highneſſes had a long conference with ſome of the deputies of the States, in which ſeveral important affairs relating to the inſuing campain were ſetled.

France makes new advances towards a peace.

The campain in the Netherlands was no ſooner at an end, than the French court thought fit to make new advances, towards ſeting a negociation for a peace on foot again. To this end, ſignior Foſcarini, the Venetian embaſſador, who came to Holland about this time, took a turn to Amſterdam, to feel the pulſes of the Burgo-maſters of that city. On the other hand, monſieur Pettecum, reſident of the duke of Holſtein at the Hague, who had been imploy'd the laſt winter, underhand, in the negociation of peace, and had ſince continued to hold a correſpondence with the marquis de Torcy, made ſome new overtures on the ſide of France, and deſired paſſes for their commiſſioners to come to the Hague. The Imperial, Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, having taken this matter into conſideration, and a report of their conferences having been made to the aſſembly of the States-general, their High-mightineſſes refuſed the paſſes, but conſented, that monſieur Pettecum ſhould go to the French court, purſuant to their deſire, to know what farther offers they had to make. That miniſter accordingly ſet out for Paris, about the middle of November, as did, not many days after, the duke of Marlborough for London, and Prince Eugene for Vienna.

Monſieur Pettecum goes for that end, to Paris.

The duke of Marlborough departs for England.

Monſ. Pettecum was received at the court of France with more reſpect than was due to a miniſter of ſuch inferior rank; and with an affected oſtentation, to make the murmuring and half famiſh'd people believe, peace was near; not without ſome vain inſinuations, that he was ſent from the allies themſelves, to make advances towards it; tho' nothing is more certain, than that he had no ſuch power or direction given him on their parts. He confer'd for ſome days, with the marquis de Torcy, and the other French miniſters, and having received a preſent for the trouble and expences of his journey, he returned to the Hague with the anſwer, and the propoſals of the court of France.

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Monſ. Pettecum returns to the Hague.

The propoſals made by France rejected.

Theſe propoſals having been examined by the States-general, were unanimouſly rejected with diſdain, and vigorous reſolutious thereupon taken for the continuation of the war.

Campain on the Rhine;

The Elector of Hanover, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine, having conſented to ſend large detachments, this campain, to Flanders, could not attempt any thing of moment himſelf in thoſe parts: he therefore only ſent count Merci into the Upper Alſace, to make a diverſion, but he was ſurprized by the French general, count de Bourg, and defeated.

And in the north.

The northern affairs having no immediate connexion with thoſe of the grand alliance, I have only mentioned them on occaſion of the duke of Marborough's journey into Saxony, in the year 1707. The fatal turn of affairs to the diſadvantage of the King of Sweden, which happen'd this year, being, as it were, the conſequence of the counſels and meaſures which were thought to be concerted when the duke was there, and in which, it was believed, he had no ſmall hand, I ſhall juſt hint at them. This great but unfortunate Monarch, having reſolv'd to invade Muſcovy, and being fluſh'd with the ſucceſs he had met with in Poland, thinking to dethrone the Czar with the ſame eaſe he had done Auguſtus, ingaged himſelf ſo far in the Ukraine, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating; and this brought ſuch a cataſtrophe on his affairs, that he was never able to diſintangle himſelf from, till death put a ſtop to the career of his intrepidity.

He ingaged a great body of Coſſacs to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the Czar: he had met with great misfortunes in the end of the foregoing year, but nothing could divert him from his deſigns againſt Muſcovy: he paſs'd the Nieper and beſieged Pultowa. The Czar march'd to raiſe the ſiege, with an army much ſuperior in number to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden, who had not forgoten the battle of Narva, where he triumph'd with a far greater inequality of number, reſolved to venture on a battle, in which he received ſuch a total defeat that he loſt his camp, his artillery, and his baggage: a great part of his army got off, for the preſent; but being cloſely purſued by the Muſcovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made priſoners of war. The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſs'd the Nieper, and got into the Turkiſh dominions, where he ſettled, and was under a ſort of voluntary, tho' unavoidable confinement, at a town of Moldavia call'd Bender. This fatal day ſet Auguſtus again on the throne of Poland, and freed the allies from all apprehenſions of this enterprizing Prince's intermedling between them and the common enemy, to the ſupport of the latter.

Maritime affairs.

Our affairs at ſea this year were very inconſiderable, I ſhall therefore be as brief in my relation of them; and paſſing by thoſe in the channel and

(1) The ſpeedy reduction of this important place, after the memorable and bloody battle of Malplacquet, was a plain demonſtration, that the allies obtain'd, in that action, ſomething more ſubſtantial than the name of a victory; ſince the enemy, who had hazarded a battle to prevent the ſiege of this town, did not make the leaſt motion to relieve it; notwithſtanding the aſſurances given by the marſhal de Villars and Bouflers to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would not loſe an inch of ground by that action; and their boaſting of marching towards the confederate army, if the King's ſervice required it. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 553.

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the Soundings, which conſiſted chiefly in ingagements between ſingle ſhips, ſhall only take notice of the ſquadron under ſir George Byng, admiral of the blue, who, towards the latter end of the year 1708, was appointed to carry the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon. Her Majeſty being arrived at Portſmoth, from Holland, under convoy of a Britiſh ſquadron, commanded by rear-admiral Baker, went on board the Royal Ann, the 6th of October; and the next morning, the fleet commanded by admiral Byng ſailed from Spithead, arrived the 14th at Caſcais, and the 16th went up the river of Liſbon, where her Majeſty was received with great ſtate and magnificence. About the middle of November, he received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, and to winter in the Mediterranean, leaving ſir John Jennings at Liſbon. The 27th of December, he got under ſail, and the 12th of January 1709, after having ſuffered much by tempeſtuous weather, which had ſeparated his ſquadron, he arrived at Port-Mahon, where he found moſt of his ſhips arrived before him. Here he diſpatch'd orders to ſir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coaſt of Italy, to join him, which he did, on the 19th of February, with about 3500 men, land-forces, general Stanhope being arrived the 14th. With theſe troops, and the general, he put to ſea, with a deſign to relieve the caſtle of Alicant. The 5th of April, he arrived in that bay, but after ſome attempts, finding the relief of that place impracticable, the 7th the general ſent a flag of truce on ſhoar, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle, which being agreed to, the gariſon was imbarked.

The admiral now proceeded towards Barcelona, and, in his way, landed general Stanhope, with the troops at Terragona; at Port-Mahon, he was joined by ſir John Jennings, whom he had ordered to meet him there. Having diſpatch'd ſome ſhips for Genoa and Final, he ordered ſir John Jennings to guard the corn-ſhips to Barcelona, where ſir George joined him, the 8th of June, with the reſt of the Britiſh and Dutch men of war, and there ſir Edward Whitaker likewiſe arrived, with his ſquadron from Italy, and above 2000 recruits for the army.

The whole fleet being now together, a council of war was called to conſider how it might be imployed; and the reſolution was, that ſir John Jennings ſhould return to guard the coaſt of Portugal; and ſir George Byng ſail to a ſtation ten leagues S. of Cape-Toulon, to intercept the enemy's troops, and as much as poſſible to alarm them. They both ſailed together, and ſir George arrived before Toulon the 21ſt of June, where having cruiſed ſome time he returned to Barcelona-road.

There were now two grand ſchemes propoſed, one for the reduction of Sicily, at which ſir Edward Whitaker was to command, and the other an attempt on Cadiz, on which the admiral propoſed to proceed himſelf, with general Stanhope; but both deſigns came to nothing, partly becauſe the Dutch could not aſſiſt them for want of proviſions, and partly becauſe the ſhips were required by the King of Spain for ſo many particular ſervices, that it was impoſſible to keep a ſufficient body together. Our ſhips were however, after their being cleaned at Port Mahon, ſucceſsful in taking a great number of prizes. Among others, they took twenty-two loaden with corn, three ſhips from Turky, three from Marſeiles, and three from Carthagena, the Dutch having ſeized on three more. The Antelope and Worceſter, having been cruiſing up the Levant, took three French merchant-ſhips, and when ſir Edward Whitaker appeared, with his ſquadron, off of Roſes, he diſcovered there about forty imbarkations, which were imployed to tranſport proviſions to the enemy's army in the Ampourdan, thirty of which he took; whereby they were put to great Streights, for want of the ſupplies they hoped for by ſea: however theſe advantages were but ſmall, in conſideration of the great expence of the fleet.

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Sir George Byng being arrived at Gibraltar, and not finding there the ſquadron he expected, under rear-admiral Baker, with the troops intended for the attempt on Cadiz, that deſign was wholly laid aſide, and it was reſolved, at a council of war, that ſir Edward Whitaker ſhould remain with a ſquadron in the Streights, and ſir George return to Great-Britain: purſuant to which reſolution, he paſs'd the Streights, the 22d of September, and arrived at Spithead the 25th of October. The troops I have mentioned above were imbark'd about the middle of Auguſt; but being long detained, on the coaſt of England, by contrary winds, did not make the coaſt of Portugal till the begining of October; and then, by the directions of the earl of Galway, ſailed directly for Barcelona.

Affairs in Spain and Portugal.

In Spain, this ſummer paſs'd over without any conſiderable action: there was indeed an ingagement on the frontiers of Portugal, in which the Portugueſe behaved themſelves very ill, and were beaten; and which occaſioned the loſs of three regiments, chiefly Engliſh-men, which were taken priſoners, together with their officers: among whom were major-general Sankey, the earl of Barrimore, and brigadier Pearce. The Spaniards, however, did not purſue the advantage they had by this action; for they, apprehending that our fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their Southern-coaſts, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal, to defend them: tho' we gave them no diſturbance on that ſide.

The King of France, to make it more believed he deſign'd a peace, withdrew his troops out of Spain; but, at the ſame time, took care to incourage the Spaniſh nobility, and to ſupport his grandſon: and ſince it was viſible, that either the Spaniards, or the allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reaſonable to believe, that the allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the effects of his fraudulent proceedings. The French general Beſons, who commanded in Arragon, had indeed orders not to venture on a battle, for that would have been to act too groſs and open, to be, in any wiſe, palliated; but he continued all this ſummer commanding their armies. In Catalonia, count Stahremberg, after he received re-inforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having, for ſome days, amuſed the enemy, he paſſed the River. The Spaniards deſign'd to give him battle; but Beſons refuſed to ingage: this provoked the Spaniards ſo much, that King Philip, after having writ to monſ. Beſons, thought it was neceſſary to leave Madrid, and go to the army: Beſons produced his orders from the King of France, to avoid all ingagements, with which he ſeemed much mortified. Stahremberg advanced and took Balaguer, and made the gariſon priſoners of war; and with that the campain, on that ſide, was at an end.

In Dauphiny.

Nothing of importance paſs'd on the ſide of Dauphiny: the Emperor continued ſtill to refuſe complying with the duke of Savoy's demands, about ſome territories in the duchy of Milan, which were to have been deliver'd to him: ſo he would not make the campain in perſon, and his troops kept on the defenſive. On the other hand, the French, as they ſaw they were to be feebly attack'd, were too weak to do any thing more than to cover their own country.

Affairs of Ireland.

Before I return to England, I ſhall juſt ſay a word

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word or two of the affairs of Ireland. The earl of Wharton, having been appointed lord-lieutenant, arrived at Dublin the 21ſt of April. The 5th of May, the parliament met, and his excellency made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he recommended "the conſideration of ſome new bills to prevent "the growth of Popery, and cultivate a good "underſtanding among Proteſtants, of whatever "denomination; and urged them, in her Majeſty's "name, to a perfect union and friendſhip among "themſelves, from a conſideration of the happy "union between England and Scotland."

The lords, in an addreſs to his excellency, took the opportunity, from this, to obſerve; "that "her Majeſty did, with juſtice, account the union "one of the greateſt glories of her reign; and, "on this occaſion, they begg'd leave to hope, in "due time, her Majeſty would perfect that great "work, by bringing her kingdom of Ireland alſo "into the union: and they depended upon his "excellency's goodneſs, that as he had been ſo con-"ſiderable an inſtrument in effecting the one, ſo "he would contribute his good offices to accom-"pliſh the other:" but his excellency anſwered, that he had no directions from her Majeſty to ſay any thing on that ſubject. Nothing remarkable having happen'd farther in this parliament, I ſhall only mention, that the lord-lieutenant came to the houſe of peers, the 30th of Auguſt, and having given the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, prorogued the parliament to the 13th of March next inſuing.

Having thus taken a view of the moſt material tranſactions abroad, during the year 1709, I ſhall now mention ſome domeſtic occurrences which happened in the ſame ſpace of time.

The poor Palatines come to England.

This ſummer came over from Holland ſix or 7000 poor people, who were recommended as great objects of charity, having been driven, as it was ſaid, out of their own country, by the French; and to excite the benevolence of well-diſpoſed people, they called themſelves Proteſtant Palatines, and ſo probably the groſs of them were, tho' it afterwards appeared, that many Papiſts herded among them. They were, for ſome time, provided for by the government, and being furniſhed with tents from the Tower, they incamp'd on Blackheath, and in a large field near Camberwel, where the compaſſionate citizens made them charitable viſits; and afterwards a brief was procured to raiſe money for them, which moſt of the biſhops incouraged by circular letters. However, it was thought convenient in the end, to ſend ſome of them back again, and others to Ireland and the plantations.

Addreſſes of the city and lieutenancy of London.

Upon advice of the glorious action and compleat victory of Malplacquet, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of the loyal city of London, in their formalities, waited on the Queen at Windſor, on the 10th of September, with an addreſs of congratulation, on that account. The 17th of the ſame month, the lord-mayor, and the reſt of her Majeſty's commiſſioners of lieutenancy for the city of London, preſented an humble addreſs to her Majeſty, on the ſame occaſion.

Proclamations for a thankſgiving.

The third of October, her Majeſty in council ordered proclamations to be iſſued, for a general and public thankſgiving, to be obſerved, on the 22d of November, for the ſignal and glorious ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms, and thoſe of her allies, this campain.

The plague at Dantzick.

The plague being this year at Dantzick, and ſeveral other towns in the Baltick, an order of council was publiſh'd, that all ſhips, coming from thoſe parts to England ſhould perform quarentain.

Commiſſioners of the admiralty.

The begining of November, the Queen appointed Edward earl of Orford, ſir John Leake, ſir George Byng, George Dodington, eſq; and Paul Methuen, eſq; commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke; on whom her Majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow a penſion of 3000 l. per annum, payable out of the revenue of the poſt-office, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices.

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She likewiſe appointed Matthew Aylmer, eſq; admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, eſq; rear-admiral of the red; ſir John Jennings admiral, and ſir Edward Whitaker, vice-admiral of the white; and ſir John Norris admiral, and John Baker, eſq; vice-admiral of the blue.

Promotion of admirals.

The 8th of November, the duke of Marlborough landed at Alborough in Suffolk, from Holland, and, on the 10th, came to St. James's.

The duke of Marlborough arrives at St. James's.

The 15th of November, the parliament of Great-Britain met, and the Queen being come to the houſe of peers, and the commons ſent for up, her Majeſty made the following moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes:

The parliament of Great-Britain meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

"It is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I am able "to give you ſo good an account of the progreſs "of the war, ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"In the begining of this year, our enemies "made uſe of all their artifices, to amuſe us with "falſe appearances, and deceitful inſinuations of "their deſire of peace, in hopes that from hence, "means might be found to create ſome diviſions "or jealouſies among the allies; but they were "intirely diſappointed in their expectations, and "ſuch meaſures were taken on that occaſion, as "made it impoſſible for them long to diſguiſe "their inſincerity. The operations of the war "were not delay'd; and the campain, which, not-"withſtanding the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon "immediately followed, has been at leaſt as glo-"rious for the allies, as any of thoſe which have "preceded it.

"God Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs us "with a moſt remarkable victory, and with ſuch "other great and important ſucceſſes, both before "and after it, that France is thereby become much "more expoſed and open to the impreſſion of our "arms, and conſequently more in need of a peace, "than it was in the begining of this campain.

"However, the war ſtill continuing, I find "myſelf obliged again to deſire you, gentlemen of "the houſe of commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies "as you ſhall judge neceſſary for the aſſiſting our "allies in all parts, and the vigorous proſecution of "our advantages; that we may put the laſt hand "to this great work, of reducing that exorbitant "and oppreſſive power, which has ſo long threatned "the liberties of Europe.

"I aſſure you, that all you give ſhall be care-"fully applied to the uſe of the war, if it continues, "or to the leſſening of the debts it has neceſſarily "occaſion'd, in caſe of a peace, which, tho' the "many wants and diſtreſſes of our enemies may "naturally lead us to expect, yet our own late ex-"perience may fully convince us, is not to be de-"pended upon any other way, than by being in a "condition to compel them to ſuch terms as may "be ſafe and honorable for all the allies.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I think it proper to take notice to you, that "the great dearth and ſcarcity under which our "neighbors abroad have ſuffered this year, begins "to affect us, in ſome meaſure, at home, by the "temptation of profit, in carrying out too much "of our corn, while it bears ſo high a price in fo-"rein parts.

"This occaſions many complaints from the "poor; for whoſe ſake I earneſtly recommend to "you, to take this growing evil into your con-

"ſideration;

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" ſideration; having not neglected any thing on " my part, towards the remedying of it, that the " law would allow.

" I cannot conclude, without obſerving to you, " of what great advantage it will be, at this time, " to the end we all propoſe to ourſelves, that the " greateſt diſpatch be given to the neceſſary prepa- " rations for carrying on the war."

The commons vote thanks, and a congratulatory compliment to the duke of Marlborough.

The firſt thing the commons did, on the day of their ſiting, after they had voted an addreſs to her Majeſty,, was the coming to this unanimous reſolution; " That the late victory obtained by his " grace the duke of Marlborough, and the other " great and important ſucceſſes of the laſt campain, " were ſo remarkable, that this houſe thought itſelf " obliged to expreſs how ſenſible they were of the " honor and advantage which this kingdom, and " the whole confederacy had received by his emi- " nent ſervices: and that mr. comptroler, mr. ſe- " cretary Boyle, mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, " mr. Onſlow, lord Coningſby, mr. Nevil, lord " William Powlet, mr. Craggs, mr. Compton, " mr. Walpole, mr. Dolben, ſir Charles Hedges, " lord Lumley, and ſir Charles Cox, ſhould give " his grace the thanks of this houſe, and congra- " tulate his grace's ſafety and return to Great-Bri- " tain." The commitee appointed by the commons, having on the 22d of November waited on his grace, with this reſolution, his grace was pleas'd to make the following anſwer:

His grace's anſwer.

" It is a very great honor and ſatisfaction to me, " that the houſe of commons is pleaſed to take ſo " much notice of my indeavors to ſerve the Queen " and my country.

" I cannot be juſt to all the officers and ſoldiers, " who have ſerved me, unleſs I take this occaſion " to aſſure you, that their zeal and affection for " the ſervice, is equal to the courage and bravery " they have ſhewn during this whole war."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

Both the lords and the commons took occaſion, in their addreſſes to her Majeſty, to ſhew the ſenſe they had of the great ſervices performed by his grace: the lords, in theirs, having expreſs'd their joy, in ſeeing her Majeſty ſiting on her throne again, after that great misfortune, which had depriv'd them of her preſence, during the laſt ſeſſion, and return'd their thanks for her ſpeech, ſaid; " the laſt campain was ſo very glorious, whether " they conſider'd the ſtrength of the towns which " were taken, or the difficulty and importance of " the victory, which was obtain'd, that they beg'd " leave to contragulate her Majeſty upon the con- " tinued ſucceſs of her arms, and thoſe of her " allies, under her general, the duke of Marl- " borough, whoſe conduct was worthy of the chief " command, in ſo juſt a war, and whoſe valor " was equal to the bravery of his troops." And the commons, in their addreſs, ſaid: " they beg'd " leave to congratulate her Majeſty upon the con- " tinued ſucceſſes of the laſt campain, particularly " the victory obtained near Mons, by the troops " of her Majeſty, and thoſe of her allies, under " the command of the duke of Marlborough. A " victory ſo remarkable in all its circumſtances, as " muſt convince her enemies, that the courage " and reſolution of her troops, conducted by ſo " great a general, are ſuperior to the greateſt diffi- " culties. They likewiſe took notice how much " they were obliged, by theſe glorious ſucceſſes, " to expreſs their ſenſe of the honor and advan- " tages which this kingdom, and the whole con- " federacy, had received by his eminent ſervices." And aſſured her Majeſty, " that they would inable " her to carry on the war in ſuch a manner, as " ſhould oblige the common enemy to accept a " peace, upon ſuch terms, as ſhould be a laſting " ſecurity to her Majeſty and her allies."

The houſe of lords having ordered the lord high-chancellor to return thanks to the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent ſervices in the laſt campain; his lordſhip, at his grace's firſt appearance in that auguſt aſſembly, this ſeſſion, diſcharg'd his commiſſion, by a ſpeech to the following effect:

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The lord-chancellor returns the duke of Marlborough the thanks of the houſe of lords.

" That he was commanded by the lords, to " give his grace the thanks of that houſe, for his " continued and eminent ſervices to her Majeſty, " and the public, during the laſt campain. Of " which nothing could be greater ſaid, than what " her Majeſty (who always ſpeaks with the utmoſt " certainty and exactneſs) had declared from the " throne; that it had been, at leaſt, as glorious " as any which have preceded it: but that this " repetition of the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly, " had this advantage of the former, that it muſt " be look'd upon as added to, and ſtanding on " the foundations already laid in the records of " that houſe, for preſerving his memory freſh to " all future times. So that his grace had alſo the " ſatisfaction of ſeeing this everlaſting monument " of his glory riſe every year much higher. To " which his lordſhip added his wiſhes, that GOD " might continue, in a wonderful manner, to pre- " ſerve ſo invaluable a life, that he might not " only add to that ſtructure, but finiſh all with " the beauties and ornaments of an honorable " and laſting peace."

To which his grace replied,

His grace's anſwer.

" I look upon it as the greateſt mark of honor " I could receive, that your lordſhips are pleaſed " to take notice of my indeavors to ſerve the " Queen and my country. I beg leave to do " juſtice to all the officers and ſoldiers, who " have ſerved with me. It is not poſſible for " men to ſhew more zeal for her Majeſty's ſer- " vice, or greater bravery, than they done."

A ſupply voted.

The parliament, in the mean time, had not ſet a month, before they had granted all the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the inſuing year, amounting in all to 6,384,266l. 7s. 1d. the particulars of which being very near the ſame the reader has already ſeen in the liſts of foregoing years, I ſhall not repeat them here

Ways and means.

For raiſing this large ſum, beſide the land, malt, and other uſual taxes, a new duty was laid upon houſes, or windows, as alſo on coals, culm and cinders, for thirty-two years, to raiſe a yearly ſum of 135,000l. to pay the intereſt of 1,500,000l. to be raiſed by way of lottery.

Proſecution o dr. Sacheverel.

The greateſt part of this ſeſſion was imployed in the proſecution of dr. Henry Sacheverel, preacher at St. Saviour's, in Southwark, for two ſermons delivered by him; one at the aſſiizes at Derby, the 15th of Auguſt; the other at St. Paul's, on the 5th of November, laſt preceding. Theſe being printed, the commons voted them, on the 13th of December, to be " malicious, ſcan- " dalous, and ſeditious libels, highly reflecting " on her Majeſty and her government, the late " happy revolution, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion:" and order'd that the doctor ſhould appear before them, the next day, where he acknowleged the ſermons to be his; and ſaid he was incouraged to print the laſt, by ſir Samuel Garrard, the lord-mayor, before whom he had preach'd it: but the lord-mayor, who was a member of the houſe, denying he had ordered or incouraged the printing it, the whole weight of their reſentment fell upon the doctor. When he came before the houſe, dr. Lancaſter, vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied him thither, and he was met by above 100 eminent clergymen, in the court of requeſts, among whom were ſeveral of the Queen's chaplains. The commons ordered the doctor into cuſtody of

their

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their ſerjeant, and, on the 15th impeach'd him, at the bar of the houſe of lords, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, refuſing to admit him to bail: but their lordſhips, upon the commons delivering him over to the black-rod, ganted him that indulgence.

The commons having proceeded thus far in order to puniſh dr. Sacheverel, ſome members took occaſion from thence, to ſpeak in favor of another divine, whoſe principles were more agreable to the ſentiments of the majority of that houſe; I mean mr. Benjamin Hoadley (now lord biſhop of Wincheſter) who, in ſeveral writings, had vindicated the revolution; and it was hereupon reſolved; 1. "That the reverend mr. Benjamin "Hoadley, rector of St. Peter's Poor, London, for "having often ſtrenuouſly juſtified the principles "on which her Majeſty and the nation proceeded, "in the late happy revolution, had juſtly merited "the favor and recommendation of this houſe. "2. That an humble addreſs be preſented to "her Majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſ-"ed to beſtow ſome dignity in the church, on "the ſaid mr. Hoadley, for his eminent ſervices "both to the church and ſtate." This addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, by mr. ſecretary Boyle, her Majeſty anſwered: "That ſhe "would take a proper opportunity to comply "with their deſire." However the changes which ſoon after inſued at court, deprived mr. Hoadley of the beneſit of this favor during her Majeſty's reign.

An' 1710. The articles of impeachment being prepared, were carried up to the lords the 13th of January, and were in ſubſtance:

1. "That dr. Sacheverel, in the ſermons above "mention'd, did ſuggeſt and maintain, that the "means uſed to bring about the revolution were "odious and unjuſtifiable.

2. "That the toleration was unreaſonable, and "the allowance of it unwarantable.

3. "That the church of England was in great "peril and adverſity under her Majeſty's adminiſ-"tration; and

4. "That her Majeſty's adminiſtration, both in "eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, tended to the de-"ſtruction of the conſtitution."

The doctor having denied the charge, in his anſwer, and the commons replied to it, he was brought to his trial, before the lords in Weſtminſter-hall, the 27th of February, at which her Majeſty was preſent, in a private apartment ſeveral days, and ſeats were provided for the whole houſe of commons, as a commitee, who attended the trial.

On this occaſion, many very learned ſpeeches were made, as well for as againſt the doctor, by the managers for the houſe of commons on one ſide, and the doctor's council on the other, for which I muſt refer to the trial at large. The queſtion was afterwards put in the houſe of peers, "that the "commons had made good their firſt article of im-"peachment, and alſo the ſecond, third and fourth "ſucceſſively;" and it was reſolved on every article, in the affirmative. The 20th of March, the lords being come down from their houſe, to the court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, the queſtion was again put to every peer, begining with the youngeſt, who having deliver'd their reſpective opinions, the lord-chancellor number'd them, and declared, that there were 120 of their lordſhips preſent; of whom ſixty-three had found dr. Sacheverel guilty of the high crimes and miſdemeanors charged on him, by the impeachment of the houſe of commons, and fifty-two had found him not guilty.

The doctor being brought to the bar, moved in arreſt of judgment; after which the lords adjourned to their houſe; and, on the 23d, the commons came up, with their ſpeaker to demand judgment; whereupon the lord-chancellor acquainted the doctor, who was again brought to the bar, that his exceptions in arreſt of judgment had been overruled; and then proceeded to pronounce the ſentence, as follows: Q. Ann, An' 1710.

"You, Henry Sacheverel, doctor in divinity, "ſhall be, and you are hereby injoined not to "preach, during the term of three years next in-"ſuing: that your two printed ſermons, refer'd "to by the impeachment of the houſe of commons, "ſhall be burnt before the Royal-Exchange, in "London, between the hours of one and two "o'clock, on the 27th of this inſtant March, by "the hands of the common hangman, in the pre-"ſence of the lord-mayor of London, and the "ſheriffs of London and Middleſex." The doctor being withdrawn, an order was made, directed to the lord-mayor and ſheriffs, to ſee the ſentence executed: but the lord-mayor inſiſting, that he was a member of the houſe of commons, he was excuſed from his attendance at burning of the ſermons, purſuant to their lordſhips ſentence, and ſo left the execution of it to the ſheriffs.

This favorable ſentence was look'd upon by the doctor's friends, rather as an acquital, than a condemnation: and that night, ſeveral of the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated, and bonfires made, where every one who paſs'd by was compell'd to drink the doctor's health. There were, likewiſe, during the trial, ſeveral riots and diſturbances; and that part of the mob who eſpouſed his cauſe, expreſs'd their reſentment againſt the Diſſenters: The 1ſt of March in particular they reſorted to the noted mr. Burgeſs's meeting-houſe, near Drury-lane, and having pull'd down the pulpit, pews, wainſcot, and all that was combuſtible, they carried them to Lincoln's-inn-fields, and made a bone-fire of them, crying out High-church and Sacheverel. Several other meeting-houſes alſo ſuffered; but a ſtop was put to theſe riotous proceedings, and the mob diſpers'd, by a detachment of the horſe-guards; after which the guards were doubled, and the train'd-bands commanded to their arms, while the trial laſted, to prevent farther miſchief.

Books and pamphlets burnt.

The houſe of peers ordered, that a pamphlet, intitled; "an intire confutation of mr. Hoadley's "book of the original government," ſhould be burnt, at the ſame time and place, with dr. Sacheverel's ſermon. The commons alſo ordered the following books and papers to be burnt by the hangman: viz. 1. "A collection of paſſages "refer'd to by dr. Sacheverel, in anſwer to the ar-"ticles of impeachment. 2. The rights of the Chri-"ſtian church aſſerted. 3. A defenſe of the rights "of the Chriſtian church; and 4. A treatiſe on "the word Perſon, by ——Clarendon of the Tem-"ple, eſq;" And they were burnt accordingly.

The parliament having finiſh'd the buſineſs before them, her Majeſty came to the houſe the 5th of April, and having given the royal aſſent to the bills which were prepar'd, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great ſatisfaction that I come hither "at this time, to return you my hearty thanks "for the many marks of duty and affection which "you have given me, thro' the whole courſe of "this ſeſſion.

"And I am to thank you, gentlemen of the "houſe of commons, in a very particular man-"ner, for the great diſpatch which you have "made, in providing, ſo early in the year, ſuch "great and effectual ſupplies for the public ſer-"vice: this cannot but make me very deſirous to "repeat the aſſurances I gave you, at the opening "of the ſeſſion, that they ſhould be very care-

"fully

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"fully applied to the uſes for which you have "deſign'd them.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you my great "concern, that you have had ſo neceſſary an "occaſion of taking up a great part of your time "towards the latter end of this ſeſſion.

"I am confident no Prince that ever ſat on "the throne has been more really and ſincerely "kind to the church than myſelf, nor ever had a "more true and tender concern for its welfare and "proſperity than I have, and always ſhall con-"tinue to have.

"The ſuppreſſing immorality, and profane and "other wicked and malicious libels, is what I "have always earneſtly recommended; and ſhall "be glad of the firſt opportunity, to give my "conſent to any laws that might effectually con-"duce to that end: but this being an evil com-"plained of in all times, it is very injurious to "take a pretence from thence to inſinuate, that "the church is in any danger from my admini-"ſtration.

"I could heartily wiſh that men would ſtudy "to be quiet, and do their own buſineſs, rather "than buſy themſelves in reviving queſtions and "diſputes of a very high nature, and which muſt "be with an ill intention, ſince they can only tend "to foment, but not to heal, our animoſities and "diviſions.

"For my own part, it has pleaſed GOD to give "ſucceſs to my indeavors, for the union of my "two kingdoms, which I muſt ever eſteem as one "of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign: ſo I hope "his divine goodneſs will ſtill continue favorable, "and make me the happy inſtrument of that yet "more deſirable union of the hearts of all my "people, in the bonds of mutual affection; that "ſo there may remain no other contention among "you, but who ſhall exceed the other, in contri-"buting to advance our preſent happineſs, and "the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

"Finding, by the advices from abroad, that "our army has not yet taken the field, and that "the plenipotentiaries of France are ſtill in Hol-"land, I think it proper, at preſent, to make the "prorogation but for a very ſhort time."

The parliament prorogued.

Her Majeſty having finiſh'd her ſpeech, the parliament was, by her orders, prorogued to the 18th of that month.

Acts paſs'd.

The moſt important acts paſs'd this ſeſſion, beſide the land, malt, and uſual taxes, were the following: 1. "An act to prohibit the exportation "of corn, for a year, occaſioned by the exceſſive "dearneſs of grain. 2. An act for granting new "duties of exciſe, for a fund for raiſing 900,000 l. "by the ſale of annuities. 3. An act for laying "certain duties upon candles, and certain rates "upon monies to be given with clerks and ap-"prentices. 4. An act for explaining and in-"larging the act 6 Ann, for the ſecurity of her "Majeſty's perſon and government. 5. An act "for the better ſecurity of rents, and to prevent "frauds commited by tenants. 6. An act for re-"gulating the price and aſſize of bread. 7. An "act for incouraging learning, by veſting the "copies of printed books in the authors or purcha-"ſers of ſuch copies. 8. An act to continue the "act for recruiting her Majeſty's land-forces and "marines, for the ſervice of the year 1710. 9. An "act for imploying the manufactures, by incou-"raging the conſumption on raw-ſilk and mohair-"yarn. 10. An act to continue the act for pu-"niſhing mutiny and deſertion, &c. and, 11. An "act for raiſing the militia for the year 1710.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the houſe of commons being informed, that the States-general were inclin'd to grant paſſes to French plenipotentiaries to come to Holland, in order to renew a negociation of peace, they addreſs'd her Majeſty, "that ſhe would be pleas'd to ſend the "duke of Marlborough forthwith into Holland." To which ſhe was pleas'd to anſwer, "that ſhe "had already given the neceſſary directions for "his immediate departure;" accordingly he departed the very next day, and arrived the 7th of March, N. S. in Holland; where I ſhall leave him, to give a brief account of a tranſaction at home, which was, as it were, prefatory to the great change in the miniſtry which ſoon after inſued. The parliament was not long prorogued, when the Queen took a ſtep which gave occaſion to ſevere reflections: the duke of Shrewſbury had left England towards the concluſion of the foregoing reign, as it was ſaid, becauſe a warmer climate was neceſſary for his health. He ſtaid ſeveral years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady; who, upon his return to England, followed him to Augſburg, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which he married her there, and came back with her to England, in 1706. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was thought (by the party he moſt favor'd) that his leaving England, and living ſo long out of it, while we were in ſo much danger at home, added to his marriage, gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion (of his principles, I preſume he means). The duke of Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, lived ſtill in friendſhip with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies ſome had of him. He ſeem'd not to be concern'd at the diſtance in which he was kept from buſineſs; but a few days after the parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her miniſters, took the chamberlain's white ſtaff from the earl of Kent (whom, in recompence, ſhe advanced to be a duke) and gave it to the duke of Shrewſbury. This occaſioned no ſmall uneaſineſs; it being from thence concluded, that a total change of the miniſtry would quickly follow; and it was believed (ſays biſhop Burnet) there was a ſecret management, between him and mr. Harley, with the new favorite. The Queen's inclination to the latter, and her alienation from the ducheſs of Marlborough, began now to appear more and more, and broke out upon many, tho' trivial occaſions. The ducheſs retired hereupon from court, and was ſeen no more at it in this reign. The duke of Shrewſbury (continues our prelate) gave the miniſters very poſitive aſſurances, that his principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt reign, and were in no reſpect altered; upon which he deſired to enter into conferences with them; but there was now too much ground given for ſuſpicion.

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The duke of Marlborough ſent ſuddenly to Holland.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord-chamberlain.

The ducheſs of Marlborough retires from court.

It is now time to take a view of what was doing all this while in Holland, with regard to the negociations for a peace. Tho' all thoughts of a treaty ſeem'd to be at a ſtand, towards the concluſion of the foregoing year; yet, upon the vigorous reſolutions taken in Great-Britain and Holland, for the continuance of the war, the court of France thought fit to make farther overtures of peace. In order to this, the marquis de Torcy ſent, on the 2d of January, another project, which being rejected by the allies, the French reſolved to make farther overtures, and diſpatch'd a cabinet-courier to the Hague, with a letter from the marquis de Torcy to monſ. Pettecum, importing:

"That the French King conſented, that the "preliminaries, which were concerted the year be-"fore, ſhould be the foundation of the future "treaty; and had appointed the marſhal d'Uxel-"les, and the abbot de Polignac, his plenipo-"tentiaries, to treat with the allies of an equiva-"lent,

Negociations for a peace.

Farther overtures made by France.

Rejected by the allies.

Others propoſed.

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lent, for the thirty-ſeventh article, relating to the evacuation of Spain; and that the ſaid miniſters would be ready to meet thoſe of the allies at Antwerp, or any other place, if the allies would but ſend them the neceſſary paſſes."

This courier arrived the 2d of February, N. S. at the Hague, and his diſpatches were communicated the ſame day, by monſ. Pettecum, to the grand penſionary, who communicated them likewiſe the next day to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Queen of Great-Britain. Several conferences being hereupon held between theſe miniſters and the deputies of the States-general, in which meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen aſſiſted, the French courier was ſent back the 13th of the ſame month, with an anſwer from monſ. Pettecum, to the marquis de Torcy's letter, importing:

Reſolution of the allies.

"That the laſt declaration of the court of France being in uncertain and ambiguous terms, the allies required his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive words, that he conſented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-ſeventh article; which done, the allies would ſend paſſes to his miniſters, to treat of an equivalent for the ſaid article.

The French court was not long in reſolving, ſo earneſtly did they at leaſt appear, at that time, inclinable to a peace; for, on the 20th, another courier came to the Hague, with a ſatisfactory anſwer; and, on the 23d, was ſent back, with the paſſes for the French plenipotentiaries. There now ſeemed to be ſome hopes, that the French were in earneſt; however as the States foreſaw the ill effects of ſuffering the French miniſters to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where ſtiring up the people againſt the government, as if they were prolonging the war without a neceſſity, they therefore appointed Gertruydenburg, to be the place to which the French miniſters were to come, to treat with the deputies whom they ſhould ſend to meet them.

Paſſes granted for the French plenipotentiaries.

The 9th of March, N. S. the French plenipotentiaries came to Anwerp, where they deſired that monſ. Pettecum ſhould meet them, before they entered into conference, but this was refuſ'd them: they therefore went on board a yacht prepared for them at Mordyke, where meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, the deputies of the States for this treaty, ſoon after met them, and had a conference with them. The next day they had another for ſeveral hours, after which the deputies ſet out for the Hague, to make their report to their High-mightineſſes, and the French plenipotentiaries went to Gertruydenburg.

They arrive at Gertruydenburg.

To give a particular account of the ſubject-matter of debate, in every day's conference, from the 21ſt of March when they begun again, to the latter end of July, when they intirely broke off, would be too tedious; I ſhall therefore only give the reader a ſummary account of what was propoſed and inſiſted on by the plenipotentiaries of France, on one ſide, and the deputies of the States on the other, without any regard to time and order.

A ſummary account of the whole negociation.

The French propoſed, that the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands, ſhould be given to one of the competitors for the Spaniſh monarchy, without naming which; tho' it was underſtood that they meant King Philip. The deputies did not abſolutely reject this; but ſhewed that the Emperor would never conſent to part with Naples, nor give the French ſuch footing in Italy; and of this the French ſeemed to be ſenſible. The firſt conference ended upon the return of the courier whom they ſent to Verſailles. They moved for another conference, and upon ſeveral propoſitions, there were ſeveral conferences renew'd. The French King deſiſted from his demand of Naples, but inſiſted on that of the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany. However, at length, they went off from that too, and inſiſted only on Sicily and Sardinia. The partition ſeeming now to be ſettled, the deputies preſſed the French plenipotentiaries to give them ſolid aſſurances of King Philip's quiting Spain and the Weſt-Indies; to this (upon notice firſt given to the court of France) they anſwer'd, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would enter into meaſures, with the allies, to force him to it. Many difficulties were ſtarted about the troops to be imployed, what their number ſhould be, and who ſhould command them; but, after all, it appear'd that the execution would be impracticable. It was then propoſed, that the French ſhould pay a ſum of mony annually during the war with Spain; but there again new difficulties aroſe, both in ſettling the ſum, and ſecuring the payment: the French offer'd, for the latter, the bankers of Paris; but theſe were no ſecurity; becauſe they would all be oblig'd to break whenever their King might have a mind they ſhould. In ſhort, it was evident, by all their proceedings, that they deſigned only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the States conſented; and for which the French hoped the houſe of Auſtria would have been inraged againſt them. The French demanded an aſſurance of the deputies, that no other articles ſhould be inſiſted on but thoſe in the preliminaries; this the deputies abſolutely refuſed; for they had reſerved a power, by one of the preliminaries, to all the allies, to make farther demands, when a general treaty ſhould be opened: they ſaid indeed that they themſelves would demand no more; but they could not pretend to limit the reſt of the allies from their juſt demands. This was another artifice to provoke the Emperor and the duke of Savoy; as if the States intended to force them to accept of ſuch a peace as they ſhould preſcribe. In another conference the States rejected the offer of a ſum of mony for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore inſiſted on it, that the French ſhould explain themſelves on the ſubject of evacuating Spain and the Weſt-Indies, in favor of King Charles III, before they could declare their intentions with relation to the partition; and added, that all farther conferences would be to no purpoſe till that was done.

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The French were now reſolved to break off the negociation; and therefore thought proper to call this demand of the States a formal rupture of the treaty; and upon the return of an expreſs, which they had ſent to Verſailles, after ſeveral letters had paſs'd between them and monſ. Pettecum, for decency ſake, they wrote a long letter to the grand penſionary, in the form of a manifeſto, and ſo returned back to France.

Some remarks on this treaty.

This treaty was manag'd by the French plenipotentiaries, on the part of France, and by the Dutch deputies, on the part of the allies, without any other miniſters being concern'd in it; and the count de Sinzendorf, the Imperial miniſter, having twice deſired to be preſent at the conferences, it was refuſed by the Dutch; whereupon he ſent an expreſs to Prince Eugene, who was then in the army, to know his opinion. He adviſed him to follow the example of the Britiſh miniſters, whoſe miſtreſs was ſatisfied to leave it wholly to the wiſdom and integrity of the States-general: but for what reaſon this was done, and whether the Dutch dealt unfairly by the allies, in this negociation, as many in England had, at that time, a jealouſy they did (tho' I hope without a cauſe) I ſhall not pretend to determine.

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mine (1). The laſt conference broke off with great heats, and monſieur Vanderduſſen having uſed ſome warm expoſtulations, the abbot de Polignac replied, in very high terms, reproaching the Dutch with ingratitude towards the crown of France (2). Whether France ever deſign'd any thing, by all this negociation, farther than to quiet their own people, and to amuſe and divide the allies, is yet a ſecret; "but if they really intended a peace, "the reaſon of their going off from it (ſays biſhop "Burnet) muſt have been the account they then "had of our diſtractions in England; which "might make them conclude, that we could not "be in a condition to carry on the war (3)."

Before I enter into a relation of the tranſactions of this campain, I ſhall juſt take a farther view of the great change in the face of affairs at home, that I may afterwards continue the affairs of war, in one connexion, to the end of the year.

A change of the miniſtry, in England begun.

The Queen's intention to make a change in her miniſtry began now to break out: the 14th of June, ſhe diſmiſs'd the earl of Sunderland, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, without aſſigning any malverſation on his part, and gave the ſeals to the lord Dartmouth. This began to cauſe ſome uneaſineſs, both at home and abroad; but her Majeſty, to put a ſtop to, or at leaſt to leſſen it, told her ſubjects here, particularly the governor of the bank, and gave orders to her miniſters abroad, to aſſure her allies, that ſhe would make no other changes. Tho' others ſay, that ſhe told them, ſhe had ſome time before reſolved, to remove the earl of Sunderland, for particular reaſons of ſtate: but that ſhe had not yet determined to make any other change; and that when ever ſhe ſhould, ſhe would take care that the public credit might not be injured thereby. She likewiſe, ſay the former, ſaid the ſame thing herſelf, to the miniſters of the Emperor and the States reſiding here. Theſe concur'd to expreſs their joy in this reſolution of the Queen's, not to make any farther change, and added to it their advice, that ſhe would not diſſolve the parliament, as it began to be ſurmiſed ſhe would. This (ſays biſhop Burnet) was repreſented by thoſe who had never been vers'd in the negociations of Princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's councils; tho' nothing (adds he) is more common, than for Princes to offer mutual advices, in ſuch caſes (4).

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A total change inſues.

About two months after the change of ſecretary of ſtate (viz. the 8th of Auguſt) the Queen diſmiſs'd the earl of Godolphin, from the poſt of lord-treaſurer, and, the next day, put the treaſury in commiſſion: lord Powlet was the firſt in form in the commiſſion, but mr. Harley, who was at the ſame time appointed chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, was the perſon with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was (ſays biſhop Burnet) viſible, that he was the chief miniſter: and now it appear'd, that a total change of the miniſtry, and a diſſolution of the parliament were reſolved on. To enter into a diſcuſſion of the reaſons alledged for and againſt this ſtep of the Queen's, would carry me too far: I ſhall, therefore only obſerve, that, in September, the Queen came to council, and called for a proclamation to

(1) Thoſe who think the Dutch dealt unfairly by us in this treaty, and broke it off, when it was upon the point of being concluded, aſk; "How long would Spain have been able to have reſiſted the united force of the allies, without the aſſiſtance "of France? If it could be ſuppos'd that King Philip would have refus'd to comply with what his grandfather had ſtipulated "for him, and thereby hazarded loſing even Sicily and Sardinia, as well as his other dominions? Beſide, the barrier towns, "which were agreed to be deliver'd up to the Emperor and the Dutch, would have requir'd ſome years to conquer; and had "the French been never ſo inſincere, as was pretended, the allies would have gain'd ſuch an addition of ſtrength by them, "as would have render'd France much leſs formidable than it had been. Had it been our own caſe, and the fortune of war had "reduced us to a neceſſity of abandoning King Charles, and the French had inſiſted, that the allies ſhould not only not aſſiſt him, "but turn their arms againſt the Prince they had ſet up, would it not have been thought a moſt extravagant demand? And, "if it would, was it not much more unreaſonable to deſire the French King to enter into a war with King Philip, to whom "he was ſo nearly allied, by the ties of blood, as well as all other ingagements?

"We had indeed, (ſay they) ſo long talk'd of the boundleſs ambition and exorbitant power of France, that we affected to "have a dread of it, even after that kingdom was reduced ſo low, that our own generals gave out, they could not make head "againſt us another year.

"Every propoſal that was ſaid to come from France, was ſtill condemn'd as unreaſonable before it was examin'd; and if "the reaſonableneſs was ſo conſpicuous, that it could not be denied, than we were taught to exclaim againſt their inſincerity.

"In ſhort (continue they) ſome of the powers ingag'd in the grand alliance were ſuch gainers by the war, the charge "whereof was bore by their neighbors, that any peace whatever muſt have been to their diſadvantage; and, therefore, it is "not to be thought ſtrange, if they talk loudly of the enemy's inſincerity, and rejected all their propoſals. The daily acqui"ſition of new dominions, at the expence of others, poſſibly put ſuch a biaſs upon their judgments, that they might, in ſome "meaſure, believe what they affirm'd. Life of Queen Ann, Vol. II. p. 237.

(2) The French, who retort the inſincerity they are charg'd with upon the Dutch, ſay, it was evident they did not act ingenuouſly, becauſe they would not ſuffer the conferences to be held at the Hague. They knew the populace, who were impatient for a peace, would there have diſcover'd the inſincerity of their rulers; who yet remember'd the diſſatisfaction which appear'd in them, upon monſieur de Torcy's leaving the Hague, the foregoing year, and that they then aſſembled, in a tumultuous manner, to preſs him not to depart till a peace was concluded. For this reaſon (ſay they) the Dutch inſiſted, that the French plenipotentiaries ſhould not come farther than Gertruydenburg, till the preliminaries were concluded, which, they very well knew, France could never accept of; and then, they could inſinuate to the people, that it was France refus'd a peace, tho' very reaſonable conditions were offer'd. Till now the courts of Vienna and London were accus'd of having rais'd difficulties to obſtruct the peace; but now the public began to be undeceiv'd, and it plainly appear'd that thoſe who were at the head of the government in Holland, were not ſo weary of the war as their ſubjects. Their diſingenuity was likewiſe viſible, when they propos'd to hold conferences, which they had not ſo much at heart, as they would have had it believ'd. The intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria ſerved to countenance the ambition they had of increaſing their own power. They were for taking advantage of the troubles of Europe, and the misfortunes of France, to appropriate to themſelves the reſt of the Low-countries, and the whole trade of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, that they might thereby be inabled to give laws to Europe. This was the view of the Dutch, and they ſhewed it plain enough by their conduct, in the conferences at the Hague and Gertruydenburg. They open'd the eyes of all the powers concern'd, and even of their own allies. Theſe, and the like, I ſay, were the reaſonings of the partiſans of France. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 16.

(3) It was obſerved, that from this time, the French were no more ſo deſirous of a peace, and that they talk'd of it with more indifference; whether it was, that they flattered themſelves with a diverſion from the North, or whether it was, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, the diviſions which began to break out at the court of Great-Britain, that made them hope ſome happy revolution in their favor. It is certain (as father Daniel obſerves) that, as matters went afterwards, the allies had cauſe to repent their not accepting the offers made them at Gertruydenburg; but there is on the contrary (as le Clerc remarks) all the reaſon in the world to believe, that they had not repented, if it had not been for ſome unforeſeen events, which produced a ſtrange change in the face of things; and, by raiſing the forlorn hopes of the French, were the occaſion of the allies loſing the principal advantages, which they had grounds to promiſe themſelves, from the glorious ſucceſſes of the war.

(4) It was likewiſe ſaid, in excuſe of her Majeſty's allies intermedling, or giving their advice in this matter, that there ſeem'd to be a parallel caſe, in the Queen's interpoſing at the court of Vienna, in favor of ſome of the Emperor's Proteſtant ſubjects; and even, in the parliament's deſire, that application ſhould be made to the Emperor, to ſend Prince Eugene to command in Spain. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 23.

diſſolve

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diſſolve the parliament, which ſir Simon Harcourt, (made attorney-general, in the room of ſir James Montague, who quited that poſt) had prepared: when it was read, the lord chancellor offered to ſpeak: but her Majeſty roſe up, and would admit of no debate; but ordered the writs for a new parliament to be prepared. About the ſame time, ſhe diſmiſs'd the lord Sommers, and, in his room, made the earl of Rocheſter lord preſident of the council: ſhe ſent to the duke of Devonſhire for the lord ſteward's ſtaff, and gave it to the duke of Buckingham: mr. Boyle was diſmiſſed from being ſecretary of ſtate, and mr. St. John (now lord Bolinbroke) had the ſeals: the earl of Derby was removed from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and was ſucceeded by the lord Berkley.

Several great officers of ſtate, lay down their poſts.

Upon all theſe removes, the lord chancellor came, on the 23d of September, and deliver'd up the great ſeal; but the Queen, not looking for this, was ſurprized at it: and not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe (as biſhop Burnet ſays) with an unuſual earneſtneſs, preſs'd him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, ſhe having conſider'd the matter with her favorites, mrs. Maſham and mr. Harley, received it very readily. At firſt ſhe commited it to the cuſtody of three lords commiſſioners, viz. ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas; Robert Tracy, eſq; a judge in the ſame court, and mr. Scroop, baron of the Exchequer in Scotland; but it was ſoon after given to ſir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton deliver'd up his commiſſion of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the duke of Ormond. and the earl of Orford, with ſome of the commiſſioners of the admiralty, withdrew from that board, in whoſe room others were put. Several other changes were made, both in civil and military imploys; which for brevity ſake I paſs by.

The campain in Flanders.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, having, as I ſaid above, left the management of the treaty at Gertruydenburg wholly to the French miniſters and the Dutch deputies, were no leſs intent on opening the campain than if no ſuch negociation had been on foot. To this end, they ſet out from the Hague, the 15th of April, N. S. for Tournay, near which place the confederate troops were ordered to rendezvous: it having been agreed, that they ſhould again act in concert this year, in the Netherlands. The French had imployed the whole winter in ſtrengthening their lines to cover Douay, and their other frontier towns, and they were now ſo vain to call them impregnable: notwithſtanding which the confederate generals reſoved their firſt attempt ſhould be on theſe impregnable lines. The neceſſary preparations being made, the army began their march, the 20th, at five in the afternoon, in two columns, the right, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, to Pont à Vendin, and the left, by Prince Eugene, to Pont-Oby on the Deule. This march, which was continued all night, was ſo ſudden and ſo well regulated, that, notwithſtanding the great preparations the French had made to fortify and defend their lines, and tho' the chevalier de Luxemburg was incamp'd for that purpoſe, near St. Amand, and the marſhal de Monteſquion (or d'Artagnan) had aſſembled about forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons (ſome accounts ſay but thirty ſquadrons) near Lens and Bethune: yet the next day, about ſix in the morning, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and lieutenant-general Cadogan, with a detachment of fifteen battalions, and fifty ſquadrons, from the duke of Marlborough's column, enter'd theſe lines, at Pont à Vendin, without any oppoſition; the few troops, who guarded that poſt, being ſurpriz'd, and retiring at the approach of the confederates, without firing one ſhot. The French not apprehenſive that the confederate army was ſo near them, were moſtly out that morning, in queſt of forage, ſo that their generals had hardly any cavalry with them; and this likewiſe occaſion'd the loſs of a good part of their officers baggage, their ſervants being with the foragers.

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The confederates enter the French lines.

Upon this almoſt unexpected ſucceſs, the whole confederate army paſſed the lines, the right under the command of the duke of Marlborough, at Pont à Vendin, and the left, under that of Prince Eugene, at Courieres. This ſtruck ſuch an alarm among the enemy's troops, which were aſſembled near Lens, that they retreated, with all the diligence they were able, partly toward Arras, and partly toward Douay. The allies incamp'd, that night, in the plain of Lens, and the 22d marched again very early, to diſlodge the French, who having aſſembled their troops near Vitry, behind the Scarpe, made a ſhew as if they would diſpute the paſſage of that river. The chevalier de Luxemburg, and the horſe from Arras and Bethune, had for that purpoſe, joined the marſhal de Monteſquion; but tho' they were advantageouſly poſted; yet being much inferior in number, and the ſoldiers not having yet recovered their ſurprize and conſternation, they retired with great confuſion and precipitation, towards Cambray, as ſoon as they ſaw the confederate troops approach, leaving part of their tents and baggage behind them. The allies having laid their bridges over the Scarpe, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel was detach'd, with twelve ſquadrons, to fall on the enemy's rear; but they retired ſo faſt, and broke down ſo many bridges, as ſoon as they had paſs'd them, that his highneſs could overtake but a ſmall number of them, and thoſe he made priſoners of war. The priſoners who were taken reported, that very hard words paſſed between the marſhal d'Artagnan, and the chevalier de Luxemburg: the latter laying the blame of the allies having paſs'd the lines on the marſhal, who would not believe they were in a condition to attempt them; while the marſhal blamed the former for not having joined him, as he had orders to do. The army under the duke of Marlborough paſs'd the Scarpe that night, his grace incamping his right near Vitry, on the ſame river, his left at Gouy, and fixing his quarters at the extremity of his left at Gouleſſin.

The enemy retreats with precipitation before them.

The army under Prince Eugene, march'd in the mean time on the other ſide of the Scarpe, between that river and the canal, in order to inveſt Douay, the ſiege of which place had been reſolved on (1).

The ſiege of Douay reſolved on.

The 23d of April, the confederates inveſted Douay, in which was a gariſon of ſixteen battalions, beſide three ſquadrons of dragoons, and ſix other independent companies, and three battalions more in fort Scarpe, the whole commanded by general Albergotti, a brave and experienced officer. The trenches were opened in the night, between the 4th and 5th of May, at two attacks, on the north ſide of the Scarpe, between the gates of Ocre,

Douay beſieged.

(1) All the troops which were to form the confederate army being now arrived in the camp, it was computed to conſiſt of 155 battalions, and 262 ſquadrons; having 262 pieces of cannon, twenty mortars and hawbitzers, and forty pontons. The enemy's army, on the other hand, was computed, at that time, to conſiſt of 204 battalions and 308 ſquadrons, having ninety-ſix pieces of cannon, ſixteen mortars and hawbitzers, and thirty-ſix pontons. Ledlard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III, p. 32.

By this account, the French army was much ſuperior to that of the allies; but if we will believe their accounts, the confederate army conſiſted of 138,000 men, and was ſuperior to theirs by 40,000 men. Le marq. de Quincy, Hiſt. mil. de Louis le grand, Tome VI. p. 318. This computation is however too extravagant to gain belief.

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and Eſquerchien, the reſt of the town being covered by inundations. This ſiege proved a very warm one; the gariſon made ſeveral briſk ſallies, and killed the beſiegers a great number of men. The 29th of May, the marſhal de Villars paſs'd the Scarpe, and advanced towards the allies, as he pretended, with a reſolution to fight them; upon which twenty battalions from the ſiege, and eleven more from the intrenchments between Dechey and Fierin, join'd the grand army, and all other neceſſary diſpoſitions were made to receive them: but the marſhal having continued, for ſome time, within muſket-ſhot of the confederate army, thought fit to retire; and it now evidently appeared, that he had no other deſign, but to keep them in continual alarm, and thereby retard the ſiege: it was therefore thought fit to ſend back the troops, and, to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, orders were given to join the ſeveral redoubts made before the front of the camp, by an intrenchment, and a detachment was ſent to ſecure the poſt of Pont à Vendin. The town held out to the 25th of June, and then the gariſon beat a parly, and agreed to ſurrender the place, together with fort Scarpe, on honorable terms, having held out a

And taken,

ſiege of near two months againſt an army of 100,000 men. The allies found in the place forty pieces of braſs cannon, 200 iron cannon, eight mortars, with ammunition and ſmall arms; but a very ſmall ſtore of proviſions. The loſs of the allies, in this ſiege, was 8007 officers and men; which French authors, and, in particular the marquis de Quincy, magnify to twelve or 13,000 men.

Bethune beſieged.

The 15th of July, the allies inveſted Bethune, and, on the 23d, the trenches were opened, at two attacks. Monſieur de Villars was ſo far from attempting the relief of this place, that he intrench'd himſelf in a very ſtrong camp, from whence he frequently ſent out parties to diſturb the convoys that were coming to the confederate army, and ſometimes fell upon their foragers. In one of theſe rencounters, which happen'd the 24th of Auguſt, a great many men were kill'd, and as both armies ſent freſh troops to ſupport their detachments, it had very near brought on a general battle; but at length, the French drew off their men, and retired to their camp. Bethune, having no hopes of relief, beat a parly the 28th, and ſurrendered the next day upon honorable terms. The enemy loſt near 2000 men, in the defenſe of this place, and the loſs of the beſiegers was computed at 3365 officers and men kill'd and wounded.

And taken.

St. Venant and Aire beſieged;

The enemy continuing ſtill to decline an ingagement, the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene reſolved to make the beſt of the remaining part of the ſeaſon, by laying ſiege to St. Venant and Aire, at one and the ſame time, and thereby to ſecure the navigation of the Lys. Theſe two places were inveſted the 6th of September; but the French having the good fortune to ſurprize a great convoy of ammunition, which was coming up the Lys from Ghent, on the 19th, they kill'd 200 of the guard, made 600 priſoners, and took or deſtroy'd the ammunition; which loſs very much retarded the two ſieges. However St. Venant ſurrendered, on the 30th, upon honorable terms, and the gariſon was conducted to Arras. Aire made a brave defenſe, and it was the 8th of November before the gariſon beat a parly, when they likewiſe obtained honorable terms, and were conducted to St. Omers. The loſs of the allies, at this ſiege, was computed at near 7000 men. The gariſon, which, at the begining of the ſiege, conſiſted of fifteen battalions, was reduced to 3628 men, and 1500 wounded, who remain'd in the place (1).

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The duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene left the confederate army, the 16th of November, having ſettled their winter-quarters, and arrived the 28th at the Hague; where having held ſeveral conferences with the grand penſionary, the deputies of the States, and the forein miniſters, they departed, the Duke for London, and the Prince for Vienna,

Campain on the Rhine.

On the Rhine, both parties being equally unable to enter upon action, the campain paſs'd without any thing conſiderable happening: the French, who in the winter threatned the Empire with a new invaſion, were obliged to weaken their forces on that ſide, to cover their own frontiers, and ſtrengthen their armies in the Netherlands; and the Germans, thro' the uſual ill management of their affairs, were not in a condition to improve that fair opportunity of invading France; and ſo both armies remain'd inactive. The Elector of Hanover wiſely laid down the command of the army of the Empire, not thinking it fit to hazard his reputation any longer, on the promiſes of ſuch as had ſo groſly deceived him in preceding campains; ſo that command was given to count Gronsfeldt.

And in Italy.

The affairs in Italy received this year no viſible alteration; for the diſputes about Comacchio, and the actual recognition of the title of King Charles, being ſtill in the ſame condition, the Imperialiſts remained in poſſeſſion of that place, and the embaſſadors of the Emperor and his Catholic Majeſty, at Rome, did not appear in public with that character; no more than did ſignor Albani, the Pope's nephew, who, in the mean time, continued at Vienna.

Campain in Spain.

In Spain, King Philip went this ſummer to his army in Arragon, in order to hazard a deciſive battle with King Charles, who was likewiſe at the head of his forces. It was however the end of July before they came to an action; but then there was one of great importance near Almanara. The main body of King Philip's horſe deſign'd to cut off a part of King Charles's foot, which was ſeparated from the cavalry commanded by general Stanhope. He drew his whole body together; and tho' he was much inferior in number, he ſent to King Charles for orders to ingage the enemy. It was not without ſome difficulty, and after re-iterated preſſing inſtances, that he got leave to fall on. As the two bodies were advancing one againſt the other, general Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spaniſh general, ſuppos'd to have been lieutenant-general Amenzega, did the ſame. The two generals began the action, and Stanhope was ſo fortunate to kill the Spaniard: his troops animated with the example and ſucceſs of their general, fell on, and broke the Spaniſh horſe ſo intirely, that King Philip loſt the beſt part of his cavalry in that action; upon which he retired toward Saragoſſa; but was cloſely followed by King Charles; and, on the 20th of Auguſt, they came to a general ingagement, which ended in a total defeat: and by

(1) Thus ended the campain in the Netherlands, which, tho' not ſo glorious as ſome of the former, was, however, of great advantage to the allies, who during the courſe of it, made themſelves maſters of two towns of vaſt importance, Douay and Aire (tho' the latter coſt them a little too dear, and almoſt as many men as Douay) and two others of leſs conſideration, Bethune and St. Venant. On the other hand, we muſt confeſs, that the enemy, after the ſurprizing of their lines, carried their chief point, which was to cover Arras, and thereby to ſtop the allies from penetrating into Picardy, which otherwiſe they might have done. Ledizard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 87,

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this means, Arragon was again in King Charles's hands. King Philip was oblig'd to quit Madrid, and King Charles haſtened thither; but found the grandees had all followed his antagoniſt. The inſincerity of the King of France appear'd now in a clear light; for, on this occaſion, he might eaſily have perform'd the obligation of the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, and have obliged his grandſon to have evacuated Spain; but inſtead thereof he ſent him aſſiſtance. King Charles continued in Caſtile till the begining of December; but not being ſufficiently ſupported then, was oblig'd to return to Catalonia for the ſecurity of that principality. The battle of Brihuega was fatal to general Stanhope, and the Engliſh under his command, who were taken priſoners; but whether this misfortune was owing to his miſconduct, by unadviſedly taking a wrong march, and ſeparating from the Imperialiſts, or the neglect of general Stahremberg to ſupport him, in time, as ſome ſay he might have done, and ſo ſacrific'd him to envy, has been matter of great debate, and a caſe too nice for me to pretend to determine. The inſtability of human proſperity appear'd in a moſt ſurprizing manner, in this campain in Spain; both parties being conquerors, and both conquer'd in their turns; but King Philip had certainly the advantage in the end, whereas King Charles's affairs, notwithſtanding he had once this ſummer triumph'd in the capital of the Spaniſh Monarchy, began to have a very diſmal aſpect; for beſide that he was now confined within the narrow bounds of the principality of Catalonia; King Philip gained this ſummer a very material advantage, by having invincible demonſtrations of the affection of the Caſtilians to his perſon and government; inſomuch that neither his two defeats at Almanara and Saragoſſa, nor his retreat from Madrid, nor the preſence of King Charles, with a veteran victorious army, were able to ſhake their loyalty to the houſe of Bourbon.

In Portugal. Nothing material happen'd in Portugal this year; except that, about the begining of July, the marquis de Bay, who then commanded the Spaniſh forces in Eſtremadura, made himſelf maſter of the town of Miranda de Duero, by ſurprize, took 400 men of regular troops and militia in it; and then formed the blockade of Braganza; but this was abandon'd by the marquis de Riſbourg, upon the news of the battle of Saragoſſa; and ſoon after the Portugueſe took, from the Spaniards, Xerez-de-los Cavelleros, Barcarota, Alcanza and Puebla, places of great name, tho' of a very ſmall conſideration, being ſcarce better than villages.

In Piedmont. Nothing paſs'd on the ſide of Piedmont, the duke of Savoy complaining ſtill of the Imperial court, and thereupon refuſing to act vigorouſly; he had beſide a very feaſible pretenſe for not puting himſelf at the head of the army, being at the very juncture indiſpoſed, as well as his two ſons, the Prince of Piedmont and the duke of Aoſta. The count de Thaun took upon him the command of the confederate army: but nothing was done worthy of notice.

Maritime affairs. Our exploits at ſea, this year, were not very conſiderable: ſir Edward Whitaker was left the preceding winter with a ſquadron in the Mediterranean, from whence returning for England, in the month of April, he left a ſquadron there, under command of vice-admiral Baker, who joined ſir John Norris, with another ſquadron, under his command, the 24th of June, at Terragona. Sir John ſail'd from Plymouth the 12th of January, and arrived at Port-Mahon the 13th of March, from whence he afterwards ſail'd to Barcelona, and from thence to Sardinia, where he prevented a deſcent intended by the enemy on that iſland.

The deſign of the enemy, in thoſe parts, being defeated, the fleet ſet ſail again for Barcelona, where they arrived the 18th. The next enterprize was, by particular order from England, on the town of Cette, on the coaſt of Languedoc. The fleet departed from Barcelona, on this undertaking, the 9th of July, and arrived on that coaſt the 13th. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the town and fort of Cette, and thoſe of Agde.

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The troops, being about 700 men, beſide ſome marines, were put on ſhoar the day of their arrival, and, the next morning by break of day, marched towards the town, while ſome ſhips were appointed to batter the fort at the Mole-head, upon which the town, after a very ſmall firing, ſurrendered, as did the fort, in which were eighteen pieces of cannon mounted. A detachment of 300 men being left to ſecure this place, major-general Seiſſan, with the remainder of the troops, marched the ſame day to Agde, where, having taken a poſt which makes the iſle of Cette, the town capitulated that night, and ſurrendered without reſiſtance. But they were obliged to abandon their conqueſts in a few days: for the duke of Roquelaure, with 400 dragoons and 2000 of the militia, had formed a deſign to recover theſe places, the 15th, by croſſing the lake unexpectedly into the iſland of Cette. Sir John Norris geting intelligence of it, maned and armed all the boats of the fleet, and, going with them on the lake, prevented this attempt. However, being informed the 17th, that the duke de Noailles was arrived at Meze, and that 2000 horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind him, were come within four miles of Agde; and beſide, the detachment which was left to ſecure the bridge of Agde, having, upon a falſe alarm, abandoned it, which poſt they now wanted time to regain, it was thought adviſeable to re-imbark the troops, and abandon their conqueſt, which they did, with the loſs only of an advanced guard of fifty men, who did not retire as they were ordered. In this all our hiſtorians agree; but F. Daniel pretends we loſt between three and 400 men in this expedition. A body of 600 of the enemy (ſays he) was defeated on the mountain of St. Clare: 100 were taken priſoners, and a great number was drowned in the re-imbarkation: on our ſide (continues he) we loſt but one grenadier and ſome horſes. De Larrey adds to this, that the confederates were obliged to leave behind them the arms and ammunition which they had landed. He allows, however, that tho' this expedition had not all the ſucceſs expected from it, this good effect for the allies, was the conſequence of it, that it favored count Stahremberg's deſigns. To which we may add, more particularly, that it hinder'd the duke de Noailles from joining King Philip, and, at the ſame time, gave the confederate troops, in the neighborhood of Gironne, an opportunity of re-inforcing King Charles, which made way for the two victories which his Catholic Majeſty ſoon after obtained. This expedition being thus ended, ſir John Norris ſailed again, the 19th, and having ſhewn himſelf off of Toulon and Marſeilles, ſtood into the road of Hyeres, where he deſtroyed a French Scanderoon-ſhip richly laden. He afterwards repaired to Port-Mahon, and remained the winter in the Mediterranean. In America, a ſquadron under the command of captain George Martin, as commadore, with ſome land-forces, under the command of colonel Francis Nicholſon, went upon an expedition againſt Port-Royal, on the coaſt of Nova Scotia, then in poſſeſſion of the French, to which, having taken it after a ſhort reſiſtance, they gave the name of Annapolis-Royal.

The parliament meets. I return now to England, where the new parliament of Great-Britain met, the 25th of November,

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ber, and the Queen having directed the commons to chuſe a ſpeaker, the choice fell on William Bromley, one of the repreſentatives for the univerſity of Oxford; who being preſented and approved, the 27th, her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

Her Majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I have, by calling this parliament, made appear the confidence I place in the duty and affection of my ſubjects; and I meet you here with the greateſt ſatisfaction, having no reaſon to doubt but that I ſhall find ſuch returns as will add new life to our friends, and intirely diſappoint the hopes of our enemies: to this end I ſhall recommend to you what is abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

" The carrying on the war, in all its parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmoſt vigor, is the likelieſt means, with GOD's bleſſing, to procure a ſafe and honorable peace for us and all our allies, whoſe ſupport and intereſt I have truly at heart. For this purpoſe, I muſt aſk of you, Gentlemen of the houſe of commons, the neceſſary ſupplies for the next year's ſervice; and let me put you in mind, that nothing will add ſo much to their efficacy as unanimity and diſpatch.

" I cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the navy and other offices are burden'd with heavy debts; which ſo far affect the public ſervice, that I moſt earneſtly deſire you to find ſome way to anſwer thoſe demands, and to prevent the like for the time to come: the juſtice of parliament, in ſatisfying former ingagements, being the certain way for preſerving and eſtabliſhing national credit. I am ſenſibly touch'd with what my people ſuffer by this long and expenſive war; to which, when it ſhall pleaſe GOD to put an end, the flouriſhing condition of my ſubjects ſhall be as much my care, as their ſafety is at preſent.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of both friends and enemies are upon you: the way to give ſpirit to the one, and to defeat the reſtleſs malice of the other, is to proceed in ſuch a manner as becomes a Britiſh parliament.

" I ſhall, in the plaineſt words, tell you my intentions; and I do this with the greateſt ſatisfaction, becauſe I depend upon their being agreeable to you.

" I am reſolved to ſupport and incourage the church of England, as by law eſtabliſh'd; to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution, according to the union; and to maintain the indulgence by law allow'd to ſcrupulous conſciences.

" And that all theſe may be tranſmited to poſterity, I ſhall imploy none but ſuch as are heartily for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; the intereſt of which family no perſon can be more truly concern'd for than myſelf.

" Theſe are my reſolutions; and your concurrence with me, in a ſteady purſuit of them, will beſt manifeſt your zeal for our religion, for the intereſt of our country, for your own ſafety, and for my honor."

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In anſwer to this ſpeech, the lords preſented a very dutiful addreſs to the Queen, on the 29th, in which " they thank'd her for her ſpeech, and " intirely agreed with her Majeſty in the ſeveral " reſolutions ſhe had declared ſo plainly and ſo " affectionately to her parliament: they repeated " their thanks for her Majeſty's great care for the " Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, " expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the aſſurances her " Majeſty had given to maintain and incourage " the church of England;" and concluded with ſaying, " they had no more to add, but that they " would carefully indeavor to act with unanimity " and diſpatch."

Addreſs of the lords.

To which her Majeſty replied;

My lords,

" I am very glad to find I have your concurrence in the reſolutions I declared to you, and give you thanks for this addreſs, ſo full of affection to me and zeal for the public good."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

The commons, who did not preſent their addreſs till the 2d of December, " thank'd the Queen for " her moſt gracious ſpeech, and for that confi- " dence ſhe had been pleas'd to place in their duty " and affection, aſſuring her Majeſty they would " make ſuch returns as would convince her that " confidence had not been miſplaced. They pro- " miſed effectually and ſpeedily to grant the " neceſſary ſupplies, and to continue to do ſo till " a ſafe and honorable peace ſhould be obtain'd. " They told her Majeſty they would inquire into " the heavy debt the nation was burden'd with, " trace the ſource of that great evil, and apply a " ſuitable remedy: that they heartily concur'd in " all ſhe had been pleas'd to recommend to them; " and particularly, as true ſons of the church, to " ſecure its doctrine, diſcipline and worſhip; as " fellow-Chriſtians, to let Proteſtant Diſſenters " quietly injoy that indulgence which the law has " allow'd them; as Britains, to preſerve the union " between the two parts of Great-Britain; and as " lovers of our excellent conſtitution, both in " church and ſtate, ſteadily to adhere to the Prote- " ſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

Addreſs of the commons.

To this addreſs her Majeſty was pleas'd to anſwer:

Gentlemen,

" I am extreamly well pleas'd with your addreſs, and I fully depend upon the aſſurances you give me of your concuring in all the particulars I have recommended to you.

The Queen's anſwer.

" You may depend upon my care to incourage " thoſe whoſe principles are agreeable to our con- " ſtitution in church and ſtate (1)."

The commons made good their aſſurances to the Queen, and, at ſeveral times, voted 6,600,000 l.

A ſupply voted.

(1) It is remarkable, that the Queen, in her ſpeech, recommended, in general, the carrying on of the war, in all its parts, and eſpecially in Spain; but no mention was made, as had been uſual in the foregoing years, of the ſucceſſes in Flanders, or of the conduct of the duke of Marlborough: nor were they ſo much as hinted at in the addreſſes either of the lords or commons; which undoubtedly was owing to the change of the miniſtry. " The lords (ſays biſhop Burnet) made an addreſs " of an odd compoſition to her Majeſty, which ſhewed it was not pened by thoſe who had pened their former addreſſes: " inſtead of promiſing to do all that was poſſible, they only promiſed to do all that was reaſonable, which ſeem'd to import a " limitation, as if they had apprehended that unreaſonable things might be aſked of them; and the concluſion was in a very " cold ſtrain of rhetoric; for they ended with ſaying, they had no more to add: the commons (adds the ſame author) were " more hearty in their addreſſes." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 558. And another author ſays, the addreſs of the commons was univerſally approved; yet (adds he) it had little or no effect in relation to the public funds, which had fallen conſiderably upon the change of the miniſtry; there was ſtill an uneaſineſs among the monied men; eſpecially as they ſeemed now to be under apprehenſions that the duke of Marlborough would be either laid aſide, or reſign his command. This jealouſy was increas'd, when, on the 28th of November, the earl of Scarborough made a motion, in the houſe of peers, " that " the thanks of that houſe be returned to the duke of Marlborough;" and upon ſome objections being raiſed againſt it by the duke of Argyle, Marlborough's friends being apprehenſive, that if the queſtion were put, the negative might carry it, choſe rather to drop the motion, by ſaying it would be time enough to ſpeak of that matter when the duke was come home; upon which the houſe adjourn'd. Annals of Q. Ann, Vol. IX. p. 263.

and

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and upwards, for the ſervice of the year 1711, of which 1,500,000 l. was for the ſervice of the war in Spain and Portugal, 103,000 l. for the relief of the inhabitants of the iſland of Mevis, which the French had almoſt deſtroy'd the preceding year: the reſt of the mony was for the ſame ſervices as as had been provided for in the preceding years.

Ways and means.

The ways and means for raiſing this vaſt ſum were by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; the malt-tax of four ſhillings the quarter; a fund given for raiſing 135,000 l. per ann. for thirty-two years, to anſwer the prizes of a lottery erected for raiſing 1,500,000 l; another lottery for two millions, divided into claſſes, for which another fund was provided of 186,670 l. per ann. for thirty-two years: and ſuch diſpatch was given in forwarding the ſupply, that, on the 23d of December, the land-tax bill received the royal aſſent, after which both houſes adjourned to the 2d of January.

Mr. Hill named envoy extraordinary and plenipotentary to the States-general, &c.

The 12th of December, the Queen appointed Richard Hill, eſq; to be her envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, and to the council of State appointed for the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant general Cadogan, whom her Majeſty had thought fit to recall from that imployment. About the ſame time, the commiſſions of lieutenant-general Meredith, major-general Mackartney, and brigadier Honeywood were ſuperſeded. An information was ſaid to have been laid before the Queen, that theſe three officers had, in their cups, "drank damnation and confuſion to the new mi-"niſtry, and to thoſe who had any hand in turning "out the old;" which was underſtood as an imprecation on the Queen herſelf. Some perſons who came over about that time from Flanders, undertook to extenuate their crime, by avering, that they only "drank a health to the duke of "Marlborough, and confuſion to all his enemies," a thing uſual in all armies; tho' it happened at this time, to be equivocal. Be this, as it will, mr. Granville, ſecretary at war, was directed to ſignify to them, "That the Queen had no farther occa-"ſion for their ſervice; but that, out of her gra-"cious bounty, ſhe was pleaſed to allow them to "ſell their reſpective regiments." Brigadier Honeywood, being then in London, her Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to him here; and the order for ſuſpending the other two was ſent to the duke of Marlborough, who was then at the Hague, who tranſmited it to them at the Briel, where they were ready to imbark for England (1).

The commiſſions of three general officers ſuperſeded.

Their ſuppoſed crime.

Extenuated by ſome.

The duke of Marlborough arrives in London.

The duke of Marlborough, having imbark'd in Holland, the 23d of December, met with contrary winds; and did not reach Solebay, till the 26th, at five in the afternoon; his grace lay that night at Chelmsford, and arrived the 28th in London. At his entrance into the city, about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great number of people, with links and flambeaux; who, by their acclamations, expreſs'd their joy at his happy return. The duke, tho' he was very ſenſible of the inſtability and emptineſs of the applauſe of the vulgar, could not but have ſome ſatisfaction to ſee himſelf welcom'd by thoſe, who ſome months before were tumultuous in favor of a perſon who was the main occaſion, or rather pretence of the late diſtractions and alterations, which ſeemed principally intended to reach, if not himſelf perſonally, at leaſt his neareſt relations. His grace, however, who was always averſe to popularity, thought it prudence, at this juncture, to avoid the leaſt ſhew of it; and therefore ordered his coach, inſtead of driving directly to St. James's, to go to Montague-houſe, from whence, after having reſted an hour or two, he went out by a private door. Upon his arrival at St. James's, he immediately waited on the Queen, who gave him a very gracious reception, and diſcourſed with him about half an hour, after which his grace retired to his apartment.

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Meets with a gracious reception from the Queen.

Is viſited by the new miniſters.

The duke was ſummon'd to, and aſſiſted at a commitee of the privy-council the next morning; and, the ſame and following days, received the viſits of the earl of Rocheſter, preſident of the council, the earl of Powlet, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and other perſons in the miniſtry. It was however, for many days, a queſtion with the public, whether his grace had any interview with mr. Harley, who had now the greateſt ſhare, both in the Queen's confidence, and in the management of affairs. Thoſe who pretended to have a near inſight into the ſecrets of the court, ſeemed perſuaded, that her Majeſty had reſolved to remove all ſtrangeneſs and coldneſs that might be between them; and the event juſtified their conjecture.

The Queen reſolves to reconcile the duke and mr. Harley.

The duke not thank'd by either houſe of parliament.

The uncertainty whether the duke of Marlborough would be continued in his command in Flanders, caſt, in the mean time, a freſh damp on the public credit: it was therefore the general wiſh and expectation of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial citizens, that, in order to remove this fatal doubt, his grace ſhould receive the thanks, if not of both, at leaſt of either of the two houſes of parliament. But his grace's friends in the houſe of peers, having already failed in one motion for it (as I have ſaid above) were ſhy of attempting it a ſecond time; eſpecially, as they found the majority of the houſe inclin'd to paſs that compliment on the earl of Peterborough: and as for thoſe he had in the houſe of commons, they found their number too ſmall to dare attempting it at all. Thus his grace, inſtead of having the thanks of either houſe, had the mortification to ſee an invidious and ſcurrilous letter publiſhed, ſaid to have been writen to the mayor of St. Albans, and containing what the writer of it called, "Reaſons why a cer-"tain great general had not the thanks of either "of the two houſes of parliament, &c" (2).

The duke of Marlborough however, who, at

(1) The general opinion was, that it was thought neceſſary to make this example, to keep the officers of the army within bounds: it having been reported that ſome, out of an exceſs of reſpect to the duke, had been ſo unwary, as to drop doubtful expreſſions of ſtanding by their general; and it was, beſide, charged upon the old miniſtry in a pamphlet, call'd faults on both ſides, ſaid to be countenanced by ſome great men, that they had formed a deſign of making a general for life: what grounds there were for theſe reports, I ſhall not pretended to determine. General Meredith had ſoon after the farther mortification of loſing his places of governor of Tinmouth-fort, and gentleman of the horſe to the Queen. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 95.

(2) This, together with ſome dubious expreſſions, ſaid to have fallen from the duke's mouth, in the ſubſequent debates, in the houſe of lords, concerning the affairs of Spain, augmented the apprehenſion of many, that his grace would gratify his private diſguſt, and lay down his commiſſion, it being thought natural for his reſentment to ſuggeſt, "That he had acquired "a ſufficient ſtock of honor and wealth to deſpiſe the frowns of fortune; that it would be derogatory to his character to ſtoop "to the authors of the diſgrace of his relations; who, whatever their pretence might be, would never heartily imbrace his "intereſt, nor contribute to the ſupport of the glory he had already gained; that the fate of war being uncertain, the leaſt di-"minution of the proſperity, that had hitherto attended the arms of the allies, might be charged on him as a crime, whereas "if any misfortune ſhould befall them under another general, the court would have reaſon to regret the loſs of ſo proſperous a "commander, and to court him to ſerve again, which would add a freſh luſtre to his reputation." Clef. du cabinet des Princes Jan. 1711, p. 56.

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The duke resolves not to lay down his commiſſion.

his departure from Holland, had ingaged his word to the States-general, and to Prince Eugene, not to abandon the common cauſe, reſolved to concert meaſures with the new miniſtry, with the ſame confidence and hearty zeal he had done with the old: in order hereunto, his grace, on the 19th of January, made a free reſignation of his ducheſs's places at court, by delivering into her Majeſty's hands, the key of groom of the ſtole. This was ſo well taken by her Majeſty, that ſhe was pleaſed not only to renew his commiſſion, but likewiſe to make a diſpoſition of the other generals intirely to his grace's ſatisfaction (1).

Changes and promotions at court.

During theſe tranſactions ſeveral alterations and promotions were made at court: the earl of Peterborough was appointed to go to Vienna, to concert meaſures with the Imperial court, for the vigorous proſecution of the war, particularly in Spain: the earl of Rivers was appointed her Majeſty's miniſter and plenipotentiary to the court of Hanover: the dukes of Beaufort and Hamilton were ſworn of her Majeſty's council; and ſir James Wiſhart, and George Clarke, eſq; were made commiſſioners of the admiralty, in the room of mr. Methuen and mr. Dodington: Charles Whitworth, eſq; was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to the Czar of Muſcovy, as William Jefferies, eſq; was to be her Majeſty's reſident at the court of Sweden: the counteſs of Abingdon was made lady of the bed-chamber; and Conſtantine Phips, eſq; (who had been one of dr. Sacheverel's council) was knighted and made lord-chancellor of Ireland. Some time after, the duke of Argyle was named the Queen's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to King Charles III, and commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces in Spain, and mr. Richard Hill, having declined going envoy extraordinary to the States-general, and to the council of ſtate in the Spaniſh Low-countries, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan, the Queen appointed the earl of Orrery for that ſtation.

Some days paſs'd before the Queen diſpoſed of the ducheſs of Marlborough's places; but, toward the latter end of January, it was made known, that the ducheſs of Sommerſet was made groom of the ſtole, firſt lady of the bed-chamber, and lady of the wardrobe to her Majeſty; and, at the ſame time, that mrs. Maſham was made privy-purſe, in the room of the ducheſs of Marlborough; who, ſome time after, removed from her lodgings in the royal palace of St. James's to Montague-houſe; retaining, of all her former places, only that of ranger of Windſor-park, which had been beſtow'd upon her grace for a certain term of years.

Continuation of the proceedings in parliament.

But to return to the proceedings in parliament; the Queen having received advice of the ill ſucceſs of King Charles's affairs in Spain, ſent meſſages to both houſes, to acquaint them with it; and that ſhe had given directions for ſending and procuring troops, to repair his loſſes; whereupon they addreſs'd her Majeſty, aſſuring her of an effectual ſupport, in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures as ſhe ſhould think proper for retrieving the loſs in Spain.

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The 12th of January, among other things which paſs'd in the houſe of peers, the late miniſtry was cenſured, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the diſappointment of the expedition againſt Toulon: by being in a great meaſure the occaſion, that the war was carried on offenſively in thoſe parts, contrary to the opinion of the earl of Peterborough.

The late miniſtry cenſured.

A memorable debate in the houſe of lords.

" On this occaſion (ſays biſhop Burnet) it was " moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the " Queen, to free thoſe who were under an oath " of ſecrecy, from that ty, that a full account " might be laid before the houſe of all their conſultations: the Queen granted this readily; and " came to the houſe; which was underſtood to be " on deſign, to favor that which was aimed at. " Upon this, the duke of Marlborough, the earls " of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the lord " Cowper ſhewed, that, conſidering the force " ſent over to Spain, under the lord Rivers, they " thought an offenſive war was adviſeable; that " the expence of this war was ſo great, and the " proſpect ſo promiſing, that they could not but " think an offenſive war neceſſary; and that to adviſe a defenſive one, would have made them " liable to a juſt cenſure, as deſigning to protract " the war. The deſign on Toulon was no way " intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the earl of " Peterborough fancied he was in that ſecret, and " had indeed propoſed the bringing over ſome " troops from Spain on that deſign, and had offered a ſcheme to the duke of Savoy, in which " that was mentioned, and had ſent that over to " England: but tho' the duke of Savoy ſuffered " that lord to amuſe himſelf with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on " Toulon; that duke had declared he would not " undertake it, if it was not managed with the " utmoſt ſecrecy, which was ſacredly kept, and " communicated only to thoſe, to whom it muſt " be truſted for the execution of it. No troops " from Spain were to be imployed in that ſervice, " nor did it miſcarry for want of men. Theſe " lords farther ſaid, they gave their opinions in " council, according to the beſt of their judgment; " their intentions were ſincere, for the ſervice of " the Queen, and to bring the war to a ſpeedy " concluſion. Yet a vote paſs'd, that they were " to blame for adviſing an offenſive war in Spain, " upon which the loſs of the battle of Almanza " followed: and that this occaſioned the miſcarrying of the deſign upon Toulon" (2).

The earl of Peterborough receives the thanks of that houſe.

The earl of Peterborough received, on this occaſion the thanks of the houſe of peers, for his eminent

(1) The duke of Marlborough having been thus continued in the command of the Britiſh forces in Flanders, and the duke of Argyle (who had given his grace ſome uneaſineſs) being recall'd from thence, and ſent into Spain, it was the opinion of many, that a reconciliation was actually effected between the duke and the new miniſtry: but the author of four letters, written in vindication of the late miniſtry (as it was ſuppoſed by dr. Hare, now lord biſhop of Chicheſter) with regard to the management of the war, and the negociations of peace; and who, it was generally believed, received hints and inſtructions from his grace, plainly inſinuated, that little more harmony was to be expected between two rivals in power, than between a falling and a riſing favorite. Some perſons (ſays that author) would ſtill pretend to put a good face upon the matter, and do not queſtion from the duke of Marlborough's paſt ſucceſſes, but that he will yet frighten our enemies into an honorable peace: but, I am afraid, he is not likely to do ſo much, at this time, when the enemy are incouraged to take heart afreſh, the allies full of jealouſies and fears, and himſelf extreamly mortified. Things are not the ſame, any more than the uſage he meets with: when he is uneaſy in his thoughts, undermin'd in the favor of his ſoverein, and vilely miſrepreſented to the people: when his want of intereſt at home makes it impoſſible for the allies to depend upon the hopes he gives them: when he is without authority in his army, where it is made criminal to eſpouſe his intereſt, and to fly in his face is the ſureſt means to advancement; when it is meritorious in his officers to cabal againſt him, and the moſt factious will be thought the moſt deſerving. With what heart can a man in theſe circumſtances ſerve? Or, what ſucceſs can be expected from him, when he is to depend upon profeſs'd enemies for his ſupport? It is little I think we can hope for, even from him hereafter; tho' that little be more, than any body elſe could do.

(2) Here was a new and ſtrange precedent of cenſuring a reſolution taken in council; and of deſiring the Queen to order all that had paſs'd in council, to be laid before the houſe: in all the hot debates, in King Charles I's reign, in which many

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eminent and remarkable ſervices in Spain; which, as the duke of Marlborough had not, this year, been honored with the ſame, could not but be a mortification to him, as were, without doubt, the cenſures which inſued, in an addreſs of their lordſhips to the Queen, with regard to the affairs of Spain, on the late miniſtry, and the earl of Galway, in whoſe favor his grace had ſpoken (1).

The duke of Marlborough goes to Blenheim-houſe.

The anniverſary of the Queen's birth day was obſerved, on the 6th of February, with great pomp and ſolemnity; but the duke of Marlborough did not appear at this feſtival, having, with her Majeſty's leave, ſet out four days before for Blenheim-houſe, accompanied by the marquis de Paſcal, governor of Bruſſels, who was lately come from Flanders, and monſieur de Seiſſan, who likewiſe came back with the duke to London, and, on the 18th, ſet out with him, together with the earl of Orrery, to imbark for Holland. His grace, before his departure, received poſitive aſſurances, that the payment of the troops under his command, would be as effectually taken care of, by the new miniſtry, as it had been by the old, and her Majeſty was pleaſed to write a very polite letter to the States-general, about the duke of Marlborough, whoſe conduct ſhe yet declared herſelf intirely ſatisfied with.

Returns to London, and imbarks for Holland.

Proceedings of the commons.

The commons were, in the mean time, no leſs intent on caſting an odium on the late miniſtry, in order to compliment and fix the new. With this view, mr. Robert Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer, having informed the houſe, that ſome very conſiderable abuſes had been diſcover'd in the victualing, and that a member of the houſe had been named, as concern'd therein, an addreſs was preſented to the Queen, praying, that the examination which had been taken relating to this matter, might be laid before the houſe. This being accordingly done, it appear'd, that mr. Ridge, a Brewer at Portſmouth, was the member therein mention'd; who being order'd to attend in his place, and a commitee appointed to examine the accounts laid before the houſe, upon their report, they voted, "That there had been many notorious imbezzlements and ſcandalous abuſes in the management of her Majeſty's brew-houſe, and in contracts for furniſhing beer, to the defrauding of the public, and injury to the ſeamen: that Thomas Ridge, eſq; having contracted to furniſh 5513 tun of beer, upon his own account, and 2704 tun of beer, in partnerſhip with mr. Dixon, and having received bills for the whole, altho' he had deliver'd out but 3213 tun on the firſt, and 1269 tun on the latter contract, be expell'd the houſe; and that an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, to cauſe the ſaid mr. Ridge to be proſecuted for the ſame (2):" and ſeveral other Brewers were likewiſe ordered to be proſecuted on the ſame account. A commitee was afterwards appointed to examine into the occaſion of the coming over of the Palatines, and upon a ſuppoſition that the "act for a general naturalization," might have given them incouragement to it, a bill paſs'd the commons for repealing that act, but it was rejected by the lords, as was likewiſe another, to limit the number of officers in the houſe of commons.

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Acts paſs'd.

The 31ſt of January, the royal aſſent was given to the malt-act, by commiſſion, her Majeſty being indiſpos'd; and, on the laſt of February, the Queen in perſon, gave the royal aſſent. 1. "To "an act for continuing the act for recruiting her "Majeſty's land-forces and marines, for the ſer-"vice of the year 1711. 2. An act for ſecuring "the freedom of parliaments, by the farther qua-"lifying the members to ſit in the houſe of com-"mons;" and to two private bills.

Monſieur de Guiſcard ſtabs mr. Harley;

The 8th of March, the marquis de Guiſcard, being ſeiz'd for high-treaſon, and carried before a commitee of the privy-council, attempted the murder of mr. Harley, while under examination, by ſtabing him in the breaſt with a penknife, which lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle, and the wound did not prove mortal; tho' it was thought deſperate for ſome weeks. Upon information, in the houſe of commons, that mr. Harley's wound was almoſt heal'd, and that he would, in a few days come abroad, they came to the unanimous reſolution; "That "when the right honorable Robert Harley, eſq; "chancellor of her Majeſty's Exchequer, attends "the ſervice of this houſe, the ſpeaker do, in the "name of this houſe, congratulate the ſaid mr. "Harley's eſcape, and recovery from the barba-"rous and villainous attempt made upon him, by "the ſieur de Guiſcard;" which was done accordingly, the 17th of April.

But the wound not mortal.

Mr. Harley is complimented by the houſe of commons.

The ſame day the parliament began to ſit, the convocation of the clergy of Canterbury alſo met, and the lower-houſe choſe dr. Atterbury, dean of Carliſle, their prolocutor: but the two houſes ſoon fell into diſputes again, which put a ſtop to their proceedings for a time: but, on the laſt of January, a letter from her Majeſty to the Metropolitan being read to both houſes, importing: "That "whereas, by her royal licence, ſhe had, among "other things, impowered and authorized them "to confer, treat, debate, conſider and agree up-"on ſuch points, matters, cauſes and things, as "ſhe, from time to time, ſhould deliver, or cauſe "to be delivered to them in writing, under her "ſign manual, or privy-ſignet;" ſhe accordingly tranſmited to them the heads of ſuch matters as ſhe thought proper to be conſidered by the

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reſolutions taken in council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any cenſure on them was never attempted by men who were no way partial in favor of the prerogative: but they underſtood well what our conſtitution was in that point. A reſolution in council is only the ſoverein act, who, upon hearing his counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own reſolution. A counſellor may indeed be liable to cenſure, for what he may ſay at that board; but the reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect; but, by this precedent, it may be hereafter ſubject to a parliamentary inquiry. "The Queen "(ſays my author) was ſo deſirous to have a cenſure fix'd on her former miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound "given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done." Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 561.

(1) I never (ſays biſhop Burnet, on concluding his account of this matter) ſaw, "any thing carried on, in the houſe of "peers, ſo little to their honor as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: they ſaid ſomewhat was "to be done to juſtify the Queen's change of the miniſtry. And every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to "be above all cenſure: ſo the misfortune of Almanza, being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the load there. The "management of the public treaſure was exact and unexceptionable: ſo that the ſingle misfortune of the whole war was to be "magnified. Some were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe votes; becauſe, by the act of grace, all thoſe who had been "concern'd in the adminiſtration, were cover'd from proſecution and puniſhment: ſo this was repreſented to ſome as a compli-"ment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt." Ib.

(2) Tho' this affair made a great noiſe, and appeared very odious at firſt ſight; yet mr. Ridge was not only ſcreen'd from proſecution, but continued to be imployed, and it was alleg'd in his juſtification, that tho' the matter charg'd upon him was fact, yet he had neither wrong'd the public, nor the ſeamen, nor had he made any private advantage to himſelf: but had paid the value of the beer not deliver'd, to the captains of her Majeſty's ſhips, which were imploy'd in the Mediterranean, who laid it out there in liquors more proper and agreeable for the uſe of the ſailors in thoſe warmer climates: and this was likewiſe alleg'd in favor of other brewers.

ſaid

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ſaid convocation: viz. 1. "The drawing up a "repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of religion "among us, with regard to the late exceſſive "growth of infidelity, hereſy and profaneneſs. "2. The regulating the proceedings in excommu- "nications, and reforming the abuſes by commu- "tation-mony. 3. The preparing a form for the "viſitation of priſoners, and particularly con- "demned perſons. 4. For admiting converts "from the church of Rome, and ſuch as ſhould "renounce other errors. 5. For reſtoring thoſe "who have relapſed. 6. The eſtabliſhing rural "deans, and rendering them more uſeful. 7. The "making proviſions for preſerving and tranſ- "miting more exact terriers and accounts of glebes, "tithes, &c. 8. The regulating licenſes for ma- "trimony, &c." Commitees were accordingly appointed by both houſes to take theſe weighty matters into conſideration, but freſh difficulties ſoon after aroſe, occaſion'd by a new licenſe grant- ed by her Majeſty, appointing and ſetling the preſidentſhip of the convocation, and the order of the ſucceſſion of biſhops to act in that office, during the abſenſe of the preſident, or that of one or more of the biſhops appointed to act ſucceſſively in his or their abſenſe, which again put a ſtop to their proceedings for a time. And tho' the joint commitees did afterwards go upon buſineſs, nothing of importance was brought to maturity; excepting a ſcheme, which the lower-houſe laid before the houſe of commons, of the additional churches they ſuppos'd to be wanting in and near the cities of London and Weſtminſter, which was occaſion'd by a petition preſented to the houſe of commons, by the miniſter and church-wardens of Greenwich, praying relief for the re-building of their church; upon which they appointed a commitee to conſider of the great want of churches in the cities of London and Weſtminſter and ſuburbs thereof. This being likewiſe quicken'd by a ſolemn repreſentation from the Queen, the commons afterwards paſs'd a "bill "for the building of fifty new churches in the "cities of London and Weſtminſter, &c." and gave the duty of one ſhilling per chaldron on coals, from the 29th of September 1716, to the 29th of September 1719, for raiſing the ſum of 350,000 l. for that pious ſervice.

Bill for erecting fifty new churches.

Death of Emperor Joſeph.

The 17th of April, captain Powel arrived at Whitehall from the Hague, being ſent expreſs by the lord Raby, who had been appointed to ſucceed the lord Townſhend, as her Majeſty's embaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general, with an account that the Emperor Joſeph I, died of the Small-pox at Vienna, the 17th of that month, N. S. upon which her Majeſty reſolved to concert meaſures with her high allies, to advance King Charles III to the Imperial throne. On the 20th, her Majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons; "acquainting them with this her reſo- "lution, in which, ſhe ſaid, the States-general had "likewiſe concur'd; aſſuring them, at the ſame "time, ſhe had an intire confidence in the affec- "tion and duty of her parliament, that with their "aſſiſtance, under the protection and bleſſing of "Almighty God, ſhe ſhould be inabled to "make a happy concluſion of this war, in a ſafe "and honorable peace." Both houſes agreed, the ſame day, in an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame evening; and in which "they "not only approved her Majeſty's meaſures; but "told her, they could not be diſcouraged by this, "or any other misfortunes, from ſupporting her "Majeſty, in all the meaſures ſhe in her great "wiſdom ſhould judge proper, to bring this war "to a happy concluſion by a ſafe and honorable "peace (1)."

Reſolutions taken by the Queen thereupon.

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Approved by parliament.

The 2d of May mr. chancellor of the Exchequer propos'd a "ſcheme he had form'd to ſatisfy all pub- "lic and national debts and deficiences," by allowing the proprietors of thoſe debts and deficiences an intereſt of ſix per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, and incorporating them to carry on a trade to the South-Seas. There was, at that time, a great debt upon the navy, occaſion'd partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the ſervice at ſea; but chiefly by the neceſſity of applying ſuch ſupplies as were given, without appropriating clauſes, to the ſervice abroad; which it was impoſſible to carry on by credit, or without ready mony; ſo it was judg'd more convenient and conducive to the public good, to let the navy-debt run on. This had riſen up to ſeveral millions; and the diſcount on navy-bills run high. This whole debt was thrown into one ſtock, and a fund form'd by parliament for paying the intereſt at ſix per cent (2). This ſcheme was received with a pretty general applauſe, tho' there were not waning thoſe who were very free in calling it a groſs and palpable illuſion: however, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in to put it in execution, and it was obſerved, as a lucky incident for mr. Harley, that the very day he laid his ſcheme before the commons, the earl of Rocheſter, preſident of the council, and maternal uncle to the Queen, died ſuddenly; which rid him of the only competitor in the Queen's favor, from whom he had any oppoſition to apprehend, and gave him the juſt title of prime miniſter (3).

Mr. Harley's ſcheme for ſatisfying the public debts.

Mr. Harley made a peer of Great-Britain;

The Queen having reſolved to reward the many ſignal and eminent ſervices of Robert Harley, eſq; chancellor of her Majeſty's Exchequer, and one of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, in a moſt diſtinguiſhing manner; ſhe firſt created him baron Harley of Wigmore in the county of Hereford, and earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The patent having paſs'd the great ſeal, the 24th of May, his lordſhip was, the next day, introduced into the houſe of peers, in his robes, and after the reading of his patent took his place accordingly. The 29th, the Queen appointed the new earl of Oxford lord high-treaſurer of Great-Britain; and the 1ſt of June his lordſhip took the uſual oaths to qualify him for entering into that high poſt.

And lord high-treaſurer.

Repreſentation of the commons to the Queen.

A commitee of the houſe of commons having

(1) The moſt diſcerning thought, that the Queen's meſſage gave a glimpſe of the project the new miniſtry formed, upon the death of the Emperor Joſeph, viz. to make a peace, by yielding Spain and the Weſt-Indies to King Philip; not only becauſe of the great expence it would coſt to regain them, and the inſuperable difficulties which would occur in the attempt; but alſo, becauſe, in their opinion, it would deſtroy the balance of Europe, which was the main object of the grand alliance: and both houſes of parliament having, in their addreſs, ſhewed a readineſs to approve any meaſures her Majeſty ſhould think proper to procure a peace, the miniſtry might now purſue their ſcheme under the ſanction of that authority. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 119.

(2) "The flatterers (ſays biſhop Burnet) of the new miniſters made great uſe of this to magniſy them, and to aſperſe the "old miniſtry; but a full report of that matter was ſoon after publiſhed, by which it appear'd, that the public mony had "been manag'd with the utmoſt fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not mony enough to "anſwer all the expence of the war, it was neceſſary to apply it to that which preſſed moſt, and where the ſervice could not "be carried on by credit: ſo this debt was contracted by an inevitable neceſſity; and all reaſonable perſons were fully ſatisfied "with this account of the matter." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 573.

(3) This was the begining of the South-ſea-company, which has ſince been ſo famous not only in England, but throughout all Europe; and has been the occaſion not only of ſo much good, but, at the ſame time, of ſo much evil, that the hiſtory of it will hardly paſs, in future ages, for any thing more than meer fiction and fable.

been

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been appointed to inſpect the miſmanagements in the ſeveral offices, and having made their report, the commons, to compleat the buſineſs of this ſeſſion, reſolved, on the 24th of May, "that an "humble repreſentation be laid before her Majeſty, "of the ſeveral reports and reſolutions of the "houſe, upon the ſaid miſmanagements." A commitee being appointed accordingly, to draw up this repreſentation, it was approved by the houſe, and preſented, in a body, the 4th of June.

The inſtances of miſmanagements, in this long repreſentation, which were laid down as grievances that required to be animadverted upon, were chiefly; "the altering or inlarging the ſupplies "given by parliament, in an illegal manner, which "had been one occaſion of the national debt: "the miſapplication of the public mony: abuſes "and imbezelments in the Queen's brew-houſe, "and in victualling the navy: the public mony "having been left in the hands of the receivers "general, which had been another occaſion of the "national debt: that above thirty-five millions of "the public mony was unaccounted for: that the "public mony had been miſapplied in ſubſiſting "the Palatines, a uſeleſs people, being a mixture "of all religions, dangerous to our conſtitution in "church and ſtate; and that therefore thoſe who "adviſed the bringing them over were enemies to "the Queen and kingdom: that a new charter "had been impos'd on the corporation of Bewd-"ley: that by theſe and the like practices irre-"parable damages had accrued to the public, if "the Queen had not removed from the admini-"ſtration, the authors of them, who, by their "undutifulneſs to her Majeſty, had expoſed them-"ſelves to the indignation of the people: they "therefore, to conclude, beſought her Majeſty "to avoid ſuch miniſters, who having depreſſed "the friends of her Majeſty and the church, and "prefer'd only men of licentious and impious "principles, were the greateſt enemies to her "royal dignity and the peoples ſafety (1)."

To this repreſentation her Majeſty made the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

The Queen's anſwer.

"This repreſentation gives me freſh aſſurances "of your zeal for my ſervice, and for the true "intereſt of your country.

"It contains many particulars; I will take them "all into my ſerious conſideration, and then give "the neceſſary directions to redreſs the grievances "you complain of.

"Be aſſured, that your advice, upon all occa-"ſions, has the greateſt weight with me."

Addreſs for inquiring into the ſtate of affairs in Spain and Portugal.

The 7th, the commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, "to appoint perſons to inquire into the "number and quality of the forces in her Majeſty's "pay in Spain and Portugal, and to examine the "ſtate of the payments and accounts relating to "the ſaid forces; and to the gariſons and fortifi-"cations of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and alſo "the accounts of the agent-victuallers and com-"miſſaries of ſtores in thoſe parts." This being done accordingly, mr. ſecretary St. John acquainted them, on the 11th, that her Majeſty had readily complied with their deſires in their ſeveral addreſſes.

The 12th, the Queen came to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, and the commons attending, her Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to ten public and ſeven private bills, after which ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

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The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

"It is with great pleaſure I tell you, at the end "of this ſeſſion, that you have fully made good "all the aſſurances you gave me at the begining "of it.

"This I look upon as a farther pledge of my "ſubjects duty and affection, which is the firmeſt "ſupport of my throne.

"I thank you, gentlemen of the houſe of "commons, in a particular manner, for what you "have done; you have complied with my de-"ſire in granting a ſupply for building many new "churches; and you have not only inabled me to "carry on the war, but have made effectual pro-"viſion for paying thoſe heavy debts which were "almoſt grown an inſupportable burden on the "public: and this at a time when our enemies every "where pleas'd themſelves with the hopes that "the ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year "could not have been found. You have diſap-"pointed them in all reſpects, and by the great "ſums you have raiſed, the greateſt ever granted "to any Prince in one ſeſſion, you have reſtored "the public credit, which I will take care to "preſerve by a frugal management. The world "muſt now be ſatisfied that nothing can be too "difficult for a parliament fill'd with ſo much "zeal for the true intereſt of the nation in church "and ſtate.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſatisfaction I take in the power with "which God has intruſted me, is to imploy it "for the protection and good of all my people, "whoſe proſperity I have as much at heart, as "ever any of my predeceſſors had.

"You ſee the happy effects of a mutual con-"fidence between me and my ſubjects; I ſhall "look upon any attempt to leſſen it as a ſtep "towards diſſolving my government.

"The temper you have ſhewn, will, I hope, "convince thoſe who have the misfortune to differ "from our church, that their liberty is not in "danger. It is needleſs for me to repeat the aſ-"ſurances of my earneſt concern for the ſucceſſion "of the houſe of Hanover; and of my fix'd reſo-"lution to ſupport and incourage the church of "England, as by law eſtabliſh'd.

"You are now returning to your ſeveral coun-"tries, and I expect from you, that you will far-"ther recommend yourſelves to me, by ſtudying "to promote the public peace and quiet."

The parliament prorogued.

The lord-keeper then prorogued the parliament by her Majeſty's command, to the 10th day of July next inſuing.

Acts paſs'd.

The principal acts which received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion, beſide thoſe already mention'd, were; 1. "An act to oblige ſhips coming from places "infected, more effectually to perform quarentain. "2. An act for reviving, continuing and appro-"priating certain duties, &c. to raiſe 1,530,000 l. "by way of lottery. 3. An act inabling and "obliging the bank of England, for a certain "time, to exchange all Exchequer bills for ready "mony, upon demand, &c. 4. An act allowing "the importation of French wines, &c. 5. An "act to continue the acts for puniſhing mutiny and "deſertion, and falſe muſters, &c. 6. An act for "eſtabliſhing a general poſt-office, for all her "Majeſty's dominions, &c. 7, 8. Two acts for "laying certain duties on hides, ſkins, vellum, "parchment and hops. 9. An act for taking, "examining and ſtating the public accounts of the

(1) "This addreſs (ſays biſhop Burnet) was artfully ſpread thro' the nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſs'd, "that it was not eaſy to undeceive them even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences: the nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond "the power of conviction." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. 2. p. 573.

"kingdom.

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" kingdom. 10. An act for preventing exceſſive " and deceitful gaming. 11. An act making it " felony, without benefit of the clergy, to make " an attempt on the life of a privy counſellor, in " the execution of his office. 12. The South-" ſea act. 13. An act for the building fifty new " churches, in and about the cities of London and " Weſtminſter. 14. An act laying certain new " duties for ſecuring a yearly fund of 186,670 l. " for thirty-two years, for the ſatisfaction of the " 2,000,000 lottery. 15, 16. Acts for the more " effectual preſervation of the game, and of the " fiſhery in the river Thames. 17. An act for " raiſing the militia for the year 1711. 18. An " act for incouraging the trade to America. 19. " An act for the incouragement of the coal trade. " And, 20. An act for the more effectual pre-" venting abuſes and frauds of perſons imployed in " certain manufactures."

Having thus given an account of parliamentary affairs, and other domeſtic occurences, I ſhall now proceed to forein tranſactions, and firſt, the campain in Flanders.

Campain in Flanders.

The duke of Marlborough, of whoſe departure from England, I have already given an account, arrived at the Hague, the 4th of March, N. S. where he continued ſome time, and was in daily conference with the deputies of the States, to concert the operations of the campain. This done, he aſſembled the confederate army the 30th of April at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay, the next day he paſs'd the Scarpe, and incamp'd between Douay and Bouchain, and the enemy poſted themſelves behind the Senſet, in a camp that was look'd upon as inacceſſible.

Prince Eugene, who was detained at Vienna on occaſion of the Emperor's death, did not join the duke till the 23d of May: and our two generals reſolved to continue in their poſts as long as poſſible, in hopes that the ſcarcity of forage would oblige the enemy to decamp, The 14th of June, the army under the duke of Marlborough march'd, and having paſs'd the canal of Arleux, and the Scarpe near Vitry, in the preſence of the enemy, incamp'd on the plains of Lens: the duke's deſign in this motion was in hopes to draw the enemy to ſome action; and they did indeed alter the ſituation of their camp, and began to lay bridges over the Scheld as if they deſign'd to paſs it: but they made no farther motion. The ſame day Prince Eugene detach'd the Imperial and Palatine troops, conſiſting of fifty ſquadrons and twelve battalions, to the Upper-Rhine, to make head againſt the French on that ſide, who had received conſiderable re-inforcements, and gave out that they intended to penetrate again into Bavaria, and imbroil the Empire while it remained without a head.

The confederate army being now fully aſſembled, conſiſted as follows: the right wing, under command of Prince Eugene, of ſixty-five battalions of foot, and 120 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons; the left, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, of 119 battalions and 226 ſquadrons; together 184 battalions, and 341 ſquadrons, with 111 cannon, eight hawbitzers and forty pontons.

The allies take Arleux;

The duke of Marlborough was informed, that, after he had left his former camp, the enemy had repair'd the dike at Arleux, in order to ſtop the water of the Senſet from runing into the canal of Douay, and thence into the Scarpe, whereby the mills of Douay were render'd uſeleſs; and that they had likewiſe fortified the caſtle of Chanterin, and made a redoubt at the mills of Arleux to cover it: he therefore cauſed that poſt to be attack'd, the 6th of July, and took it, making a captain of grenadiers, and 125 men who defended it, priſoners of war. This poſt was judg'd of ſuch importance, that the duke thought fit to put it into a better poſture of defenſe; and the works being finiſh'd, a gariſon of 600 men were left in the place under the command of colonel Savary, and, on the 19th, the troops that covered the workmen there returned to the camp; of which the marſhal de Villars was no ſooner informed, than he ordered a detachment of 15,000 men to inveſt it. The 28th, in the morning, he raiſed a battery of ſix or ſeven pieces of cannon, and having made a ſufficient breach in the walls, by two in the afternoon, colonel Savary and his gariſon were obliged, in their turn, to ſurrender priſoners of war.

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And fortify it.

It is retaken by the French.

The duke of Marlborough reſolves to attempt the lines by ſtratagem.

The duke of Marlborough was now fully determined to attempt getting within the enemy's lines; of which we have the following deſcription: they began at Bouchain, on the Scheld, and were continued along the Senſet and the Scarpe, to Arras; from thence along the Upper-Scarpe, and the river to the Canche, the opening to thoſe rivers being intrench'd and fortified (with all poſſible care) by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works. His grace, upon a narrow view, finding that it would be too dangerous to indeavor to force them, reſolved upon a ſtratagem. That he might the better compaſs his deſigns, and make the enemy believe that he really intended to attack them, he ordered 1200 men out, to make roads and bridges in the front, and advanced with the whole army to Rebreuve, and from thence to Villars-Brulin, within two leagues of the lines. Here he ſet all his troops to work in making faſcines, but gave ſtrict orders for them not to exceed the length of four foot, that they might not tire the infantry too much to carry them, and gave out that he intended to attack the lines the next morning. The French general was ſo fully perſuaded of it, that he ſent orders to a ſtrong detachment, commanded by lieutenant-general count d'Eſtain, which had been ſent upon a ſecret expedition, to to halt at Peronne, and to the gariſons of Ipres and St. Omer, to come and join his army, which he drew all together behind the lines.

He goes to view them.

His real deſign.

The duke, to amuſe the enemy more effectually, went the 4th of Auguſt, N. S. by break of day, with ſeveral of the general officers, and 2000 horſe, to take a nearer view of the lines, and of the ſituation of the enemy's camp: but his real deſign, when he advanced from Cotê, was to indeavor to get within the enemy's lines, by attempting the paſſage of the Senſet, by Arleux, which he now believed was left unguarded (as, in effect, it happen'd to be). To this end he ordered lieutenant-general Cadogan and count Hompeſch to repair with all expedition to Douay, and aſſemble ſome troops which were left thereabouts, and, together with a detachment of that and the neighboring gariſons of Liſle and St. Amand, made a body of twenty-three battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons. Their farther orders were to march directly with theſe troops to Arleux, and indeavor to paſs the Senſet there, while the duke himſelf would advance with the whole army to ſuſtain them: and that nothing might retard this extraordinary march, brigadier Sutton was ſent before hand with the artillery and pontons, under a good guard, to make bridges over the Scarpe, near Vitry, and over the canal of Arleux near Goulezin: and bread was ordered to be baked at Liſle for ſix days.

All theſe things were manag'd ſo privately, and the grimace carried on ſo well, that the confederate-generals themſelves had not the leaſt thought that any thing elſe was meant but the attacking of the lines the next morning. Theſe amuſements had ſo good an effect on the marſhal, that he kept his troops under arms night and day, and re-inforc'd them with all the ſtrength he could poſſibly draw

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draw together on that ſide, not leaving any number of troops in the poſts he had upon the Senſet.

The confederate army, in the mean time, were expecting orders to march, which were not given out till ſix in the Evening. The march was to begin between eight and nine, as ſoon as it was dark enough to ſtrike their tents without being diſcover'd by the enemy; but whether the march was to be to the right or left remain'd a ſecert. They were only told, that the ſeveral columns which the army was to march in, ſhould find an officer at the head of each of them, at ſuch an hour, who ſhould lead them the way they were to take when the time came.

The army marches towards Arleux.

About nine the whole army, to their great ſurprize, were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum, and the duke himſelf, with the horſe of the left wing, lead the van, and advanced with ſuch extraordinary expedition, that the next morning, by five, he paſs'd the Scarpe at Vitry. Here he received advice that

Count Hompeſch paſſes the Senſet.

count Hompeſch had paſſed the Senſet without any oppoſition, had taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on that river, and on the Scheld, and was incamp'd at Oiſy; the French having, ſome time before, withdrawn the detachments they had on that ſide. His grace, upon this, haſtened his march, leſt the enemy ſhould get there before him; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd orders to the grand army to purſue their march with the utmoſt diligence.

The duke, with his vanguard of fifty ſquadrons, having paſs'd the Scarpe, haſtened towards Arleux and Bac à Bacheul, where he arrived before eight o'clock, and the heads of the columns joined him there about ten, having march'd above ten hours, at a great rate, without halting, a diligence hardly to be parallel'd in hiſtory.

The marſhal de Villars marches to oppoſe them.

The marſhal de Villars had no ſooner notice how he had been deceived, and of this unexpected march of the confederate army, but he immediately apprehended what their deſign was. He therefore, after having waited from eleven at night till two the next morning, for certain intelligence, decamp'd with his whole army, and puting himſelf at the head of the King's houſhold, he march'd all night with ſuch diligence, that he appear'd, with the head of his line, about eleven o'clock, ſoon after the duke of Marlborough had joined count Hompeſch, and paſs'd, with twenty ſqua-

But comes too late.

drons, thro' the defilee of Marquion; but when he ſaw that the duke was advancing, with his horſe drawn up, to attack him, he retreated behind a moraſs, where the reſt of his troops joined him quickly after; and 100 dragoons, with ſome few officers, whom he threw into the caſtle of Oiſy, were ſoon after made priſoners of war. Two regiments, which the marſhal de Villars detach'd under the command of the chevalier de Luxembourg, for Valenciennes, and a brigade of foot ſent to Cambray, had however better luck, and threw themſelves into thoſe places.

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The marſhal extreamly mortified.

It was, beyond all doubt, a ſenſible mortification to the marſhal de Villars to be thus viſibly out-general'd, after he had given the court of France ſuch repeated aſſurances, that he had taken ſuch meaſures as put him beyond the apprehenſions of meeting with any inſult from the allies, and after he had written to the French King, that theſe lines were the NON PLUS ULTRA of the duke of Marlborough. He therefore gave out, in order to keep up the ſpirits of his troops, that he would attack the duke of Marlborough the next morning (1).

His grace having however intelligence of the marſhal's threats, tho he had little reaſon to fear the conſequences of them, loſt no time, but drew out his troops, as faſt as they arrived, in order of battle, and they lay under their arms all night, tho' they could not but be extreamly fatigued after a march of ten leagues without halting.

The whole confederate army paſſes the French lines.

Thus the whole confederate army entered the French lines, which they had ſo vainly boaſted to be impenetrable; the moſt noble and boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war: and the honor of this attempt was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by the detachment which Prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 of the beſt troops in his army, for an expedition deſign'd by ſea; ſo that the enemy were actually ſuperior to him in number (2).

The ſiege of Bouchain reſolv'd on.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the duke of Marlborough found it impracticable to bring the enemy to a general ingagement, on any tolerable equal terms; he therefore propoſed the ſiege of Bouchain, to try if that poſſibly might ingage them to hazard a battle to ſave ſo important a place. As well the Dutch deputies as the general officers thought the enterprize too daring. It ſeem'd to them next to impoſſible to take a place ſituated among moraſſes, well fortified, with a good gariſon in it, provided with all requiſites for a ſtout defenſe; and that within ſight of a ſuperior army; for the French lay within a mile of them: and beſide all this, a great deal was to be apprehended from the excurſions which the gariſons of Valenciennes and Condè might make, to cut off their proviſions which were to come to them from Tournay: however the duke perſiſting in his reſolution, the Dutch, at length, ſubmited (3).

This place was inveſted the 10th of Auguſt; but

(1) French writers pretend, that the duke of Marlborough's deſign, in this enterprize, was to have paſs'd both the Senſet and the Scheld before the marſhal de Villars ſhould be able to get to the latter to oppoſe his paſſage; but that, by the marſhal's extraordinary diligence, ſeeing the French troops before him, ready to diſpute that paſſage, he began to be very much diſcontened, and to repent of his temerity. He found he could not remain in that ſituation, and that he ſhould be obliged to paſs either the Senſet or the Scheld with his army, both which would be attended with great danger; becauſe the enemy being ſo near, it was to be fear'd, when part of his army was paſs'd either of theſe rivers, the marſhal would fall upon the other part, which would not then be in a condition to reſiſt his whole force. It will be natural now to aſk, why monſ. de Villars, having theſe advantages, did nor purſue them? Why truly (continues my author) he had his reaſons for not doing it, which tho' they could not be dived into then, were afterwards very evident. De Quincy hiſt. mil. de Louis le Grand, Tome VI. p. 516. A pretty come off! It is certain the duke was under no ſuch apprehenſions, as the reader will ſoon ſee.

(2) "This (ſays biſhop Burnet) raiſed his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the deſign was ſo well laid, and "was ſo happily executed, that in all men's opinion it paſs'd for a maſter-piece of military ſkill; the honor of it falling "intirely on the duke of Marlborough, and no other perſon having any ſhare, except in the execution." Hiſt. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 576.

It may not be forein here to make a compariſon between the conduct of the duke of Marlborough and the marſhal de Villars. The latter, blinded by the trifling conqueſt of Arleux, weakned by the great detachment he made from his army to obtain it, and puff'd up with this ſhadow of good fortune, threatens all Brabant; but is lull'd aſleep by a fond ſecurity for his own lines: the former obſerves the critical moment, lays hold of it, and ſurprizes theſe lines without the loſs of a man. The deſign, the ſecrecy, and, in ſhort, the whole management of it, were equally great and wonderful. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 155.

(3) A late author gives us a particular account of the difficulties which attended the attacking this place, ariſing as well from the ſituation of it as otherwiſe:

"Bouchain

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but it was not without the greateſt difficulties the lines of circumvalation were perfected; the marſhal de Villars, on his ſide, leaving no ſtratagem unattempted to prevent it, and to keep a communication open with the town; and the duke, on the other hand, imploying his utmoſt ſkill and aſſiduity to circumvent them, and to attain his end (1). All difficulties being at length overcome, the trenches were opened, the 23d at night, at three attacks; two againſt the upper town, and the third againſt the lower town. I ſhall not detain the reader with a journal of this ſiege; the approaches were carried on in the uſual manner, till all the batteries began to play on the 30th, and they continued with ſuch ſucceſs, that the cannon of the place were ſoon diſmounted, and the outworks ruined. The 12th of September, about noon, the beſiegers ſeing all things were preparing for a general aſſault, beat the chamade, and hoſtages being exchanged, the French, who were conducted to general Fagel's quarters, whither the duke of Marlborough and the deputies repaired, began to propoſe articles of capitulation; but the duke of Marlborough would not ſuffer them to be read, nor would grant them any conditions, but to ſurrender priſoners of war, which they at length conſented to, and delivered up one of the gates. with twenty-four colors, and all their arms; the gariſon being reduced from 6000 men, which they were at the begining, to half the number.

The trenches open'd.

Bouchain ſurrendered.

During this ſiege, not to mention ſeveral little attempts to interrupt or retard it, the marſhal de Villars form'd two deſigns, which might with truth have been called great, had they ſucceeded; one to poſſeſs himſelf of the communication the allies had over the moraſs, near Hordain, and the other to ſurprize Douay; but they both miſcarried, and he was oblig'd, at the head of 100,000 men, to be a bare ſpectator of the event of this ſiege (2).

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The French pretended, that this conqueſt, which they ſaid was very inſignificant in the conſequence, coſt more men by half, than it was worth; but it is plain, they would have willingly ſacrificed many more men, than it coſt the allies, and have thought themſelves well off too, if they could have prevented the ſiege.

As ſoon as Bouchain was put in a good poſture of defenſe, and the approaches were all level'd, both the armies began to ſeparate, having already greatly ſuffered by the continual rains, and the ſcarcity of forage. The duke of Marlborough having given the neceſſary orders for ſecuring the navigation of the Scarpe to Douay, and covering the workmen imployed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river, and on the Scheld, left the army, the 27th of October, arrived the 26th of November at the Hague, and the 17th of the ſame month, O. S. at Greenwich.

The campain ended.

The duke of Marlborough leaves the army.

In other parts, little happened this year worthy of our notice: the great event of it was the election of an Emperor at Francfort, in the room of Emperor Joſeph, deceas'd. This great Monarch's death, as it immediately opened to King Charles the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions, ſo a diſpoſition appear'd unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor. Some came

The election of King Charles to the Imperial crown.

" Bouchain is but a little town, or rather fortreſs, ſituate at the confluence of the Senſet, and the Selle or Ruſelle, into " the Scheld. It is about nine miles north of Cambray, ten ſouth-weſt of Valenciennes, and twenty-eight almoſt weſt of " Mons. The Senſet ſeparates the Upper-town from the lower, forms an inundation between that and the Selle, and fills the " ditches which ſurround the works between the upper and the lower town. The Selle ſeparates the lower-town into two " parts, and between the lower-town and the Scheld, there is a horn-work which covers two ſeparate baſtions, and which is " cut in two by a ditch, ſupplied by the Scheld. Beſide theſe difficulties ariſing from the ſituation of the place, there were " two other very eſſential ones: The firſt, a formidable intrenchment, fenced with redoubts, and fifty pieces of cannon, " which thirty battalions commanded by the brave and vigilant monſieur Albergotti had raiſed between Wavrechin and " Pont à Wane, on the Senſet; which being but a quarter of a league from the town, and paralel to the circumvalation of " the confederates, the batteries of that intrenchment might play upon the circumvalation without interruption, there being " nothing but an inundation between them. Secondly, the communication which the enemy kept open with the town, by " means of a paſſage thro' a moraſs, which it was deem'd impracticable to cut off. To which we may add, that there were " eight battalions, and 600 Swiſs ſoldiers in the town, that the place was furniſh'd with all requiſites for a vigorous defenſe; " that monſieur de Ravignan had thrown himſelf into the town to command the troops, and taken 500 grenadiers with him; " and that monſieur de Selve, who defended St. Venant, was in the town before; ſo that the gariſon was commanded by two " major-generals, animated by the neighborhood of the whole French army." Rouſſet Hiſt. mil. Tome II. p. 306.

(1) During the whole courſe of this long war, which produced ſo many ſurprizing events, there was not ſo critical an inſtance as this, in which the reputation of two great generals was ſo nearly concern'd, and their ſkill in the art of war ſo fairly put to the teſt. The marſhal's buſineſs was, if poſſible, to prevent the ſiege, and thereby to retrieve, in ſome meaſure, the credit he had loſt by the too eaſy paſſage he had ſuffer'd the allies to find into his lines. The duke of Marlborough, on the other part, was fully reſolved not to let the advantage and honor ſlip out his hands, which he had obtain'd at ſo eaſy a rate by that paſſage; and foreſaw beſide, that it would be very difficult to make a good retreat, in the ſight of an army equal, if not ſuperior to his, and in a ſituation where he was beſet with ſeveral rivers, without having one good poſt on any of them. This was the real circumſtance of affairs, at the time the line of circumvalation was begun, which was the 12th of Auguſt. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 167.

(2) The duke's ſtratagem in paſſing the lines, without the loſs of a man; the cuting off the communication of the enemy with Bouchain; the manner of the duke's inveſting the town, with an inferior army; his caſting up lines; making regular forts; raiſing batteries; laying bridges over a river; making a moraſs paſſable, and providing for the ſecurity of his convoys; againſt a ſuperior army on the one ſide, and the numerous gariſons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, were enterprizes truly heroic: yet his grace was cenſured by inſolent ſcriblers of his own nation, who gave out it was no more than a dove-houſe; and that the taking of it coſt the allies 16,000 men.

The marſhal de Villars is ſaid to have been ſo vain, that whenever he heard of the victories obtain'd by the allies, at Blenheim, Ramellies, Turin, Oudenarde, &c. he was uſed to ſay, Je ne ſçaurois être par tout (I cannot be every where) proudly intimating, that ſucceſs attended him every where: which vanity of his gave occaſion to the following lines.

I.
Le non plus ultra eſt ſurpris,
Villars pleurez vôtre imprudence;
Vous l'avez mis à ſi haut prix,
Que la Perte en eſt d'importance:
Mais conſolez vous aprés tout,
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

II.
Prés du moulin à quatre vents,
Depuis trois nuits, ſur vôtre ligne,
Dans vos airs vains & meneçants
Vous attendiez victoire inſigne.
My Lord vous cherche à l'autre bout,
Vous ne ſçauriez être par tout.

Engliſhed thus.

I.
Thy non plus ultra's ſudden fate,
Unwary Villars, thou may'ſt mourn;
Thou priz'dſt it at ſo high a rate,
The loſs is hardly to be born:
But courage! men are ſatisfied,
Thou couldſt not be on every ſide.

II.
Safe in thy line, the other night,
Not far from yonder whirling mill,
Thy Merc'ry roſe to ſuch a height,
As promis'd vict'ry notable.
But Marlbro' knocks at t'other door,
And Villars can't be back and 'fore.

in

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in perſon, others ſent their commiſſioners or plenipotentiaries to Francfort. They ſpent ſome weeks in preparing the capitulation. Great applications were made to them to receive deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn; but as theſe Princes were under the ban of the Empire, they were rejected. The interpoſition of the Pope's nuncio was likewiſe very diſagreable to them: he gave them much trouble; but they perſiſted in their reſolution. As Francfort was at no great diſtance from the armies on the Rhine, it was apprehended, that the French might have made an attempt that way; for, as I have ſaid above, they drew ſome detachments from their army in Flanders, to increaſe their forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene to do the ſame, and of courſe he commanded the army of the Empire there; but without any conſiderable action. When the duke of Marlborough undertook the hazardous ſiege of Bouchain, his grace's enemies at home confidently hoped that it would miſcarry, and maliciouſly aſſerted, that his grace could do nothing without the aſſiſtance of Prince Eugene; but, as matters went, the aſſertion might rather have been inverted, and ſaid, that the Prince could do little without his friend and companion in glory, the duke of Marlborough. Prince Eugene came however in good time, to ſecure the Electors at Francfort, who being now ſafe from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an election, and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe Charles, who was now declared Emperor, by the name of Charles VI, and he was crown'd accordingly at Francfort with the uſual ſolemnity.

Affairs on the Rhine.

Emperor Charles VI, crown'd.

King Charles, in his way to Francfort, ſtaid ſome weeks at Milan, where the duke of Savoy paid him a viſit, and it was ſaid, that all matters in diſpute between theſe two Princes, if any were left undetermined at the late Emperor's death, were there adjuſted between them. It was hoped, that the campain in Italy would, this year, have produced ſomething for the advantage of the common cauſe, upon the agreement made before Emperor Joſeph's death. The duke came into Savoy, and it was given out, that he was reſolved to puſh forwards: but upon what views it was not then known, he ſtop'd his courſe, and after a ſhort campain, to which he put an end on the 9th of September, repaſs'd the mountains: however, he thereby prevented the duke of Berwick's making any detachments to the Rhine or Catalonia.

Affairs in Italy.

Spain.

The affairs in Spain had been ſo much preſs'd from the throne, and ſo much inſiſted on during the ſeſſion of parliament (not to mention the great ſums granted for that ſervice, far beyond what had been ever granted before) that it was expected matters would have been carried there much otherwiſe than in former years. The duke of Argyle was ſent to command the Queen's troops there; but for what reaſons, it is not my province to determine, all thoſe great expectations came to nothing. The duke of Argyle, indeed, was ſeiz'd with ſuch a violent fever, that he was forc'd to leave the army and come back to Barcelona; from whence, after having recovered his health, he return'd with the Queen's leave to England. Count Stahremberg had indeed ſome advantage over the duke of Vendôme, towards the concluſion of the year, and it was ſaid, that if he had received the aſſiſtance he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain; but this is more than I ſhall pretend to affirm: I ſhall therefore leave this matter undetermined.

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The Portugueſe were as inactive as formerly, and, inſtead of enterprizing any thing againſt the enemy, were diſcovered to be carrying on a ſecret negociation with the French and Spaniards, with which being charg'd by the earl of Portmore, they did not deny it, but ſaid this was in order to procure a general peace.

And Portugal.

A pacification was this year likewiſe concluded between the Emperor and the malecontents of Hungary.

Pacification in Hungary.

Our affairs at ſea this year afford very little matter for a general hiſtory: ſir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great-Britain, was appointed admiral and commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet, in the room of Mathew Aylmer, eſq; ſir Thomas Hardy was made rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of her Majeſty's fleet, and, ſome time afterwards, ſir George Byng was named admiral of the white. Sir John Leake commanded the body of the Britiſh fleet in the channel; but, as the French ſent no fleet to ſea this year, nothing remarkable happen'd. Sir Thomas Hardy commanded a ſquadron off of Dunkirk and the Soundings, but without any thing extraordinary occurring. In the Mediterranean, ſir John Jennings commanded a ſquadron, of whoſe proceedings I find very little worthy remark, except that he convoy'd Charles III, King of Spain, ſoon after Charles VI, Emperor of Germany, from Barcelona to San Pietro di Arena, a ſuburb of Genoa, where he landed on his way to Germany.

Maritime affairs.

In America, a ſquadron under commadore Littleton, being in ſearch of monſieur du Caſſe's ſquadron, had the good fortune to meet with the vice-admiral of the gallions, being the ſame that had eſcaped from admiral Wager, which he took; but monſieur du Caſſe had before taken moſt of the mony out of her; and with her was taken another ſhip of leſs burden and importance.

Another ſquadron, under ſir Hovendon Walker, was leſs ſucceſsful in an expedition deſign'd on Quebec in Canada (1). This ſquadron, with a number of tranſports, having land-forces on board, under the command of brigadier-general Hill, ſet ſail in the begining of May for New-England, where they arrived the 24th of June, and the land-forces being put on ſhoar there to refreſh themſelves, the fleet continued at Boſton till the 30th of July, when the troops being re-imbark'd, they ſet ſail again for the river of Canada, whither general Nicholſon alſo march'd, at the ſame time, with the forces of New-York, Connecticut, and New-Jerſey, together with ſome Palatines, and about 1000 Indians. The fleet arrived on the river of Canada, which is 130 leagues long from the mouth up to Quebec: on the 22d, being a thick fog, and hard gale, having neither ſoundings nor ſight of land to ſteer by, nor any anchorage within ſixty leagues, they drove upon the north ſhoar, among rocks and iſlands, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt. All the men of war eſcap'd, tho' with extream hardſhips and difficulties; but eight tran-

(1) This project was at firſt form'd upon colonel Nicholſon's arrival from New-England with the four Indian Chiefs or Kings: and his return, with a lieutenant-general's commiſſion, and the taking of Port-Royal, were the fore-runners of it. That ſir Hovendon Walker was not previouſly let into the ſecret is plain from many circumſtances; and mr. Burchett tells us, "The then lords-commiſſioners of the admiralty were ſo far from it, that the deſign on which this fleet was bound, was "rather induſtriouſly hid from them, and that a certain perſon ſeemed to value himſelf very much, that a deſign of this na- "ture was kept a ſecret from the admiralty. It was an expedition (ſays the ſame gentleman) very chargeable to the nation, "and from which no advantage could reaſonably be expected, conſidering how unadviſedly it was ſet on foot, by thoſe who "nurſed it up, upon falſe ſuggeſtions and repreſentations."

ſports

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ſports were caſt away, and almoſt 900 men, officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen loſt (1). After this diſaſter, it was reſolved, in a council of war, as they had but ten weeks proviſions on board, to return home; accordingly they ſet ſail from the Spaniſh river-bay, the 10th of September, and arrived at St. Helens, the 9th of October, nothing remarkable having happened in their paſſage, but the taking of a French banker from Rochel.

This was the tragical ſucceſs of this expedition, and to compleat the misfortune of it, the 15th, the admiral's own ſhip, the Edgar, was unhappily blown up at Spithead, with about 400 men, and ſeveral of the inhabitants of Portſmouth, who happened to be on board, and all periſh'd (2).

The biſhop of Briſtol made lord privy-ſeal.

Having thus finiſh'd my account of forein and military affairs, I return to England, where, upon the death of the duke of Newcaſtle, the privy-ſeal was given to dr. Robinſon, lord biſhop of Briſtol, dean of Windſor, and regiſter of the order of the garter.

Negociations for a peace renew'd.

The rumors of peace began now to prevail every day more and more, and very different were the opinions for and againſt it: ſome thought the continuance of a war inſupportable; others were by no means for finiſhing it, till the main point, for which it was enter'd upon, was fully obtained. The latter inſiſted on the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of carrying on the war, as well with regard to our ſelves as our allies, eſpecially in conſideration of the advantagious ſituation it was in. The former, on the contrary, among other things pretended, England was now ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war any longer; and more eſpecially ſince King Charles was choſen Emperor, that he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbors, if Spain were join'd to the Empire, and his hereditary dominions (3). That there was a negociation on foot, no one queſtion'd; but few could tell where to fix it; and opinions were as various when and where this negociation begun. Some have inſinuated, that the firſt overture was made from this ſide of the water (4): Others (and ſeemingly with more probability) ſuppoſe it to have come from France, ſoon after (others again think before) the breaking off of the treaty of Gertruydenburg, and ſent from the marquis de Torcy, to the earl of Jerſey.

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The report of the commitee of ſecrecy, made June 9, 1715, gives us the following account of this matter:

"The firſt material paper we find, is intitled: "the firſt propoſitions of France, ſign'd by "monſieur de Torcy, April 22, 1711, N. S. To "whom theſe propoſitions were directed; what "previous ſteps had been made on the part of "France; or what incouragement had been given "on the part of England, does not appear; but "it is evident, that they are conceived in very "looſe and general terms; that, from the be-"gining, the deſign of France was to ſecure "Spain and the Weſt-Indies to King Philip; to "create jealouſies among the allies; and that "France offered to treat with England and Holland, "either by themſelves, or jointly with the reſt "of the allies, which is left to the choice of "England."

Theſe propoſitions we however find, by the ſame report, were tranſmited, a week afterwards, to the lord Raby, the Queen's embaſſador at the Hague, with orders to communicate them to the penſionary; but the commitee adds; "They

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(1) This misfortune, as well as the diſappointment, was ſurely very great; but, as ſir Hovendon Walker well obſerved, muſt have been far greater, if they had got in ſafely to Quebec; nay, even if they had found the place deſerted, as probably would have been the caſe, they would have found a barren and uncultivated region, and the French would have taken with them or deſtroyed their proviſions. Our peoples proviſions would have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to ſix weeks) at ſhort allowance; no relief could poſſibly be hoped for in leſs than ten months, if ſo ſoon, the Feverſham, and three ſtore-ſhips laden with the proviſions deſigned for their ſupply, being caſt away in their paſſage: ſo that, if they had eſcaped ſhipwreck, which would have been a very great chance, between 10 and 12000 men muſt inevitably have periſhed with hunger and cold, and the ſhips have become a prey to the returning enemy: on the other hand, had the enemy held out, till our people had ſpent all their proviſions, they muſt have laid down their arms, and have ſurrendered to the French at diſcretion, to avoid death in its moſt frightful ſhape, famine; or, if they had taken the place, either by ſtorm or capitulation, the remaining proviſions of a ſmall gariſon would not have gone far towards ſubſiſting ſo large a number; nor could they, at that ſeaſon of the year have march'd thro' the country, in ſearch of more. And this would have been the caſe, had they afterwards attempted Placentia. Lediard's naval hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 854.

(2) An anonimous author, who indeavors to lay the blame of the miſcarriage of this expedition on the new miniſtry, ſays; it was plain, by the account given of it, that it was not meerly an accident, or any treachery, which was the cauſe of the miſcarriage; but a complication of many difficulties; for firſt (continues he) we are told, that the river St. Laurence is navigable, only at one time of the year. "We let that ſlip." But if we had nicked the time, we could not have ſailed up that river without very able pilots; "We had none." If we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ſhips of a certain burden can go up the river; "all our men of war were too big," but if time, pilots, and ſhips had been the moſt proper for the interprize, we ſhould have had proviſions for more months than we had weeks, to ſubſiſt the fleet, and the troops, during the winter, "To keep the deſign ſecret, the miniſtry victualed the fleet greatly ſhort of what "was neceſſary, leaving them to take in a freſh ſupply in New-England, for which they would not before-hand give direction "for the ſame reaſon. This, indeed preſerved the ſecrecy; but it deſtroyed the deſign; and their being ſo ſhortly provided "was the occaſion, that when they failed in the main deſign on Quebec, they were not able to ſucceed in the under-plot, againſt "Placentia, in which otherwiſe they apprehended no difficulty.

(3) It was apprehended, that the re-union of the two Monarchies, in the perſon of King Charles, might render the houſe of Auſtria as mighty, and as formidable, as it had been in former times, and might again plunge Europe into the ſame inconveniences, for the avoiding of which the war was begun, that is, to prevent Spain being annex'd to the houſe of Bourbon. This was an argument the Britiſh miniſters ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, to juſtify the change of their conduct, and to oblige the allies to deſiſt from their demand of the reſtitution of Spain, which was the principal cauſe of the war, and be contented with ſome of the exterior provinces of that Monarchy, and with a ſimple renunciation of King Philip for himſelf, and his deſcendents for ever, to all title and right to the crown of France. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 198.

(4) Of this opinion was biſhop Burnet, and he gives us the following account of it:

"The earl of Oxford (ſays he) being made lord-treaſurer, became the chief, if not ſole miniſter; for every thing was di-"rected by him: it ſoon appeared, that his ſtrength lay in managing parties, and ingaging weak people, by rewards and "promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the treaſury, nor the conduct of "forein affairs; but he truſted to his intereſt in the Queen, and in the favorite."

(Here, however, our author's zeal ſeems to have out run his prudence.)

"He ſaw the load, (continues he) which the carrying on the war muſt bring upon him; ſo he reſolved to ſtrike up a peace, as "ſoon as poſſible. The earl of Jerſey had ſome correſpondence in Paris, and at St. Germains; ſo he truſted the conduct of "the negociation to him:" but, upon his ſudden death, mr. Matthew Prior, a gentleman, who by his natural abilities and pregnant genius, improved by aſſiduous ſtudy, had gain'd a name among the wits of the age, and found means to raiſe himſelf to ſeveral imployments, who, likewiſe had been the lord Jerſey's ſecretary, was imployed to proſecute what his maſter did not live to finiſh. He was ſent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace. His journey was carried on ſecretly; but upon his return, he was ſtop'd at Dover; and a packet which he brought, was detain'd, till an order came from court to ſet him free: and by this accident the ſecret broke out. Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 579.

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"were ſurprized to find, after mutual aſſurances "had paſs'd, on this occaſion, between England "and Holland (to take no ſtep but in mutual "concert) not the leaſt communication was made "to the States, of the negociations that were "carrying on, for above five months together, be-"tween England and France, till after the ſpecial "preliminaries were ſign'd, and the ſeven general "preliminaries were concluded and ſent to them."

The perſon firſt ſecretly imployed in this affair, was ſuppoſed to be monſieur Gaultier, formerly chaplain to marſhal Tallard when he was embaſſador in England, and the marſhal was likewiſe ſaid to have had a great ſhare in promoting this affair. How long this buſineſs was in agitation, before any ear was given to it, is yet a ſecret; but monſieur de Torcy inſiſting, that ſome truſty perſon might be ſent over, to whom he might freely open his mind, mr. Prior was pitch'd on, as being well acquainted with that miniſter, and likewiſe for his perſonal qualifications.

Be this as it will, monſieur Meſnager, and the abbot du Boſc, were ſoon after ſent over from France, with preliminaries; but very different from thoſe that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before.

The ſeven preliminaries as communicated to the forein miniſters.

The ſeven preliminary articles, which were communicated to the miniſters of the forein powers, who were parties in the grand alliance, were as follows:

1. "The King being willing to contribute all that "is in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhment of the "general peace; his Majeſty declares: that he "will acknowledge the Queen of Great-Britain, in "that quality, as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown, "according to the preſent ſettlement.

2. "That he will freely, and bona fide, conſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, for preventing the crowns of France and "Spain being ever united on the head of the ſame "Prince. His Majeſty being perſuaded, that this "exceſs of power would be contrary to the good "and quiet of Europe.

3. "The King's intention is, that all the parties ingag'd in the preſent war, without excepting "any of them, may find their reaſonable ſatisfaction, in the treaty of peace, which ſhall be made: "that commerce may be re-eſtabliſh'd and maintain'd for the future, to the advantage of Great-"Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations, "who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe commerce.

4. "As the King will likewiſe maintain exactly "the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall be "concluded: and the object the King propoſes to "himſelf being to ſecure the frontiers of his kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner whatſoever, the neighboring ſtates, he promiſes to "agree by the treaty which ſhall be made, that "the Dutch ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places, which ſhall be mentioned, in the Netherlands, to ſerve hereafter for a barrier, which "may ſecure the quiet of the republic of Holland, "againſt any enterprize from the part of France.

5. "The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure "and convenient barrier ſhould be form'd for the "Empire, and for the houſe of Auſtria.

6. "That notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the "King very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as "to fortify it, and that it is farther neceſſary to "be at a very conſiderable expence for raiſing the "works; his Majeſty is willing however to in-"gage, to cauſe them to be demoliſh'd, imme-"diately after the concluſion of the peace, on "condition, that, for the fortifications of that "place, a proper equivalent, which may be ſa-"tisfactory, be given him: and as England cannot "furniſh that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall "be refer'd to the conferences to be held for the "negociation of the peace.

7. "When the conferences for the negociation "of the peace ſhall be form'd, all the pretenſions "of the Princes and States, ingag'd in the preſent "war, ſhall be therein diſcuſs'd bona fide and "amicably; and nothing ſhall be omited to re-"gulate and terminate them, to the ſatisfaction "of all the parties.

"By virtue of a full power from the King, we "the underwriten knights of his order of St. Mi-"chael, deputy of the council of commerce, have "concluded, in the name of his Majeſty, the pre-"ſent preliminary articles. In witneſs whereof, "we have ſign'd, done at London, September 27. "O. S. and the 8th of October, N. S. 1711."

Mesnager.

Great murmurings occaſion'd thereby.

Theſe preliminary articles, as they were called, tho' they were only offers ſign'd by the French agent alone, being ſo very different from what had been propoſed, when monſieur de Torcy was ſent to Holland but two years before, ſurprized every one, and occaſioned great murmurings among the generality of the people of both parties. They were look'd upon as captious, inſidious, and inſufficient to ground a treaty upon; nay, many would hardly believe them to be genuine (1).

Means uſed to calm them.

To calm, in ſome meaſure, the minds of the people, and to put a ſtop to theſe murmurings, an addition of ſix other preliminary articles, were the ſame day made public in the news-paper, call'd the Poſt-boy, which were ſaid to be agreed to by France, tho' they were not yet ſign'd, nor communicated to the miniſters of the allies. Theſe were in ſubſtance:

1. That the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the duchy of Milan, with the fortreſſes of Tuſcany, which belonged to the crown of Spain, and all Flanders, ſhould remain, for ever, to the houſe of Auſtria.

2. That King Philip ſhould have all Spain, with the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, and the Weſt-Indies.

3. That the Engliſh ſhould have a gariſon in Cadiz, and the South-ſea-company a ſettlement on that continent, according to the act of parliament.

4. That Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbor deſtroy'd.

5. That the Dutch ſhould appoint commiſſaries, to treat with other commiſſaries, to be appointed by France, concerning a neceſſary barrier.

6. That ſatisfaction and ſecurity ſhould be given to the other allies at the general congreſs.

The ſeven propoſals, or preliminary articles were no ſooner made public, than ſwarms of pamphlets appear'd, arraigning the Queen's conduct; and, on the other hand, as many were publiſh'd, to beſpeak a favorable reception of theſe articles. Some of the forein miniſters were likewiſe alarm'd at the apprehenſions of an approaching peace. Count Gallas, the Emperor's miniſter, is ſaid to have treated theſe offers with much ſcorn, and

(1) It was natural, ſays monſieur le Clerc, for people to aſk, what advantages France had gain'd, during the two laſt campains? What victories the French had gain'd over the allies? that they could have the aſſurance to make offers now, ſo vaſtly diſtant from thoſe the allies had reaſon to expect, and France, itſelf, had been upon the very point of accepting. Hiſt. des Prov. Unies.

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caused the preliminaries to be printed in one of our News-papers. He could not, as it has been reported, contain himself upon this occasion, within the bounds of decency; but let fall such expressions, with regard to her Majesty's administration, as were not thought very becoming the minister of a Prince who had so great obligation to the Queen and nation. Her Majesty therefore thought she could do no less than forbid him her court; but she had still so much affection for his Imperial Majesty, as to let him know, that any other minister from him, would be agreeable to her (1).

The French negociators return.

Monsieur Mesnager, and his partner, the abbot du Bosc, having continued some time between London and Windsor, and having had several conferences with the ministry, took their leave, the 4th of October, in order to return home, highly satisfied with the honors done them in England. It was not then known, how far our court had carried the negociations with France; whether they accepted of these preliminaries only as a foundation for a treaty, or if any private promise or treaty was sign'd; the latter of which was positively and industriously given out, both in France and Spain: and the report of the commitee of secrecy mentions special preliminaries being sign'd, before the seven general ones were communicated to the States. When, where and how these matters were treated, is likewise a secret (2).

Numberless were the pamphlets which were publish'd on this account likewise, on both sides of the question; of which but to give the bare titles would carry me too far. I shall therefore lay aside the controversy and come to facts.

The Emperor sends circular letters to the Princes of the Empire:

The new Emperor, having seen the offers made by France, wrote circular letters to the several Electors and Princes of the Empire, to signify his disapprobation of them, and to exhort them, not to give any ear to them: declaring at the same time, that for his part, he had taken an irrevocable resolution to suffer whatever might be the event, rather than give his consent to a negociation, which would be absolutely destructive to the Empire, and a prejudice to the liberties of all Europe.

And writes to the States-general,

He likewise sent a letter to the States-general, wherein, among other things, he obsery'd the fatal consequences which must necessarily attend the giving up the Spanish Monarchy, and the augmentation of power, which would thereby accrue to the enemy. His Imperial Majesty thought it likewise proper to take notice, in this letter, that France was not in a condition to withstand the army of the allies, neither in the field, nor in their fortified towns; and said he could not help being irritated at those, who, having so often experienced the illusions of France, would again have a reliance on that good faith, which they always promis'd, but never kept. He continued to assure them, that he depended upon their concurrence with him, to indeavor, at least, to induce the Queen of Great-Britain, to reject these offers, and to continue the war: protesting, that for himself, whatever might be the consequences, he absolutely rejected them, and would never impower his embassadors to assist at the conferences, which were propos'd for treating upon them.

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To dissuade them from accepting the offers made by France.

The earl of Strafford sent to the Hague.

The earl of Strafford, was, in the mean time, dispatch'd for the Hague, to know the sentiments of the States-general, and to use his indeavors to induce their High-mightinesses to consent to a general congress. His lordship arrived there the 10th of October; and, eight days after, monsieur Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, whom the States appointed on this occasion as their envoy extraordinary to the court of Great-Britain, arrived at London. To pass by the several previous transactions negociated at London and the Hague, I shall only observe, that the States-general, at length consented to a congress, and that, on the 19th of November, at a commitee of council held at the Cockpit, where the lord-treasurer and monsieur Buys assisted, the time and place was fixed to the 1st of January, O. S. in Utrecht: whereupon, the next day, circular letters were sent, by her Majesty's order, to all the forein ministers residing here, to notify the same to their respective masters, that they might likewise send their plenipotentiaries, at the time and place appointed.

The States consent to a congress.

The time and place of the congress fix'd.

A memorial from the Elect. of Hanover presented.

With the duke of Marlborough, who arrived at Hampton-court the 18th, came over baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his Electoral Highness of Hanover, who, about a week after, had a private audience of her Majesty, and the next day presented that famous memorial, which, at that time, made a great noise, and was liable to much censure: tho' it was [illegible]v'd with great applause, by all well-withers to the Protestant succession, who highly commended the Elector for his seasonable interposition, in an affair that so nearly concern'd him, tho' it gave no small offence to some persons.

The duke of Marlborough visits the ministers.

The duke, for his part, spent several days after his arrival, in visiting the chief of the ministry, among whom, to shew that he entertained no personal dissatisfaction, he paid his compliments to the earl of Oxford (3). Peace was now the subject of every conversation, her Majesty having named her plenipotentiaries, and given commission to the bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, for that purpose, for whom instructions were actually drawing up (4).

Plenipotentiaries named.

After

(1) "This proceeding (says bishop Burnet) was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation is given "by a public minister, is to complain of him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled: It was not then known upon "what this was grounded; the surmise was, that his secretary, monsieur Gaultier (who was a Priest) betrayed him, and dis- "covered his secret correspondence; and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our court; for "which treachery, he was rewarded with an abby in France; but of this (adds my author) I have no certain information." History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 580.

(2) "That monsieur Mesnager (says the same report) upon his arrival here, frequently conser'd with the Queen's ministers, "appears by many instances: but the subject matter of these conferences, the times, places, and particular persons, with whom "he treated, or by what authority, the commitee find no account, till the 20th of September, when there was a meeting be- "tween them, at mr. Prior's, at which he delivered the secret preliminary articles, betwixt Great-Britain and France, that "were sign'd as such, the 27th, the same day the general preliminaries were sign'd by monsieur Mesnager."

(3) The duke of Marlborough (says bishop Burnet) upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen, against the steps which were made: but he found her so possess'd, that what he said made no impression: so he desired to be excused from coming to council; since he must oppose every step which was made in that affair. History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 582.

(4) Bishop Burnet, speaking of these matters, has an odd paragraph, which, for the singularity of it, I shall insert: the Queen (says he) said, "She hoped Bishops would not be against the peace. I said (continues he) a good peace was what we "daily pray'd for; but the preliminaries offered by France, gave no hopes of such a one; and the trusting to the King of "France's faith, after all that had pass'd, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the preliminaries; "we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to "suspend our opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I ask'd leave to speak my mind plainly; which she "granted; I said any treaty, by which Spain and the West-Indies were left to King Philip, must, in a little while, deliver up "all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; "in

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"were surprized to find, after mutual assurances "had pass'd, on this occasion, between England "and Holland (to take no step but in mutual "concert) not the least communication was made "to the States, of the negociations that were "carrying on, for above five months together, be- "tween England and France, till after the special "preliminaries were sign'd, and the seven general "preliminaries were concluded and sent to them."

The person first secretly imployed in this affair, was supposed to be monsieur Gaultier, formerly chaplain to marshal Tallard when he was embassador in England, and the marshal was likewise said to have had a great share in promoting this affair. How long this business was in agitation, before any ear was given to it, is yet a secret; but monsieur de Torcy insisting, that some trusty person might be sent over, to whom he might freely open his mind, mr. Prior was pitch'd on, as being well acquainted with that minister, and likewise for his personal qualifications.

Be this as it will, monsieur Mesnager, and the abbot du Bosc, were soon after sent over from France, with preliminaries; but very different from those that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before.

The seven preliminaries as communicated to the forein ministers.

The seven preliminary articles, which were communicated to the ministers of the forein powers, who were parties in the grand alliance, were as follows:

1. "The King being willing to contribute all that "is in his power, to the re-establishment of the "general peace; his Majesty declares: that he "will acknowledge the Queen of Great-Britain, in "that quality, as also the succession of that crown, "according to the present settlement.

2. "That he will freely, and bona fide, con- "sent to the taking all just and reasonable mea- "sures, for preventing the crowns of France and "Spain being ever united on the head of the same "Prince. His Majesty being persuaded, that this "excess of power would be contrary to the good "and quiet of Europe.

3. "The King's intention is, that all the par- "ties ingag'd in the present war, without excepting "any of them, may find their reasonable satisfac- "tion, in the treaty of peace, which shall be made: "that commerce may be re-establish'd and main- "tain'd for the future, to the advantage of Great- "Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations, "who have been accustomed to exercise com- "merce.

4. "As the King will likewise maintain exactly "the observation of the peace, when it shall be "concluded: and the object the King proposes to "himself being to secure the frontiers of his king- "dom, without disturbing in any manner what- "soever, the neighboring states, he promises to "agree by the treaty which shall be made, that "the Dutch shall be put in possession of the for- "tified places, which shall be mentioned, in the Ne- "therlands, to serve hereafter for a barrier, which "may secure the quiet of the republic of Holland, "against any enterprize from the part of France.

5. "The King consents likewise, that a secure "and convenient barrier should be form'd for the "Empire, and for the house of Austria.

6. "That notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the "King very great sums, as well to purchase it, as "to fortify it, and that it is farther necessary to "be at a very considerable expence for raising the "works; his Majesty is willing however to in- "gage, to cause them to be demolish'd, imme- "diately after the conclusion of the peace, on "condition, that, for the fortifications of that "place, a proper equivalent, which may be sa- "tisfactory, be given him: and as England cannot "furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall "be refer'd to the conferences to be held for the "negociation of the peace.

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7. "When the conferences for the negociation "of the peace shall be form'd, all the pretensions "of the Princes and States, ingag'd in the present "war, shall be therein discuss'd bona fide and "amicably; and nothing shall be omited to re- "gulate and terminate them, to the satisfaction "of all the parties.

"By virtue of a full power from the King, we "the underwriten knights of his order of St. Mi- "chael, deputy of the council of commerce, have "concluded, in the name of his Majesty, the pre- "sent preliminary articles. In witness whereof, "we have sign'd, done at London, September 27. "O. S. and the 8th of October, N. S. 1711."

Mesnager.

Great murmurings occasion'd thereby.

These preliminary articles, as they were called, tho' they were only offers sign'd by the French agent alone, being so very different from what had been proposed, when monsieur de Torcy was sent to Holland but two years before, surprized every one, and occasioned great murmurings among the generality of the people of both parties. They were look'd upon as captious, insidious, and insufficient to ground a treaty upon; nay, many would hardly believe them to be genuine (1).

Means used to calm them.

To calm, in some measure, the minds of the people, and to put a stop to these murmurings, an addition of six other preliminary articles, were the same day made public in the news-paper, call'd the Post-boy, which were said to be agreed to by France, tho' they were not yet sign'd, nor communicated to the ministers of the allies. These were in substance:

1. That the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the duchy of Milan, with the fortresses of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain, and all Flanders, should remain, for ever, to the house of Austria.

2. That King Philip should have all Spain, with the islands of Majorca and Minorca, and the West-Indies.

3. That the English should have a garison in Cadiz, and the South-sea-company a settlement on that continent, according to the act of parliament.

4. That Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbor destroy'd.

5. That the Dutch should appoint commissaries, to treat with other commissaries, to be appointed by France, concerning a necessary barrier.

6. That satisfaction and security should be given to the other allies at the general congress.

The seven proposals, or preliminary articles were no sooner made public, than swarms of pamphlets appear'd, arraigning the Queen's conduct; and, on the other hand, as many were publish'd, to bespeak a favorable reception of these articles. Some of the forein ministers were likewise alarm'd at the apprehensions of an approaching peace. Count Gallas, the Emperor's minister, is said to have treated these offers with much scorn, and

(1) It was natural, says monsieur le Clerc, for people to ask, what advantages France had gain'd, during the two last campains? What victories the French had gain'd over the allies? that they could have the assurance to make offers now, so vastly distant from those the allies had reason to expect, and France, itself, had been upon the very point of accepting. Hist. des Prov. Unies.

caused

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caused the preliminaries to be printed in one of our News-papers. He could not, as it has been reported, contain himself upon this occasion, within the bounds of decency; but let fall such expressions, with regard to her Majesty's administration, as were not thought very becoming the minister of a Prince who had so great obligation to the Queen and nation. Her Majesty therefore thought she could do no less than forbid him her court; but she had still so much affection for his Imperial Majesty, as to let him know, that any other minister from him, would be agreeable to her (1).

The French negociators return.

Monsieur Mesnager, and his partner, the abbot du Bosc, having continued some time between London and Windsor, and having had several conferences with the ministry, took their leave, the 4th of October, in order to return home, highly satisfied with the honors done them in England. It was not then known, how far our court had carried the negociations with France; whether they accepted of these preliminaries only as a foundation for a treaty, or if any private promise or treaty was sign'd; the latter of which was positively and industriously given out, both in France and Spain: and the report of the commitee of secrecy mentions special preliminaries being sign'd, before the seven general ones were communicated to the States. When, where and how these matters were treated, is likewise a secret (2).

Numberless were the pamphlets which were publish'd on this account likewise, on both sides of the question; of which but to give the bare titles would carry me too far. I shall therefore lay aside the controversy and come to facts.

The Emperor sends circular letters to the Princes of the Empire:

The new Emperor, having seen the offers made by France, wrote circular letters to the several Electors and Princes of the Empire, to signify his disapprobation of them, and to exhort them, not to give any ear to them: declaring at the same time, that for his part, he had taken an irrevocable resolution to suffer whatever might be the event, rather than give his consent to a negociation, which would be absolutely destructive to the Empire, and a prejudice to the liberties of all Europe.

And writes to the States-general,

He likewise sent a letter to the States-general, wherein, among other things, he obsery'd the fatal consequences which must necessarily attend the giving up the Spanish Monarchy, and the augmentation of power, which would thereby accrue to the enemy. His Imperial Majesty thought it likewise proper to take notice, in this letter, that France was not in a condition to withstand the army of the allies, neither in the field, nor in their fortified towns; and said he could not help being irritated at those, who, having so often experienced the illusions of France, would again have a reliance on that good faith, which they always promis'd, but never kept. He continued to assure them, that he depended upon their concurrence with him, to indeavor, at least, to induce the Queen of Great-Britain, to reject these offers, and to continue the war: protesting, that for himself, whatever might be the consequences, he absolutely rejected them, and would never impower his embassadors to assist at the conferences, which were propos'd for treating upon them.

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To dissuade them from accepting the offers made by France.

The earl of Strafford sent to the Hague.

The earl of Strafford, was, in the mean time, dispatch'd for the Hague, to know the sentiments of the States-general, and to use his indeavors to induce their High-mightinesses to consent to a general congress. His lordship arrived there the 10th of October; and, eight days after, monsieur Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, whom the States appointed on this occasion as their envoy extraordinary to the court of Great-Britain, arrived at London. To pass by the several previous transactions negociated at London and the Hague, I shall only observe, that the States-general, at length consented to a congress, and that, on the 19th of November, at a commitee of council held at the Cockpit, where the lord-treasurer and monsieur Buys assisted, the time and place was fixed to the 1st of January, O. S. in Utrecht: whereupon, the next day, circular letters were sent, by her Majesty's order, to all the forein ministers residing here, to notify the same to their respective masters, that they might likewise send their plenipotentiaries, at the time and place appointed.

The States consent to a congress.

The time and place of the congress fix'd.

A memorial from the Elect. of Hanover presented.

With the duke of Marlborough, who arrived at Hampton-court the 18th, came over baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his Electoral Highness of Hanover, who, about a week after, had a private audience of her Majesty, and the next day presented that famous memorial, which, at that time, made a great noise, and was liable to much censure: tho' it was [illegible]v'd with great applause, by all well-wishers to the Protestant succession, who highly commended the Elector for his seasonable interposition, in an affair that so nearly concern'd him, tho' it gave no small offence to some persons.

The duke of Marlborough visits the ministers.

The duke, for his part, spent several days after his arrival, in visiting the chief of the ministry, among whom, to shew that he entertained no personal dissatisfaction, he paid his compliments to the earl of Oxford (3). Peace was now the subject of every conversation, her Majesty having named her plenipotentiaries, and given commission to the bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, for that purpose, for whom instructions were actually drawing up (4).

Plenipotentiaries named.

After

(1) "This proceeding (says bishop Burnet) was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation is given "by a public minister, is to complain of him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled: It was not then known upon "what this was grounded; the surmise was, that his secretary, monsieur Gaultier (who was a Priest) betrayed him, and dis- "covered his secret correspondence; and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our court; for "which treachery, he was rewarded with an abby in France; but of this (adds my author) I have no certain information." History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 580.

(2) "That monsieur Mesnager (says the same report) upon his arrival here, frequently conser'd with the Queen's ministers, "appears by many instances: but the subject matter of these conferences, the times, places, and particular persons, with whom "he treated, or by what authority, the commitee find no account, till the 20th of September, when there was a meeting be- "tween them, at mr. Prior's, at which he delivered the secret preliminary articles, betwixt Great-Britain and France, that "were sign'd as such, the 27th, the same day the general preliminaries were sign'd by monsieur Mesnager."

(3) The duke of Marlborough (says bishop Burnet) upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen, against the steps which were made: but he found her so possess'd, that what he said made no impression: so he desired to be excused from coming to council; since he must oppose every step which was made in that affair. History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 582.

(4) Bishop Burnet, speaking of these matters, has an odd paragraph, which, for the singularity of it, I shall insert: the Queen (says he) said, "She hoped Bishops would not be against the peace. I said (continues he) a good peace was what we "daily pray'd for; but the preliminaries offered by France, gave no hopes of such a one; and the trusting to the King of "France's faith, after all that had pass'd, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the preliminaries; "we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to "suspend our opinions, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I ask'd leave to speak my mind plainly; which she "granted; I said any treaty, by which Spain and the West-Indies were left to King Philip, must, in a little while, deliver up "all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; "in

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After ſeveral prorogations, both houſes of parliament met, the 7th of December, when the Queen made the following ſpeech from the throne:

The parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" I have called you together as ſoon as the " public affairs would permit, and I am glad that " I can now tell you, that notwithſtanding the " arts of thoſe who delight in war, both place " and time are appointed for opening the treaty of " a general peace.

" Our allies, eſpecially the States-general, whoſe " intereſt I look upon as inſeparable from my " own, have, by their ready concurrence, ex- " preſs'd their intire confidence in me; and I have " no reaſon to doubt, but that my own ſubjects " are aſſured of my particular care for them.

" My chief concern is, that the Proteſtant re- " ligion, and the laws and liberties of theſe na- " tions, may be continued to you, by ſecuring " the ſucceſſion to the crown, as it is limited by " parliament, to the houſe of Hanover.

" I ſhall indeavor, that after a war which has " coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, you may find " your intereſt in trade and commerce improved " and inlarged by a peace, with all other advan- " tages, which a tender and affectionate ſoverein " can procure for a dutiful and loyal people.

" The Princes and States which have been in- " gaged with us in this war, being by treaties " intitled to have their ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a " peace, I will not only do my utmoſt to procure " every one of them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, but " I ſhall alſo unite with them, in the ſtricteſt in- " gagements, for continuing the alliance, in order " to render the general peace ſecure and laſting

" The beſt way to have this treaty effectual " will be to make early proviſion for the cam- " pain: therefore I muſt aſk of you, gentlemen of " the houſe of commons, the neceſſary ſupplies " for the next year's war; and I do moſt earneſtly " recommend to you to [illegible] ſuch diſpatch there- " in, as may convince [illegible] enemies, that if we " cannot obtain a good peace, we are prepared " to carry on the war with vigor.

" Whatever you give will be ſtill in your own " power to apply, and I doubt not but in a little " time after the opening of the treaty we ſhall be " able to judge of its event.

My lords and gentlemen,

" As I have had your chearful aſſiſtance for the " carrying on this long and chargeable war, ſo I " aſſure myſelf that no true Proteſtant, or good " ſubject, will envy Britain or me the glory and " ſatisfaction of ending the ſame, by a juſt and " honorable peace for us and all our allies.

" Such a peace will give new life to our forein " trade, and I ſhall do my utmoſt to improve " that happy opportunity to incourage our home- " manufactures, which will tend to the eaſing of " my ſubjects in that exceſſive charge they now " ly under in maintaining the poor, and to cor- " rect and redreſs ſuch abuſes as may have crept " into any part of the adminiſtration during ſo " long a war.

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" I cannot conclude without earneſtly recom- " mending to you all unanimity, and that you " will carefully avoid every thing which may " give occaſion to the enemy to think us a people " divided among ourſelves, and conſequently pre- " vent our obtaining that good peace of which " we have ſuch reaſonable hopes, and ſo near a " view.

" I pray God direct your conſultations to this " end, that being deliver'd from the hardſhips of " war, you may become a happy and a flouriſhing " people."

Warm debates concerning the peace.

Her Majeſty having diveſted herſelf of her royal robes, return'd incognito to the houſe of lords to hear the debates, which were that day very warm. An addreſs of thanks to her Majeſty, for her moſt gracious ſpeech, being voted, the earl of Nottingham, after a long and elaborate introductory ſpeech (1), moved, " that a clauſe " might be added to the addreſs: That it was " the humble opinion and advice of the houſe, " that no peace could be ſafe or honorable to " Great-Britain, or Europe, if Spain or the Weſt- " Indies ſhould be alloted to any branch of the " houſe of Bourbon." This occaſioned a warm and earneſt debate, and many ſpeeches: the miniſters very much oppoſed it, and moved the refering that debate to another opportunity, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid it was not proper to clog the addreſs with it. The lord Guernſey ſaid (2), " this clauſe was in a manner forein to " an addreſs of thanks; that in all probability few " of the members of the houſe were prepared to " ſpeak to it; but that it might be debated at a " more convenient time, when, according to cuſ- " tom, the houſe ſhould take into conſideration " the ſtate of the nation." Some went ſo far to add, " that ſince peace and war belonged as pre- " rogatives to the crown, it was not proper to " offer any advice in thoſe matters till it was " aſked: but this (it has been ſaid) was rejected " with indignation; ſince it was a conſtant prac- " tice, in all ſeſſions of parliament, to offer ad- " vices; no prerogative could be above advice; " this was the end ſpecified in the writ, by which " a parliament was ſummoned."

The earl of Angleſea, who arrived but that very day at London, together with the duke of Ormond, from Ireland, repreſented the inſufferable burthen under which the nation groan'd, and the neceſſity there was of making a peace, the concluſion of which ought, in his opinion, to be left intirely to her Majeſty's wiſdom; and added, " that we might have injoyed the bleſſing of peace

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" in leſs than three years, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in Smithfield: I purſued this long, till " I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy: ſo I withdrew." Ib.

How far the biſhop then might, or might not have juſt cauſe to form ſuch harſh conjectures, I ſhall not ſay: but muſt wonder, that as he lived to find matters did not happen to fall out quite ſo bad as he had foretold, why he did not expunge this prophecy out of his manuſcript. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 216.

(1) " He ſet forth the inſufficiency of the late preliminaries, made a lively repreſentation of the danger of treating upon ſo " precarious a foundation; urged the expreſs ingagements Great-Britain had enter'd into with the high allies, to reſtore the in- " tire monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigor, till theſe ingagements " were made good:" adding, " that tho' he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute half his income towards it, " rather than acquieſce in a peace, which he thought unſafe and diſhonorable to his country, and to all Europe."

(2) To the objection made by ſome lords, that they were not prepar'd to ſpeak to that motion, the earl of Sunderland anſwer'd ſmartly; " What my lords, is it poſſible, that any member of this illuſtrious houſe ſhould be unprepar'd to debate an " affair, which, for theſe ten years paſt, has been the principal ſubject-matter of our conſultations? do not we ſit in the " ſame houſe? and are we not the ſame peers, who have conſtantly been of opinion, and have often repreſented to her " Majeſty, that no ſafe and honorable peace can be made, unleſs Spain and the Weſt-Indies be recover'd from the houſe of " Bourbon? It is true, I ſee ſome new faces among us; but even that lord, who ſits on the wool-pack (meaning the lord- " treaſurer) may well remember, that, in the late reign, four lords were impeach'd for having made a partition-treaty.

" ſoon

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" ſoon after the battle of Ramellies, had it not " been deſignedly put off by ſome perſons whoſe " intereſt it was to prolong the war."

The duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive that this ſuggeſtion was levell'd at him, made a long and pathetic ſpeech, in his own juſtification, wherein " he appeal'd to God and " the Queen, that he was ever deſirous of a ſafe, " honorable and laſting peace, and that he was " always very far from having any deſign of pro- " longing the war for his own private advantage: " yet he could by no means give into the meaſures " that had been taken to enter into a negociation " of peace, with France, upon the foot of the " ſeven preliminaries; ſince his opinion was the " ſame with that of the allies, that the leaving " Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the houſe of " Bourbon would be the intire ruin of Europe, " which he had, with all fidelity and humility, " declared to her Majeſty, when he had the " honor to wait on her, a little after his return: " and therefore he was for inſerting the clauſe " offer'd by the earl of Nottingham."

The debate continued very warm till ſeven at night; when a motion being made, whether the queſtion for inſerting the clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham ought to be put, it was carried in the affirmative by that earl's ſingle caſting vote. The queſtion itſelf for inſerting the clauſe was alſo carried by a majority of ſix votes; and ſeveral lords enter'd their proteſt againſt it. In the houſe of commons, the miniſterial party had a much greater majority: for a motion being made there, for a clauſe of the ſame nature with that in the lords addreſs, it was rejected by a majority of above two to one: and they " expreſs'd their implicit " ſatisfaction in what her Majeſty had been pleas'd " to declare of the juſt and honorable peace ſhe " had in view." The Queen was highly pleaſed with, and returned moſt hearty thanks for this addreſs to the commons: whereas in her anſwer to the lords addreſs, ſhe only ſaid: " ſhe took the " thanks they gave her kindly, and ſhould be very " ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her " utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt-Indies " from the houſe of Bourbon."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

The Queen's anſwers.

The occaſional conformity bill having, as the reader has ſeen above, miſcarried three times, lay dormant almoſt ſeven years, but now a noble peer, who had all along ſtickled for it, prevailed upon ſome lords of the party which had till then oppoſed it, to concur with him in bringing in and carrying thro' his darling bill, tho' under another title, and with ſuch clauſes as, he pretended, would inlarge the toleration, and be a farther ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. With this laſt bait, many were unwarily drawn in; and accordingly, on the 15th of December, the earl of Nottingham having brought into the houſe of peers, a " bill for pre- " ſerving the Proteſtant religion, by better ſe- " curing the church of England, as by law eſta- " bliſhed, and for confirming the toleration " granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters, by an act in- " titled, an act for exempting their Majeſty's Pro- " teſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of " England, from the penalties of certain laws, " and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for " the farther ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, " by requiring the practiſers of the law, in North- " Britain, to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the " declaration therein mentioned"; his lordſhip was back'd by the earl of Scarborough, the earl of Wharton, and ſeveral other lords, ſo that the bill was received, and met with an eaſy paſſage thro' both houſes.

The occaſional conformity bill paſs'd, by a new title.

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The 17th of December, the act for a land-tax of four ſhillings was brought into the houſe, and had ſo quick a paſſage, that it received the royal aſſent a few days after. The ſame day the commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to give directions, that the treaty whereby her Majeſty was obliged to furniſh 40,000 men, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, in the Low-countries, might be laid before the houſe: and, on the 20th, mr. ſecretary St. John reported, that her Majeſty had given directions accordingly, and that purſuant thereunto, ſearch had been made, but no footſteps could be found of any convention made for that purpoſe. Then the houſe addreſs'd her Majeſty, that an account might be laid before them of the quota's and proportions of her Majeſty and her allies, by ſea and land, during the preſent war (including ſubſidies) and what agreement or conventions had been made for the ſaid quota's and proportions, and alſo how the ſame had been obſerved.

Addreſſes of the commons.

The 21ſt, mr. Lockhart, from the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, made a report of ſome practices which had been diſcovered in their examinations, relating to the affairs of the army. This report was chiefly level'd againſt the duke of Marlborough (1); and contain'd an information againſt him; that, upon the depoſition of ſir Solomon Medina, a Jew, who had been imployed to ſerve the army with bread, and upon that of mr. Cardonnel, the duke's ſecretary, they could prove, that the duke had taken great ſums of mony, on account of the contracts for ſupplying bread and bread-waggons to the forces in the Low-countries.

Report of the commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts.

Theſe depoſitions being taken while the duke was yet abroad, he no ſooner had an account thereof, than he wrote the following letter to the commiſſioners:

Gentlemen,

" Having been informed, on my arrival here, " that ſir Solomon de Medina has acquainted you " with my having received ſeveral ſums of mony " from him; that it might make the leſs im- " preſſion on you, I would loſe no time in leting " you know, that this is no more than what has " been allowed, as a perquiſite to the general, " or commander in chief of the army, in the " Low-countries, even before the revolution, and " ſince; and I do aſſure you, at the ſame time, " that whatever ſums I have received on that " account, have been conſtantly imployed for the " ſervice of the public, in keeping ſecret corre- " ſpondence, and geting intelligence of the e- " nemy's motions and deſigns; and it has fallen " ſo far ſhort, that I take leave to acquaint you, " with another article that has been applied to the " ſame uſe, and which ariſes from her Majeſty's " warrant, whereof the incloſed is a copy. Tho' " this does not properly relate to the public ac- " counts, being a free gift of the forein troops,

A letter from the duke of Marlborough to the commiſſioners.

(1) The miniſtry (ſays an anonymous author) reſolved to make a puſh at the duke of Marlborough; for as their views were now altogether to enter upon negociations of peace, ſo it behooved them to have one placed at the head of the army, who ſhould act conformably to their meaſures: and therefore, as their agents had begun with perſonal calumny, and had, by that means, daily increaſed the number of the duke's enemies, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to confirm all the falſe reports that were ſpread concerning him, alſo to advance certain facts againſt him; being ſenſible that whatever had been ſuggeſted by private hands, would not anſwer their end effectually, without a public reprehenſion. Memoirs of Queen Anne, page 127.

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My lords and gentlemen,

" As I have had your chearful aſſiſtance for the " carrying on this long and chargeable war, ſo I " aſſure myſelf that no true Proteſtant, or good " ſubject, will envy Britain or me the glory and " ſatisfaction of ending the ſame, by a juſt and " honorable peace for us and all our allies.

" Such a peace will give new life to our forein " trade, and I ſhall do my utmoſt to improve " that happy opportunity to incourage our home- " manufactures, which will tend to the eaſing of " my ſubjects in that exceſſive charge they now " ly under in maintaining the poor, and to cor- " rect and redreſs ſuch abuſes as may have crept " into any part of the adminiſtration during ſo " long a war.

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" I cannot conclude without earneſtly recom- " mending to you all unanimity, and that you " will carefully avoid every thing which may " give occaſion to the enemy to think us a people " divided among ourſelves, and conſequently pre- " vent our obtaining that good peace of which " we have ſuch reaſonable hopes, and ſo near a " view.

" I pray God direct your conſultations to this " end, that being deliver'd from the hardſhips of " war, you may become a happy and a flouriſhing " people."

Her Majeſty having diveſted herſelf of her royal robes, return'd incognito to the houſe of lords to hear the debates, which were that day very warm. An addreſs of thanks to her Majeſty, for her moſt gracious ſpeech, being voted, the earl of Nottingham, after a long and elaborate introductory ſpeech (1), moved, " that a clauſe " might be added to the addreſs: That it was " the humble opinion and advice of the houſe, " that no peace could be ſafe or honorable to " Great-Britain, or Europe, if Spain or the Weſt- " Indies ſhould be alloted to any branch of the " houſe of Bourbon." This occaſioned a warm and earneſt debate, and many ſpeeches: the miniſters very much oppoſed it, and moved the refering that debate to another opportunity, in which it might be fully debated; but ſaid it was not proper to clog the addreſs with it. The lord Guernſey ſaid (2), " this clauſe was in a manner forein to " an addreſs of thanks; that in all probability few " of the members of the houſe were prepared to " ſpeak to it; but that it might be debated at a " more convenient time, when, according to cuſ- " tom, the houſe ſhould take into conſideration " the ſtate of the nation." Some went ſo far to add, " that ſince peace and war belonged as pre- " rogatives to the crown, it was not proper to " offer any advice in thoſe matters till it was " aſked: but this (it has been ſaid) was rejected " with indignation; ſince it was a conſtant prac- " tice, in all ſeſſions of parliament, to offer ad- " vices; no prerogative could be above advice; " this was the end ſpecified in the writ, by which " a parliament was ſummoned."

Warm debates concerning the peace.

The earl of Angleſea, who arrived but that very day at London, together with the duke of Ormond, from Ireland, repreſented the inſufferable burthen under which the nation groan'd, and the neceſſity there was of making a peace, the concluſion of which ought, in his opinion, to be left intirely to her Majeſty's wiſdom; and added, " that we might have injoyed the bleſſing of peace

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" in leſs than three years, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in Smithfield: I purſued this long, till " I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy: ſo I withdrew." Ib.

How far the biſhop then might, or might not have juſt cauſe to form ſuch harſh conjectures, I ſhall not ſay: but muſt wonder, that as he lived to find matters did not happen to fall out quite ſo bad as he had foretold, why he did not expunge this prophecy out of his manuſcript. Lediard's life of Marlborough, Vol. III. p. 216.

(1) " He ſet forth the inſufficiency of the late preliminaries, made a lively repreſentation of the danger of treating upon ſo " precarious a foundation; urged the expreſs ingagements Great-Britain had enter'd into with the high allies, to reſtore the in- " tire monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigor, till theſe ingagements " were made good:" adding, " that tho' he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute half his income towards it, " rather than acquieſce in a peace, which he thought unſafe and diſhonorable to his country, and to all Europe."

(2) To the objection made by ſome lords, that they were not prepar'd to ſpeak to that motion, the earl of Sunderland anſwer'd ſmartly; " What my lords, is it poſſible, that any member of this illuſtrious houſe ſhould be unprepar'd to debate an " affair, which, for theſe ten years paſt, has been the principal ſubject-matter of our conſultations? do not we ſit in the " ſame houſe? and are we not the ſame peers, who have conſtantly been of opinion, and have often repreſented to her " Majeſty, that no ſafe and honorable peace can be made, unleſs Spain and the Weſt-Indies be recover'd from the houſe of " Bourbon? It is true, I ſee ſome new faces among us; but even that lord, who ſits on the wool-pack (meaning the lord- " treaſurer) may well remember, that, in the late reign, four lords were impeach'd for having made a partition-treaty.

" ſoon

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" ſoon after the battle of Ramellies, had it not " been deſignedly put off by ſome perſons whoſe " intereſt it was to prolong the war."

The duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive that this ſuggeſtion was levell'd at him, made a long and pathetic ſpeech, in his own juſtification, wherein " he appeal'd to God and " the Queen, that he was ever deſirous of a ſafe, " honorable and laſting peace, and that he was " always very far from having any deſign of pro- " longing the war for his own private advantage: " yet he could by no means give into the meaſures " that had been taken to enter into a negociation " of peace, with France, upon the foot of the " ſeven preliminaries; ſince his opinion was the " ſame with that of the allies, that the leaving " Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the houſe of " Bourbon would be the intire ruin of Europe, " which he had, with all fidelity and humility, " declared to her Majeſty, when he had the " honor to wait on her, a little after his return: " and therefore he was for inſerting the clauſe " offer'd by the earl of Nottingham."

The debate continued very warm till ſeven at night; when a motion being made, whether the queſtion for inſerting the clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham ought to be put, it was carried in the affirmative by that earl's ſingle caſting vote. The queſtion itſelf for inſerting the clauſe was alſo carried by a majority of ſix votes; and ſeveral lords enter'd their proteſt againſt it. In the houſe of commons, the miniſterial party had a much greater majority: for a motion being made there, for a clauſe of the ſame nature with that in the lords addreſs, it was rejected by a majority of above two to one: and they " expreſs'd their implicit " ſatisfaction in what her Majeſty had been pleas'd " to declare of the juſt and honorable peace ſhe " had in view." The Queen was highly pleaſed with, and returned moſt hearty thanks for this addreſs to the commons: whereas in her anſwer to the lords addreſs, ſhe only ſaid: " ſhe took the " thanks they gave her kindly, and ſhould be very " ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her " utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt-Indies " from the houſe of Bourbon."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

The Queen's anſwers.

The occaſional conformity bill having, as the reader has ſeen above, miſcarried three times, lay dormant almoſt ſeven years, but now a noble peer, who had all along ſtickled for it, prevailed upon ſome lords of the party which had till then oppoſed it, to concur with him in bringing in and carrying thro' his darling bill, tho' under another title, and with ſuch clauſes as, he pretended, would inlarge the toleration, and be a farther ſecurity to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. With this laſt bait, many were unwarily drawn in; and accordingly, on the 15th of December, the earl of Nottingham having brought into the houſe of peers, a " bill for pre- " ſerving the Proteſtant religion, by better ſe- " curing the church of England, as by law eſta- " bliſhed, and for confirming the toleration " granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters, by an act in- " titled, an act for exempting their Majeſty's Pro- " teſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of " England, from the penalties of certain laws, " and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for " the farther ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, " by requiring the practiſers of the law, in North- " Britain, to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the " declaration therein mentioned"; his lordſhip was back'd by the earl of Scarborough, the earl of Wharton, and ſeveral other lords, ſo that the bill was received, and met with an eaſy paſſage thro' both houſes.

The occaſional conformity bill paſs'd, by a new title.

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The 17th of December, the act for a land-tax of four ſhillings was brought into the houſe, and had ſo quick a paſſage, that it received the royal aſſent a few days after. The ſame day the commons reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, that ſhe would pleaſe to give directions, that the treaty whereby her Majeſty was obliged to furniſh 40,000 men, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, in the Low-countries, might be laid before the houſe: and, on the 20th, mr. ſecretary St. John reported, that her Majeſty had given directions accordingly, and that purſuant thereunto, ſearch had been made, but no footſteps could be found of any convention made for that purpoſe. Then the houſe addreſs'd her Majeſty, that an account might be laid before them of the quota's and proportions of her Majeſty and her allies, by ſea and land, during the preſent war (including ſubſidies) and what agreement or conventions had been made for the ſaid quota's and proportions, and alſo how the ſame had been obſerved.

Addreſſes of the commons.

The 21ſt, mr. Lockhart, from the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, made a report of ſome practices which had been diſcovered in their examinations, relating to the affairs of the army. This report was chiefly level'd againſt the duke of Marlborough (1); and contain'd an information againſt him; that, upon the depoſition of ſir Solomon Medina, a Jew, who had been imployed to ſerve the army with bread, and upon that of mr. Cardonnel, the duke's ſecretary, they could prove, that the duke had taken great ſums of mony, on account of the contracts for ſupplying bread and bread-waggons to the forces in the Low-countries.

Report of the commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts.

Theſe depoſitions being taken while the duke was yet abroad, he no ſooner had an account thereof, than he wrote the following letter to the commiſſioners:

Gentlemen,

" Having been informed, on my arrival here, " that ſir Solomon de Medina has acquainted you " with my having received ſeveral ſums of mony " from him; that it might make the leſs im- " preſſion on you, I would loſe no time in leting " you know, that this is no more than what has " been allowed, as a perquiſite to the general, " or commander in chief of the army, in the " Low-countries, even before the revolution, and " ſince; and I do aſſure you, at the ſame time, " that whatever ſums I have received on that " account, have been conſtantly imployed for the " ſervice of the public, in keeping ſecret corre- " ſpondence, and geting intelligence of the e- " nemy's motions and deſigns; and it has fallen " ſo far ſhort, that I take leave to acquaint you, " with another article that has been applied to the " ſame uſe, and which ariſes from her Majeſty's " warrant, whereof the incloſed is a copy. Tho' " this does not properly relate to the public ac- " counts, being a free gift of the forein troops,

A letter from the duke of Marlborough to the commiſſioners.

(1) The miniſtry (ſays an anonymous author) reſolved to make a puſh at the duke of Marlborough; for as their views were now altogether to enter upon negociations of peace, ſo it behooved them to have one placed at the head of the army, who ſhould act conformably to their meaſures: and therefore, as their agents had begun with perſonal calumny, and had, by that means, daily increaſed the number of the duke's enemies, ſo it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to confirm all the falſe reports that were ſpread concerning him, alſo to advance certain facts againſt him; being ſenſible that whatever had been ſuggeſted by private hands, would not anſwer their end effectually, without a public reprehenſion. Memoirs of Queen Anne, page 127.

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" you will have obſerved, by the ſeveral eſtabliſh-
" ments, that before the late King's death, when
" the parliament voted 40,000 men for the quota
" of England, in the Low-countries, 21,612 were
" to be foreiners, and the reſt Engliſh; for theſe
" laſt they gave 10,000 pounds a year for in-
" telligence, and other contingences, without ac-
" count. But his Majeſty being ſenſible, by the
" experience of the laſt war, that this ſum would
" not any ways anſwer that ſervice, and un-
" willing to apply for more to the parliament,
" he was pleaſed to order, that the forein troops
" ſhould contribute two and a half per cent. to-
" wards it; and being then his embaſſador and
" commander in chief abroad, he directed me to
" propoſe it to them, with an aſſurance that they
" ſhould have no other ſtoppage made from their
" pay: this they readily agreed to, and her Ma-
" jeſty was afterwards pleaſed to confirm it by
" her warrant, upon my acquainting her with the
" uſes it was intended for; and it has been ac-
" cordingly applied, from time to time, for in-
" telligence and ſecret ſervice, with ſuch ſucceſs,
" that next to the bleſſing of God, and the bra-
" very of the troops, we may, in a great mea-
" ſure, attribute moſt of the advantages of the
" war in this country, to the timely and good ad-
" vices procured with the help of this mony;
" and now, gentlemen, as I have laid the whole
" matter fairly before you, and that I hope you
" will allow I have ſerved my Queen and country
" with that faithfulneſs and zeal which becomes
" an honeſt man; the favor that I intreat of you
" is, that when you make your report to the
" parliament, you will lay this part before them
" in its true light; ſo that they may ſee this
" neceſſary and important part of the war has
" been provided for, and carried on, without
" any other expence to the public than 10,000
" pounds a year; and I flatter myſelf, that when
" the accounts of the army in Flanders come
" under your conſideration, you will be ſenſible
" the ſervice on this ſide has been carried on with
" all the oeconomy and good huſbandry, to the
" public, that was poſſible. I am,

Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
Marlborough.

Ann R.

Copy of her Majeſty's warrant.

" Right truſty and right well-beloved couſin
" and counſellor, we greet you well: whereas
" purſuant to the direction you have received in
" that behalf, you have agreed with the perſons,
" authorized to treat with you, for the taking into
" our ſervice a certain number of forein troops,
" to act in conjunction with the forces of our
" allies, that there be reſerved two and a half
" per cent. out of all monies payable to and for
" the ſaid troops, as well for their pay and enter-
" tainment, as on any other account, towards de-
" fraying ſuch extraordinary contingent expences,
" relating to them, as cannot otherwiſe be pro-
" vided for. Now, we do hereby approve and
" confirm all ſuch agreements as you have, or
" may hereafter make, for reſerving the ſaid two
" and a half per cent. accordingly: and do like-
" wiſe hereby authorize and direct the pay-maſter-
" general of our forces, for the time being, or his
" deputy, to make the ſaid deduction of two and
" a half per cent. purſuant thereunto, out of all
" monies he ſhall be directed to iſſue for the uſe of
" the forein troops in our pay; and thereupon to
" pay over the ſame, from time to time, accord-
" ing to ſuch warrants, or ſuch proportions, as
" you ſhall direct; for which this ſhall be to
" you, and to all others whom it may concern, a
" ſufficient warrant and direction.

" Given at our court, at St. James's, the 6th
" day of July 1702, and in the firſt year of our
" reign. By her Majeſty's command,

C. Hedges.

" To our right truſty, and right
" well-beloved couſin and counſellor,
" John earl of Marlborough, our
" embaſſador extraordinary, and pleni-
" potentiary to the States-general of
" the United Provinces, and captain-
" general of our land-forces.

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His farther vindication.

This letter, and warrant annex'd, the commiſſioners inſerted in their report; and we ſee the duke not only owned the mony he had received upon theſe contracts; but acquainted them alſo voluntarily of another perquiſite he had received of two and a half per cent. deducted out of the pay of the forein troops, in the ſervice of Great-Britain, ſhewing, at the ſame time, how, and in what ſervice, the mony had been imploy'd for the public utility. Upon the duke's return, he clear'd himſelf very fully, in a ſpeech which he deſign'd to have made in the houſe of commons; but when he was going to aſk their leave to pronounce it, he was prevented by ſome of his friends, who thought it might be an ill precedent, and adviſed only to have it printed, which was accordingly done, ſome time afterwards, and, in the mean while, ſeveral written copies of it were handed about. In this ſpeech, or vindication, his grace gave an account of all his tranſactions, ſo far as related to the diſcharge of the confidence and truſt that had been repos'd in him, as commander in chief of the army, by which it appear'd he had acquited himſelf with great faith and integrity.

An' 1712. The houſe of commons proceed againſt the duke of Marlborough.

Notwithſtanding all this, on the 24th of January, the houſe of commons proceeded to take into conſideration the above report of the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, &c. which, with ſeveral papers relating thereunto, being read, a violent debate aroſe, that laſted above eight hours, and many vehement ſpeeches were made for and againſt his grace. The queſtion propos'd to be put was, " whether the taking ſeveral ſums of mony
" annually, by the duke of Marlborough, from
" the contracters for furniſhing the bread and
" bread-waggons, for the army in the Low-coun-
" tries, was warrantable and legal:" to which the duke's friends, in the firſt place inſiſted, that theſe words ſhould be added; " and a cuſtomary per-
" quiſite allowed to the general, or commander in
" chief, in the Low-countries." To ſupport this addition, ſir John Germain, who had ſerved in the former wars in Flanders, was called in, and being examin'd at the bar, ſaid, in behalf of the duke of Marlborough, " that the allowance given
" his grace by the contracters for the bread and
" bread-waggons was a cuſtomary perquiſite of
" the commander in chief in Flanders, and as ſuch
" allowed to the Prince of Waldeck, under whom
" ſir John had ſerved, as aid de camp." Biſhop Burnet ſays, " that it was proved, both by wit-
" neſſes and by formal atteſtations from Holland,
" that ever ſince the year 1672, the Jews had
" made the like preſent to the general of the army
" of the States, and it was underſtood as a per-
" quiſite belonging to that command. No bar-
" gain (adds he) was made with the Jews for the
" Engliſh troops; but that made by the States
" was applied to them; ſo that it appear'd, that
" the making ſuch a preſent to the general was
" cuſtomary."

But notwithſtanding all theſe evidences, and all that the duke's friends could do or ſay, the queſtion being put, " whether the ſaid words ſhould
" be added?" it was carried in the negative by a great majority. Then the former queſtion was debated till near eleven at night, when it was reſolved,

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Reſolutions againſt him;

reſolved, by a majority of above one hundred votes, "That the taking ſeveral ſums of mony "annually by the duke of Marlborough, from "the contracters for furniſhing the bread and "bread-waggons in the Low-countries, was un-"warrantable and illegal."

A motion was hereupon made, and the queſtion put, that the houſe do adjourn, it paſſed in the negative: after which it was alſo reſolved, by a great majority; "That the two and a half per cent. "deducted from the forein troops, in her Ma-"jeſty's pay, is public mony, and ought to be ac-"counted for: and that the ſaid reſolutions be laid "before her Majeſty, by the whole houſe."

Laid before the Queen.

The 26th of January, the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, laid theſe reſolutions before her Majeſty, who was thereupon pleas'd to make them the following anſwer:

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

Gentlemen,

"I have a great regard for whatever is repre-"ſented to me by my commons, and will do my "part to redreſs what you complain of.

The houſe of commons contented themſelves, however, with paſſing the above-mentioned reſolutions, and preſenting the ſame to her Majeſty, not offering any impeachment, or deſiring the concurrence of the lords; well knowing, that their lordſhips had greater reſpect for the duke's perſon and ſervices, than they themſelves thought fit to expreſs at that time.

The duke of Marlborough diſmiſs'd from all his imployments.

The Queen, in the mean time, being preſent in council, the 30th of December, declared; that "ſhe being informed, that an information againſt "the duke of Marlborough was laid before the "houſe of commons, by the commiſſioners of "the public accounts, ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs "him from all his imployments, that the matter "might take an impartial examination:" and this declaration was enter'd in the council-book. The next day, her Majeſty was pleas'd to notify to the duke, by a note written with her own hand, her intention to reſume all the imployments ſhe had intruſted him with. The duke received the meſſage with an heroic reſignation, and wrote a dutiful anſwer to her Majeſty, which he ſent by the counteſs of Sunderland, one of his daughters.

Twelve new peers created.

The ſame day, it being apparent that the court-party had not ſo certain a majority in the houſe of peers, as in the lower houſe, twelve new peers were created at once, and call'd up by writ, to take their places in that houſe; which gave occaſion to very bold and ſevere reflections, as well in print as in moſt converſations; and, among other things, it was ſaid, "that tho' the Queen had an undoubted "right to create as many peers as ſhe pleaſed, yet "her miniſters might be called to account for "adviſing her to abuſe that right."

Prince Eugene comes to England.

During theſe tranſactions, the new Emperor diſpatch'd Prince Eugene into England, to expoſtulate with her Majeſty concerning the meaſures which were taken to enter into negociations of peace with France. And it was the opinion of many, that this accelerated the duke of Marlborough's diſgrace, on a ſurmiſe, that if he continued in his imployments, that Prince's repreſentations would receive no ſmall weight from the reciprocal confidence, which had grown into an intire friendſhip, between them; whereas when his grace was diveſted of all his public characters, he could not converſe with the Prince otherwiſe than as a private man: tho' others thought his diſgrace was owing to the counſels he was ſaid to have entered into, to thwart the ſchemes of the preſent miniſtry towards a peace.

Is unſucceſsful in his negociations.

Prince Eugene was highly careſs'd by the miniſtry, and by the nobility, as well thoſe in favor, as thoſe out of favor; and was preſented with a ſword by her Majeſty, of the value of 5000 l. but did not meet with that ſucceſs in his negociations as he expected; the court was but too much convinc'd already, by experience, how little dependance was to be had on Imperial promiſes, and would not therefore be moved to make any alterations in the meaſures they were taking. The Prince continued, however, his negociations till about the middle of March, and then, deſpairing of ſucceſs, imbark'd again for Holland.

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Promotions.

Upon the duke of Marlborough's diſgrace, the duke of Ormond was made commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces, within the kingdom of Great-Britain, and of thoſe imployed abroad, in conjunction with the troops of the allies; the duke of Northumberland was appointed captain of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards; the earl of Rivers was made maſter of the ordnance; and the duke of Beaufort, captain of the band of penſioners, in the room of the duke of St. Albans: brigadier Hill, brother to the lady Maſham, was made lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan; the duke of Somerſet was removed from his place of maſter of the horſe; and the counteſs of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, reſign'd their places of ladies of the bed-chamber to the Queen. But to return to the parliament.

The 17th of January, the Queen (the Britiſh plenipotentiaries being now arrived at Utrecht) ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

ANN, R.

The Queen's meſſage to the houſe of commons.

"Her Majeſty not having recovered ſtrength "enough, ſince the return of the gout, to be pre-"ſent this day in perſon, and being unwilling that "the public buſineſs ſhould receive any delay, "thinks fit to communicate to this houſe the ſub-"ſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoke.

"At the opening of this ſeſſion, her Majeſty "acquainted her parliament, that both time and "place were appointed for the meeting of the "plenipotentiaries of all the confederates, to treat "with thoſe of the enemy, concerning a general "peace; and alſo expreſs'd the care which ſhe in-"tended to take of all her allies, and the ſtrict "union in which ſhe propoſed to join with them, "in order to obtain a good peace, and to gua-"ranty and ſupport it, when obtained.

"Her Majeſty can now tell you, that her pleni-"potentiaries are arrived at Utrecht, and have "begun, in purſuance of their inſtructions, to "concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a "juſt ſatisfaction to all in alliance with her, ac-"cording to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly "with relation to Spain and the Weſt-Indies.

"You may depend on her Majeſty's communi-"cating to her parliament, the terms of peace, "before the ſame ſhall be concluded.

"The world will now ſee how groundleſs thoſe "reports are, which have been ſpread abroad, by "men of evil intentions, to ſerve the worſt deſigns, "as if a ſeparate peace had been treated of; for "which there has not been the leaſt color given.

"Her Majeſty's miniſters have directions to pro-"poſe, that a day may be fix'd for the finiſhing, "as was done for the commencement of this trea-"ty, and, in the mean time, all the preparations "are haſtening for an early campain.

"The zeal which this houſe has already ex-"preſs'd, is a ſure pledge that they will proceed, "in giving the neceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies "which have been aſk'd of them.

"Her Majeſty finds it neceſſary to obſerve, "how great licenſe is taken in publiſhing falſe "and ſcandalous libels; ſuch as are a reproach "to any government: this evil ſeems to be "grown too ſtrong for the laws now in force;

"it

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" it is therefore recommended to you to find a " remedy equal to the miſchief."

St. James's, 17th of February 1711-12.

And to the lords.

The ſame meſſage was ſent to the houſe of lords, only, inſtead of the ſeventh paragraph, about the ſupply, the following words were inſerted:

" There is one thing, in which her Majeſty's " ſubjects, of the north part of this kingdom, are " extreamly concern'd; the diſtinction ſuch of " them, who were peers of Scotland before the " union, muſt ly under if the prerogative of the " crown is ſtrictly barred againſt them alone. " This is a matter which ſenſibly affects her Ma- " jeſty; and ſhe therefore lays it before this houſe, " earneſtly deſiring their advice and concurrence " in finding out the beſt method of ſettling this " affair to the ſatisfaction of the whole kingdom."

Addreſſes of thank from both houſes.

The commons, after reading this meſſage, readily voted an addreſs of thanks, " for her Ma- " jeſty's great goodneſs and condeſcenſion, in pro- " miſing to communicate to her parliament the " terms of peace, before they ſhould be con- " cluded, whereby thoſe groundleſs and ſeditious " reports muſt be ſilenced, which had been in- " duſtriouſly ſpread abroad, to the diſhonor of her " Majeſty, and to ſerve deſigns which the authors " of them had not dared publicly to own: and " to aſſure her Majeſty, they would give the ne- " ceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies, and take the " moſt effectual courſe to put a ſtop to the pub- " liſhing thoſe falſe and ſeditious libels which had " expos'd her Majeſty's government to danger " and reproach."

The lords likewiſe preſented an addreſs of thanks, in which having repeated her Majeſty's expreſſion, " particularly with relation to Spain " and the Weſt-Indies;" they added, " which " are of ſo great concern to the ſafety and com- " merce of your Majeſty's kingdom."

The 4th of February, the commons, taking into conſideration the ſtate of the war, came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolutions of the commons on the ſtate of the war.

1. " That the States-general have been deficient " in their quotas for ſea-ſervice, in proportion to " the number of ſhips provided by her Majeſty, " ſome years, two thirds, and generally more " than half of their quota.

2. " That towards carrying on the war in Spain, " in order to reduce that Monarchy to the houſe " of Auſtria, neither the late Emperors, nor his " preſent Imperial Majeſty, have ever had any " forces on their own account there till the laſt " year, and then only a regiment of foot conſiſt- " ing of 2000 men.

3. " That the forces ſupplied and paid by her " Majeſty, for carrying on the war in Spain, from " the year 1705 to the year 1711 incluſive, a- " mounted to 57,973 men, beſide thirteen batta- " lions and eighteen ſquadrons, for which her " Majeſty has paid a ſubſidy to the Emperor.

4. " That the forces ſupplied by the States- " general, for the ſervice of the war in Spain, " from the year 1705 to the year 1708, both in- " cluſive, have amounted to no more than 12,200, " and that from the year 1708, to this preſent " time, they have ſent no forces thither at all.

5. " That her Majeſty has not only furniſh'd " her proportion of 12,000 men, according to " the treaty enter'd into for the ſervice of the war " in Portugal, but has taken upon her the Em- " peror's proportion, by furniſhing two thirds, " when the States only furniſhed one third for " that ſervice.

6. " That by the treaty with the King of " Portugal, there were to be furniſhed 12,000 " foot and 3000 horſe at his own expence; and, " in conſideration of a ſubſidy to be paid him, " 11,000 foot and 2000 horſe more; notwith- " ſtanding which it appears, that the King of " Portugal did not furniſh 13,000 men in the " whole.

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7. " That ſince the year 1706, when the " Engliſh and Dutch march'd into Caſtille, and " returned no more into Portugal, her Majeſty " has replac'd more than her ſhare, according to " her proportion, and the States-general have not " had any troops in Portugal.

8. " That the firſt proportion of three fifths " to two fifths, agreed upon between his late Ma- " jeſty King William and the States-general, for " the ſervice of the war in Flanders, has not been " obſerved by the States-general.

9. " That the States-general, during the courſe " of the war, have furniſh'd leſs than their pro- " proportion in Flanders 20,837 men.

10. " That the condition for prohibiting all " trade and correſpondence between Holland and " France, on which the troops of augmentation " were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, " has not been obſerved by the States-general.

11. " That at the begining of this war the " ſubſidies were paid in equal proportions by her " Majeſty and the States-general; but her Ma- " jeſty has ſince paid more than her proportion " 3,155,000 crowns."

A repreſenta- tion to the Queen grounded thereupon.

Theſe reſolutions were alſo laid before the Queen, in a long repreſentation, with many other abuſes and connivances, which they ſaid had been between her Majeſty's late miniſters and her allies; parti- cularly that the perſons whom ſhe had of late in- truſted with the management of her affairs, had been ſo far from conſulting her true intereſt, and the intereſt of their country, that, on the contrary, they had, to ſerve their own private ends, per- mited the war to be carried on, without obliging the allies to perform their ſeveral ſtipulations; and to make this appear, ſeveral eſtimates were in- ſerted of men and mony, furniſh'd by this nation (the latter amounting to upwards of nineteen mil- lions ſterling) over and above what was agreed to by treaty with the allies, and the States-general were in particular repreſented as not having con- tributed their ſhare neither by ſea nor land.

Debates in parliament on that ac- count.

This repreſentation was the cauſe of many warm ſpeeches in the houſe of commons. Thoſe mem- bers who had been in imployment during the late adminiſtration, made it their buſineſs to clear them- ſelves, and thoſe who had been concerned in the public affairs with them, of the imputation of in- juſtice towards their country, by ſhewing that the utmoſt indeavors had been uſed to oblige the allies to perform their ſtipulations; but they allowed, that notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances which had been made, both publicly and privately, as well to the Imperial court, as the diet of the Em- pire, and the courts of ſeveral other Princes, the Germans were either deficient in their quota's, or ſo late in furniſhing them, that the operations of war were, by that means, often retarded. They allowed the ſame of the Portugueſe, but indeavored to ſhew reaſons why there was a neceſſity of winking at them. As for the Dutch they ſoon took up the cudgels themſelves, and ſent over a very long memorial, a tranſlation of which was printed here, and ſaid ſo much in their vindication, that the genuineneſs of it was call'd in queſtion, and the publiſher and printer thereof taken into cuſtody: however, an anſwer was ſoon after made to it, in the Queen's name, and ſign'd by mr. ſecretary St. John, and conceived in ſuch terms as could beſt incenſe the nation againſt them.

The barrier- treaty cen- ſur'd.

The 14th of February the commons reſolved, " that in the treaty between her Majeſty and the " States-general, for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the " crown

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" crown of Great-Britain, and for the ſetling a " barrier for the States-general againſt France, " there were ſeveral articles deſtructive to the " trade and intereſt of Great-Britain, and highly " diſhonorable to her Majeſty: and that it appear'd, " the lord-viſcount Townſhend, who negociated " and ſign'd, and all thoſe who adviſed the rati- " fying the ſaid treaty, were enemies to the Queen " and kingdom."

The application of the two and a half per cent, deduction, from the pay of forein forces voted.

The 29th of February, the houſe of commons being conſidering of ways and means to raiſe the ſupply, among other particulars, reſolved; " That " the deduction of two and a half per cent, which " had, or ought to have been made from the pay, " ſubſidies, or other allowances, for forein forces, " in her Majeſty's ſervice, be continued for the " year 1712, and applied for the ſervice of the " war, in aid of the proviſion made, or to be " made, in this ſeſſion of parliament, for that " purpoſe: which reſolution was deſign'd to co- " lor the cenſure already paſs'd on the duke of " Marlborough." Tho' it had a very different effect, eſpecially when afterwards, notwithſtanding this reſolution, the duke of Ormond inſiſted upon, and was allowed to take the ſame perquiſite.

A repreſentation of ſome forein Princes in the duke of Marlborough's favor.

In the mean time, ſeveral forein Princes who had troops in her Majeſty's pay, order'd their miniſters to repreſent, " that the ſaid two and a half " per cent. was their own mony, but that they " were willing to allow it as a free gift to the duke " of Ormond, as they had done before to the duke " of Marlborough." This ſeemed to be a full juſtification of the latter, and was no ſmall mortification to his grace's implacable enemies, who after a great deal of noiſe and clamor, could not fix any thing criminal upon him. And tho' orders were given to the attorney-general, to proſecute his grace, and a bill was afterwards exhibited againſt him in the court of Exchequer, I do not find that this proſecution ever came to any thing.

Preparations for opening the campain.

The Queen having declared, at the opening of this ſeſſion, that ſhe intended to carry on the war vigorouſly, till ſhe ſhould obtain honorable terms of the enemy, and having, by that means, got a ſupply of near ſeven millions, all the uſual preparations for the inſuing campain were made, and the duke of Ormond had orders to make ready, with all poſſible expedition, to go over to the army; things being got in ſufficient forwardneſs, that they might take the field betimes. The duke went accordingly to Holland, and arrived at the Hague, ſome time before the campain was opened. He was received, by the States-general, with the ſame outward marks of diſtinction, which they had uſually ſhewn to the duke of Marlborough; and he, on his ſide, gave the States aſſurances, in the Queen's name, that he would act in concert with the allies. The army was in a very good condition, and all things in great forwardneſs; for the Germans, when they underſtood that the duke of Marlborough was in total diſgrace, had uſed more than ordinary diligence, and were got into the field much ſooner than uſual. They were likewiſe very advantageouſly poſted, having all the country behind them in full poſſeſſion, with fine navigable rivers, and a vaſt number of barks and ſmall veſſels to ſupply them with all manner of neceſſaries. The French, who were commanded by the marſhal de Villars, lay very open, with their right at Caſtelet, and their left near Cambray, having indeed the Scheld before them, but the country all open between the ſpring-head of that river and the Somme. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the confederate generals, that there might be ſome under-hand dealings between the Engliſh and the French; for they knew monſieur de Villars did not uſe to be ſo negligent. How-

The duke of Ormond's conduct.

ever Prince Eugene made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to give him battle: but when he came to confer with the duke of Ormond, he found him very backward to ingage. This made the Prince and the confederate generals preſs the matter home upon him; ſo that, after ſeveral indirect anſwers, he told them, he had received poſitive orders, from the Queen, not to conſent to a battle; but that he was not reſtrained from ingaging with them in a ſiege. The generals were hereupon in a very great confuſion, and ſome time was ſpent in conſulting what reſolution to take under this diſappointment; but they at laſt agreed to inveſt Queſnoy, and having got all things ready for that purpoſe, the duke of Ormond took upon him to cover the ſiege.

Debate in the houſe of lords, about the duke of Ormond's orders.

Upon the duke of Ormond's declaration of his being reſtrained from acting offenſively againſt the French, and news of it coming to England, a motion was made, the 28th of May, in the houſe of peers, for addreſſing the Queen, " that her Ma- " jeſty's orders to the duke of Ormond might be " laid before the houſe;" but, after a very warm debate, the queſtion was put to adjourn; which was carried by ſixty-eight votes againſt forty.

During this debate, the duke of Devonſhire, who was for addreſſing, ſaid, " That by the " proximity of blood, he was more concerned for " the duke of Ormond's reputation, than any " other; and, therefore he could not forbear de- " claring, he was ſurpriſed to hear any one dare to " make uſe of a nobleman of the firſt rank, and " of ſo diſtinguiſh'd a character, as an inſtrument " of ſuch a proceeding." The earl of Powlet ſaid, on the ſide of the court, " That no body " could doubt of the duke's bravery; but that he " was not like a certain general, who led troops to " the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great number of officers " to be knock'd on the head in a battle, or againſt " ſtone-walls, in order to fill his pocket, by diſ- " poſing of their commiſſions."

The earl of Powlet reflects on the duke of Marlborough.

The duke reſents it.

This inviduous reflection was too plain not to be underſtood by the duke of Marlborough, who was ſenſible that a ſuggeſtion of that nature was not fit to be anſwer'd by any ſolid arguments drawn from right reaſon; and yet that no others were proper to be offer'd by him in that place; he therefore thought it not convenient to make any reply at that time. His grace could not however ſo far ſtifle his reſentments; but that he ſent the lord Mohun to the earl of Powlet, to tell him that the duke of Marlborough was willing to have an eclairciſſement with his lordſhip, about ſome expreſſions he had uſed, in that day's debate, and therefore deſired him to go into the country: however by the interpoſition of friends, and her Majeſty's authority, the lord-treaſurer likewiſe uſing his good offices between the two parties, the quarrel was at leaſt ſeemingly compos'd.

The matter made up.

Declaration of the biſhop of Briſtol.

The field-deputies of the States had, in the mean time, ſent two expreſſes, one to their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and another to the Hague, with an account of the duke of Ormond's conduct. The Dutch miniſters at Utrecht delay'd no time to acquaint the biſhop of Briſtol with the advices they had received, and as they could not forbear doing it with ſome reſentment, it provok'd the biſhop ſo much, that he told them with a great deal of warmth, he had orders to let them know, " the " Queen his miſtreſs looked on herſelf to be looſed " from all ingagements and alliances with their " ſtate." So unexpected a declaration, at ſo critical a juncture, could not but very much alarm the States-general, and was the occaſion of their ſending immediately a letter to the Queen, wherein they ſet forth the many ill conſequences which might attend her preſent meaſures, and how her Majeſty's late

Letter from the States-general to the Queen.

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late orders had already loſt the allies the faireſt opportunity they ever had, or perhaps might have for the future, of giving a deciſive blow, but that theſe orders had not given them ſo much ſurprize as the biſhop of Briſtol's declaration to their miniſters at Utrecht. In the ſame letter, they alſo gave their reaſons, why they had not hitherto acquieſced to treat upon the French propoſals, and likewiſe charged the Queen with a breach of promiſe, in not proſecuting the war in conjunction with her allies, as the duke of Ormond had declared to them in her name. This letter ſo gaul'd the miniſtry, that they drew up a very ſharp anſwer to it, in the Queen's name, wherein they laid the whole blame on the obſtinacy of the States, and, as their letter was in print, almoſt as ſoon as it was communicated to her Majeſty, they ſhew'd their reſentment in the Queen's anſwer, by ſtyling it, "an appeal to the people, rather than an addreſs "to the ſoverein, and ſaid that her Majeſty's ho- "nor would not permit her to give an anſwer to "any which ſhould come in the like manner for the "future."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

A vote of the houſe of commons concerning it.

This was corroborated by a vote of the houſe of commons, declaring, "That the printing of the "ſaid letter, before it had been preſented to the "Queen, was a great indignity offer'd to her "Majeſty, and ordered an addreſs to be drawn "up, beſeeching her Majeſty, to give no anſwer, "for the future, to any letters or memorials ſent "from the States-general, in that manner."

Their reſolution concerning the peace.

And indeed this houſe, upon every occaſion, ſhewed a great readineſs to concur with the miniſtry, in promoting the meaſures they were taking: for, upon an attempt being made to procure their cenſure of the orders given to the duke of Ormond, not to act offenſively, it was not only rejected by a majority of 203 againſt thirty-ſeven, but they came alſo to the reſolution, "That they had an intire "confidence in her Majeſty's moſt gracious pro- "miſe, to communicate to her parliament the "terms of the peace, before they ſhould be con- "cluded, and that they would ſupport her Ma- "jeſty, in obtaining an honorable and ſafe peace, "againſt all ſuch perſons, either at home or abroad, "who had indeavor'd, or ſhould indeavor, to "obſtruct the ſame."

This reſolution being laid before her Majeſty, the 30th of May, ſhe ſaid;

Gentlemen,

"I thank you moſt heartily for this reſolution, "which is dutiful to me, honeſt to our country, "and very ſeaſonable at this time, when ſo many "artifices are uſed to obſtruct a good peace, or to "force one diſadvantageous to Great-Britain."

The conferences were all this while carrying on at Utrecht, where, on the 11th of February, N. S. the French plenipotentiaries deliver'd in their propoſals, to which they gave the following title.

"A particular explication of the offers of France, "for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the "parties concerned in the preſent war."

The French make propoſals for a general peace.

Theſe propoſals were received by the Dutch with great indignation; and occaſion'd ſeveral conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the allies.

They are receiv'd with indignation.

They being likewiſe tranſmited to London, by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, were received with almoſt as general an indignation there. The 15th of February, O. S. the lord Hallifax made a motion in the houſe of peers, for preſenting an addreſs to the Queen, about theſe offers of France, which he call'd, "Trifling, arrogant, and injurious to "her Majeſty and her allies." Upon the debate, ſome noble members of that auguſt aſſembly gave it, as their opinion, "that they ought to be re- "jected, with the utmoſt indignation, and that it "plainly appear'd, France had no other view, "than to amuſe and divide the allies:" others ſaid, "it was derogatory to her Majeſty's ho- "nor, to enter into any negociations with that "crown, till her Majeſty's title was acknow- "ledg'd." And, upon a diviſion, it was reſolved, in an addreſs to her Majeſty, "to expreſs the juſt "indignation they had of the diſhonorable treat- "ment of her Majeſty by France, and their ut- "moſt reſentment at the terms of peace offer'd by "the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht." It has even been ſaid, that ſome lords, who bore no great good will to the duke of Marlborough, and the late miniſtry, ſpoke againſt them.

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The 5th of March, N. S. the allies deliver'd, to the plenipotentiaries of France,

Her Majeſty makes her ſpecific demands.

"The ſpecific demands of her Majeſty, the "Queen of Great-Britain, for what relates to "France."

All the members of the grand alliance having likewiſe given in their reſpective demands, the French plenipotentiaries promiſed to explain themſelves on the demands of the allies, the ninth.

To this end, a general conference was held that day; but the French then declared, that the ſaid demands being very extenſive, they could not give in the explanation they had promiſed, till they had received new inſtructions from the courts of Verſailles and Madrid: and therefore deſir'd a farther time of three weeks, which was agreed to. The plenipotentiaries met accordingly, the 30th. When thoſe of France declar'd; "that as they had com- "municated in writing, the ſpecific offers of the "moſt Chriſtian King; and, that the allies like- "wiſe, had given theirs in writing, it was unne- "ceſſary to continue treating that way: but that "they were ready to treat with the plenipoten- "tiaries of the allies, by way of conference." The miniſters of the allies declared hereupon; "that they expected an anſwer in writing, as they "had promis'd." This they inſiſted on again, the 2d and 6th of April, and declared, that they were unanimouſly in the ſame opinion: and the French return'd the ſame anſwer they had done before.

A difference ariſes concerning the manner of treating.

The general conferences thereby ſuſpended.

The general conferences, which were to have been held twice every week, were upon this account ſuſpended, till the 13th of April, when the French declared, that they had not yet received any farther inſtructions, and perſiſted in their refuſal of giving any anſwer in writing. Whereupon the general conferences remain'd ſtill ſuſpended; and the public knew nothing of the farther ſteps made towards a treaty, till the 6th of June, O. S. when her Majeſty, the Queen of Great-Britain, was pleas'd to communicate to her parliament the terms upon which a general peace might be made, in the following ſpeech:

The terms for a general peace open'd to the parliament of Great-Britain.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The making peace and war, is the undoubted "perquiſite of the crown; yet ſuch is the juſt "confidence I place in you, that, at the opening "of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you, that a nego- "ciation for a general peace was begun, and "afterwards by meſſages, I promiſed to commu- "nicate to you the terms of peace, before they "ſhould be concluded.

"In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to "let you know upon what terms a general peace "may be made.

"I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe "from the very nature of this affair; and it is "but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have "been increas'd by other obſtructions, art- "fully contriv'd to hinder this great and good "work.

"Nothing however has moved me from "ſteadily

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" ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true " intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have " not omited any thing which might procure to " all our allies, what is due to them by treaties, " and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as " by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of Hanover, " to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt " at heart, particular care is taken not only to " have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, " but to have an additional ſecurity, by the re- " moval of that perſon, out of the dominions of " France, who has pretended to diſturb this ſettle- " ment.

" The apprehenſion that Spain and the Weſt- " Indies might be united to France, was the chief " inducement to begin this war; and the effectual " prevention of ſuch an union was the principle " I laid down at the commencement of this treaty. " Former examples, and the late negociations, " ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means " to accompliſh this work. I would not content " myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend " on treaties only; I inſiſted on what was ſolid, " and to have at hand the power of executing " what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that France, " at laſt, is brought to offer, that the duke " d'Anjou ſhall, for himſelf, and his deſcendants, " renounce for ever all claim to the crown of " France; and that this important article be ex- " poſed to no hazard, the performance is to ac- " company the promiſe.

" At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown " of France is to be declared, after the death of " the preſent Dauphin, and his ſons, to be in the " duke of Berry, and his ſons, in the duke of " Orleans, and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of " the houſe of Bourbon.

" As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion " to thoſe dominions, after the duke d'Anjou, " and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch Prince " as ſhall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever " excluding the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettle- " ments before-mentioned, it is farther offered, " that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong " and ſolemn manner, both in France and Spain; " and thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other " powers ingaged in the preſent war, ſhall be " guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it " executes itſelf; the intereſt of Spain is to ſup- " port it; and in France, the perſons to whom " that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be ready and " powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain is now more effectually " divided than ever; and thus, by the bleſſing " of GOD, will a real balance of power be fixed " in Europe, and remain liable to as few acci- " dents, as humane affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty of commerce between theſe king- " doms and France has been entered upon; but " the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and " the prohibition of others, make it impoſſible " to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be de- " ſired: care is however taken, to eſtabliſh a " method of ſettling this matter, and, in the " mean time, proviſion is made, that the ſame " privileges and advantages, as ſhall be granted " to any other nation by France, ſhall be granted " in like manner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher " between us and the French, have been the " cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to " my ſubjects; I have demanded to have an ab- " ſolute ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland, " and France agrees to this demand.

" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the " trade of North America, that I have uſed my " utmoſt indeavors, to adjuſt that article, in the " moſt beneficial manner. France conſents to " reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of Hud- " ſon; to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, " with Placentia, and to make an abſolute ceſſion " of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia or " Arcadia: the ſafety of our home-trade will be " better provided for, by the demolition of Dun- " kirk.

" Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh in- " tereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſe- " cured by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port- " Mahon, with the whole iſland of Minorca, " which are offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to Spain and the Weſt-Indies may " in general be ſettled as it was in the time of the " late King of Spain, Charles II, and a particular " proviſion that all advantages, rights or privi- " leges, which have been granted, or may here- " after be granted by Spain to any other nation, " ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſub- " jects of Great-Britain. But the part which we " have born in the proſecution of this war, in- " titling us to ſome diſtinction in the terms of " peace; I have inſiſted and obtained, that the " Aſſiento, or Contract for furniſhing the Spaniſh " Weſt-Indies with negroes, ſhall be made with " us for the term of thirty years, in the ſame " manner as it has been injoy'd by the French for " ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the " intereſts of our confederates, theſe muſt be ad- " juſted in the congreſs at Utrecht, where my beſt " indeavors ſhall be imployed, as they have hither- " to conſtantly been, to procure to every one of " them, all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction: in the " mean time I think it proper to acquaint you, " that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier " of the Empire; to yield Briſac, Fort Kehl and " Landau, and to raze all the fortreſſes, both on " the other ſide of the Rhine and in that river.

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, " there will be, on the part of France, no ob- " jection to the reſettling thereof on the foot of " the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low-countries may go to his " Imperial Majeſty: the kingdoms of Naples and " Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places " belonging to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, " may likewiſe be yielded, by the treaty of peace, " to the Emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily, tho' there re- " mains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it, " by the duke d'Anjou, yet the diſpoſition thereof " is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the States-general, with re- " ſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have " been demanded by their own miniſters, with " the exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of " merchandize; and the intire barrier, as de- " manded by the States in 1709, from France, " except two or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions ſeveral expedients are " propoſed; and I make no doubt but this barrier " may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republic " perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the " part of France, which is the foundation of all " my ingagements upon this head with the States.

" The demands of Portugal depending on the " diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having " been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible " to make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but " my plenipotentiaries will now have an oppor- " tunity to aſſiſt that King in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the King of Pruſſia are ſuch as I " hope

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" will admit of little difficulty on the part of " France, and my utmoſt indeavors ſhall not be " wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good an " ally.

" The difference between the barrier demand- " ed for the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the " offers now made by France is very inconſidera- " ble: but that Prince having ſo ſignally diſtin- " guiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common " cauſe, I am indeavoring to procure for him ſtill " farther advantages.

" France has conſented that the Elector Pala- " tine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the " Electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper " Palatinate.

" The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledg'd " in the houſe of Hanover, according to the ar- " ticle inſerted, at that Prince's deſire, in my de- " mands.

" And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no " doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral in- " tereſts."

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you not only " the terms of peace, which may, by the future " treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects; but " likewiſe the propoſals of France for ſatisfying " our allies.

" The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to ex- " pect to make my people ſome amends for that " great and unequal burden which they have " laid under thro' the whole courſe of this war; " and I am willing to hope that none of our con- " federates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great " acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue " by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare in the " glory and advantage of it.

" The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted as " a little more time might have rendered them; " but the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary to " put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no longer " to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully " perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my " part in the progreſs of the negociation, to bring " the peace to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and I " depend on your intire confidence in me, and " your chearful concurrence with me."

Debates in the houſe of peers about the peace.

The next day the houſe of lords took this ſpeech into conſideration; when very hot debates ariſing about the ſame, the duke of Marlborough, among others, repreſented to the houſe, " that the mea- " ſures enter'd into, and purſued in England, for " this year paſt, were contrary to her Majeſty's " ingagements with her allies, did fully the " triumphs and glories of her reign, and would " render the Engliſh name odious to all other " nations. Upon this the earl of Strafford ſaid, " that ſome of the allies (meaning the Dutch) " would not ſhew ſuch backwardneſs to a peace " as they had hitherto done, but for a member of " that illuſtrious aſſembly (meaning the duke of " Marlborough) who maintain'd a ſecret corre- " ſpondence with them, and indeavor'd to per- " ſuade them to carry on the war, feeding them " with hopes that they ſhould be ſupported by a " ſtrong party here." The lord Cowper anſwer'd this ſpeech, and becauſe the earl of Strafford had not expreſs'd himſelf in all the puriry of the Engliſh tongue, he took occaſion from thence to ſay; " that this noble lord had been ſo long abroad, " that he had almoſt forgot not only the language, " but the very conſtitution of his own country. " That, according to our laws, it could never be " ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, " much leſs in any member of that auguſt aſſem- " bly, to hold correſpondence with our allies: " ſuch allies eſpecially whoſe intereſt her Ma- " jeſty had declared to be inſeparable from her " own, in her ſpeech at the opening of this ſeſ- " ſion: whereas it would be a hard matter to " juſtify and reconcile either with our laws, or the " laws of honor and juſtice, the conduct of ſome " perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with the com- " mon enemy, without the participation of the " allies."

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The duke's aſſertion was back'd by ſeveral excellent ſpeeches of the lords Nottingham, Cowper and others, yet they had, at that time, no effect, the majority was too great againſt them; and both lords and commons waited on her Majeſty with their addreſſes of thanks for communicating to them the terms on which a peace might be made, and expreſſing their intire confidence in her Majeſty's wiſdom to finiſh ſo great and good a work.

Reſolution of the commons;

The 17th, mr. Hampden propoſed to addreſs the Queen, " that ſhe would give inſtructions to " her plenipotentiaries, that the ſeveral powers in " alliance with her Majeſty might be guarantees " of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion;" but this was carried in the negative by a great majority, and, on the contrary, it was reſolved;

1. " That this houſe has ſuch an intire con- " fidence in the repeated declarations her Majeſty " has been pleaſed to make of her concern for " aſſuring to theſe kingdoms the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion, as by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of " Hanover, that they can never doubt her Ma- " jeſty's taking the proper meaſures for the ſecu- " rity thereof; and that this houſe will ſupport " her Majeſty againſt faction at home, and her " enemies abroad; and that this houſe does hum- " bly beſeech her Majeſty, that ſhe will be pleaſed " to diſcountenance all thoſe who ſhall indeavor " to raiſe jealouſies between her Majeſty and her " ſubjects, eſpecially by miſrepreſenting her good " intentions for the welfare of her people.

2. " That the ſaid reſolution be laid before her " Majeſty."

At the preſenting of it the Queen was pleaſed to anſwer:

Her Majeſty's anſwer at preſenting it.

Gentlemen,

" I return you hearty thanks for this reſolution, " which is very becoming you, who truly repre- " ſent all my commons.

" You have ſhewn yourſelves honeſt aſſerters " of the Monarchy, zealous defenders of the Con- " ſtitution, and real friends to the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion.

" What I have ſaid and done is ſufficient to " ſatisfy any perſon, who is in earneſt for the ſuc- " ceſſion, as by law eſtabliſh'd, in the houſe of " Hanover, that I need not be put in mind of " doing any thing which may contribute to render " that ſucceſſion ſecure."

All the other affairs of parliament being finiſh'd, the Queen came to the houſe of lords, the 21ſt, and put an end to this long ſeſſion, with the following ſpeech:

The Queen's ſpeech at the riſing of the parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The laſt time I was here, I ſpoke ſo fully, " and afterwards received from both houſes ſuch " ſatisfactory addreſſes, that there remains little " more for me to ſay, at the cloſe of this meeting " of parliament, but to repeat my hearty thanks " for your late ſolemn aſſurances. They will give " me the ſtrength to ſtruggle with any difficulties " which may yet be raiſed; and I hope that nei- " ther they who envy the making a good peace, " nor thoſe who think it their intereſt to continue " the war, will be able to defeat our joint indea- " vors for the honor and advantage of Britain, " and the ſecurity of all our allies.

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Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" At the ſame time that I thank you moſt kindly " for the ſupplies you have chearfully granted, " I cannot but let you know my ſatisfaction in the " near view I have of a peace, ſince it will in ſome " meaſure recompence my ſubjects for the vaſt ex- " pences, and alſo lighten the heavy burden they " have borne during the war.

My lords and gentlemen,

" You have expreſs'd how ſenſible you are of " the advantage and ſecurity which accrue to Bri- " tain and our allies, by the terms propoſed for a " peace; and I need not mention to you the miſ- " chiefs which muſt follow the breaking off this " treaty: our burdens would be at leaſt continued " if not increaſed: the preſent opportunity would " be irrecoverably loſt, of Britain's eſtabliſhing a " real balance of power in Europe, and improving " our own commerce; and if any of our allies " ſhould gain ſomething by ſuch a proceeding, " the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity, " but I hope, by God's bleſſing, ſuch fatal de- " ſigns will be diſappointed.

" You are now returning into your reſpective " countries, and I perſuade myſelf you will not " be wanting in your indeavors, to obviate the " deſigns of any ill-minded perſons, who may at- " tempt to ſow ſedition amongſt my ſubjects; " and, under ſpecious pretences, carry on deſigns " they dare not own.

" I hope, at your next meeting, there will be " an opportunity of perfecting what I have recom- " mended to you, which you have left unfiniſhed " in this ſeſſion.

" I cannot conclude without aſſuring you, that " nothing ſhall move me from ſteadily purſuing " the true intereſt of ſo dutiful and affectionate a " people."

The parliament adjourned.

And then the parliament was adjourned to the 8th of July.

The principal acts paſſed this ſeſſion were: 1. " The land-tax act at four-pence in the pound. " 2. The malt-tax act. 3. An act for preſerving " the Proteſtant religion, into which the occaſional " conformity-bill was grafted. 4. An act for ſet- " tling the precedence of the houſe of Hanover. " 5. An act to repeal the act of naturalization. " 6, 7, 8. Three acts relating to the epiſcopal " communion, the right of preſentation of mi- " niſters, and the obſervance of Chriſtmas in Scot- " land. 9. An act for recruiting her Majeſty's " land-forces and marines, for the ſervice of the " year 1712. 10. An act for puniſhing mutiny " and deſertion, &c. 11. An act for raiſing the " militia for the year 1712. 12. An act for the " incouragement of woolen manufactures. 13, " 14. Two acts for laying ſeveral duties and addi- " tional duties on certain merchandizes, &c."

The campain in Flanders.

Before I return to the congreſs at Utrecht, I ſhall give a brief account of the remainder of the campain in Flanders. The ſiege of Queſnoy having been reſolved upon, the two armies made a motion, the 7th of June, and paſs'd the river Selle, the duke of Ormond extending his left to Chateau-Cambreſis, and Prince Eugene his right to Haſpre, all along the ſaid river, which they had in front. General Fagel was detach'd, in the mean time, with thirty battalions, and as many ſquadrons, to inveſt Queſnoy, which was effected the 8th of June, tho' with many difficulties. The trenches were not however open'd till the 19th at night, after which the ſiege was carried on with ſo much vigor and ſucceſs, that on the 1ſt of July, the counterſcarp was taken, ſword in hand. The gariſon hereupon, beat a parly the 3d, and ſurrender'd the 4th.

Queſnoy taken by the allies.

The duke of Ormond however open'd a new ſcene before this ſurrender; for, on the 27th of June, he declared, that he had received orders from the Queen, to publiſh, within three days, a ſuſpenſion of arms, for two months, between his army and the French, in order to facilitate the concluſion of a treaty for a general peace, which was then on foot. His grace, at the ſame time, told Prince Eugene, and the field-deputies of the States, that he had poſitive orders to propoſe, that the like ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be publiſh'd in the confederate army. And that, in the mean time, he had directions to ſend ten battalions, to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which the French King had offer'd to put into the hands of the Queen, his miſtreſs, for the ſecurity of the performance of the offers he had made.

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The duke of Ormond propoſes a ceſſation of arms.

Prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States, deſiring ſome time to write about it, to their reſpective maſters, the duke of Ormond anſwered, that was not in his power to grant, and that if they perſiſted to carry on the ſiege of Queſnoy, he could cover it no longer, but muſt march off, with his troops, within three days. His grace likewiſe, acquainted the generals of the forein troops, in the Britiſh pay, that they muſt obey his orders, otherwiſe they ought not to expect to have bread, pay, or their arrears; however, his grace ſuſpended the march of his troops, ſome days beyond the term he had limited, to give time to the reſt of the allies to come into the ceſſation of arms.

The Imperialiſts and the Auxiliaries ſeparate from the duke of Ormond's army.

The allies not being able to agree on this ſubject, Prince Eugene decamp'd, the 16th, from the neighborhood of Queſnoy, and incamp'd at Hartre, near Landrecy, being join'd, in his march, by all the auxiliary troops, belonging to the Princes of the Empire, which were in the duke of Ormond's army, their generals declaring, they had orders from their ſeveral maſters, not to ſeparate themſelves from the Emperor's forces, and thoſe of the States; ſo that none remain'd with the Engliſh, but ſome battalions of Holſtein-Gottorp, and the regiments of dragoons of Waleff.

A ceſſation of arms publiſh'd by the Engliſh and French.

This was the fatal day in which the forces of the allies were divided, who, while they remained united, were always victorious; but they were ſoon after ſenſible, that they were not now an equal match for the French.

The 17th, the duke of Ormond, having cauſed a ſuſpenſion of arms, for two months, to be publiſh'd in the camp, as the marſhal de Villars had done in his, march'd back to Aveſnes le Sec, repaſs'd the Scheld and the Scarpe, and came to Ghent, where the Britiſh army continued all the reſt of the campain.

The allies beſiege Landrecy, but abandon the ſiege.

The allies, under the command of Prince Eugene, did indeed inveſt Landrecy, on the 16th, but were afterwards obliged to abandon the ſiege, and to be eye witneſſes, that the French, as reduced as they had been before, were now every where victorious, in their turn.

The French force the confederates lines;

In order to cover their convoys againſt the French gariſons of Cambray and Valenciennes, the allies had drawn lines from the Scheld to the Scarpe; and to poſſeſs himſelf of theſe lines, together with the camp of Denain, and the magazines of the allies, monſieur de Villars cauſed ſeveral detachments to march privately, on the 23d in the evening, and follow'd himſelf with the whole French army. The lines being but weakly guarded, were forced with little or no reſiſtance, and 500 waggons, loaded with bread, taken; their guard, conſiſting of 500 horſe, and as many foot, being either kill'd or taken. The camp of Denain was defended by ſeventeen battalions, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, with ſeveral other general officers, and covered by an intrenchment of between fifteen and twenty foot high, mounted with twelve

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pieces of cannon. The French were however ſo ſucceſsful in their attack of this camp, that after ſome reſiſtance, they enter'd it, cuting down all that came in their way. The reſt retir'd into the village and the abby; but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the French, that whole battalions threw themſelves into the Scheld; and thus the confederate troops were intirely defeated, before Prince Eugene could come to their aſſiſtance. The caution which monſieur de Villars had taken, to conceal his march and deſign, ſucceeded ſo well, that Prince Eugene had no intelligence of them, till the 24th in the morning, when the enemy were laying bridges over the Scheld, and ſo could not arrive with his troops, till the ingagement was over. This action proved a very unhappy one, and the Dutch loſt many brave officers in it.

And defeat the allies at Denain.

Dunkirk deliver'd into the hands of the Engliſh.

During theſe tranſactions, the French King, to ſhew his intentions for a peace were ſincere, declared his readineſs to deliver up Dunkirk, into the hands of the Engliſh: ſir John Leake was hereupon order'd to convoy a body of troops from England, to take poſſeſſion thereof: for as the auxiliaries had refus'd to march with the duke of Ormond, it was not thought adviſable to weaken the body of Engliſh troops under his command, by ſending a detachment of them to Dunkirk, as at firſt was intended. Therefore, on the 7th of July, ſir John Leake, with brigadier Hill, who commanded the land-forces, ſet ſail from the Downs, and, at two the ſame afternoon, they came to an anchor before Dunkirk. The next day, the troops being landed, the French march'd out of the citadel, fort Lewis, the Riſbank, and all the other forts; of which the Engliſh took poſſeſſion, and placed guards at all the gates: but the French ſhips and gallies were permited to remain in the harbor, with two or three battalions of marines in the town, on pretence of guarding the ſtores. The privateers were alſo indulg'd the liberty of coming in and out, provided they brought in no Engliſh prizes.

The duke of Ormond, continuing his march, as I have ſaid above, arriv'd, together with the earl of Strafford, the 23d of July, N. S. at Ghent, the troops incamping about a mile and a half from the city. The duke having put four battalions of the Britiſh troops into Ghent, and the like number into Bruges, detach'd ſix battalions, to re-inforce the garriſon of Dunkirk, with a train of artillery and ammunition.

The French take ſeveral important places;

After the action of Denain, monſieur de Villars order'd the count de Broglio to inveſt Marchiennes on the Scarpe, where the allies had lodg'd the chief of their ſtores, with upwards of 150 bilanders (a ſort of large long-boats or barges) laden with artillery, and all ſorts of ammunition and proviſions for a whole campain. He commanded at the ſame time count Albergotti to attack St. Amand, and other detachments were order'd to take poſſeſſion of the reſt of the poſts on the Scarpe.

The 26th, 200 men of the allies, who were in the abby of Anchin, and at Pont-à-Rache, yielded themſelves priſoners of war. The ſame day, the count de l'Eſparre made himſelf maſter of the abby of Haſnon, where he took 100 priſoners. Count Albergotti poſſeſs'd himſelf that day likewiſe of Mortagne, at the mouth of the Scarpe, where he took 100 men, and then of St. Amand, which was defended by 800 men, who alſo ſurrendred priſoners of war.

Farther ſucceſs of the French.

This chain of ſucceſs ſo animated the French, that they now began to think no attempt too great for them; and indeed, fortune continued to favor them in ſuch manner, that they ſucceſſively took Marchiennes, Fort-Scarpe, Douay, Queſnoy and Bouchain. And tho' the allies, while the French were before Bouchain, ſurpriſed and took fort Knocque, a ſtrong and important place; yet this was but a poor amends for the loſs of ſo many places of greater conſequence. Q. Ann, An' 1712.

Theſe were the chief tranſactions of the campain in the Low-countries: and while theſe things were paſſing there, the lord Bolingbroke, having been ſent into France by her Majeſty, to ſettle ſome important point ſtill depending between the two courts, concluded another ſuſpenſion of arms, between Great-Britain and France, for four months, viz. from the 22d of Auguſt to the 22d of December. This ſuſpenſion was proclaim'd at Paris, the 24th of Auguſt, N. S. and at London the 19th of the ſame month, O. S. And before that time was expired, it was continued for four months longer.

The ſuſpenſion of arms twice renewed.

In Catalonia, there was little action this year, and, on the 8th of September, brigadier Pierce, who commanded the Engliſh troops there, notified to count Stahremberg, that a ceſſation of arms having been agreed upon between England and France, he ſhould ſeparate from the army with his troops, and accordingly he march'd to Sitias, on the coaſt between Barcelona and Terragona: and ſoon after the Germans, as well as the Spaniards, went into winter-quarters.

Ceſſation of arms in Catalonia.

The 19th of November, the Engliſh troops in Catalonia imbark'd at Barcelona, and ſailed to Port-Mahon, where the duke of Argyle cauſed the Emperor's colors to be taken down, and the Engliſh colors to be hoiſted upon the ſeveral caſtles and forts: and the governor of Minorca, for the Emperor, was given to underſtand, that he muſt take the oaths to her Majeſty, if he thought fit to remain in the iſland; which he refuſing to do, had leave to retire to Barcelona; but the reſt of the magiſtrates took an oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great-Britain.

The Engliſh troops ſail to Port-Mahon.

The duke of Marlborough, in the mean time, having met with the ſenſible affliction to loſe the earl of Godolphin, who died in September, of the ſtone, reſolved to make other people eaſy, and himſelf more ſecure, by retiring out of the kingdom. His grace having open'd his deſign to the earl of Oxford, by mr. Maynwaring, and demanded a paſs, about the latter end of October, the ſame was granted and delivered to him about a fortnight after; when having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he ſubmited to a voluntary exile, and continued abroad during the remainder of this reign.

The duke of Marlborough leaves England.

A duel between duke Hamilton and the lord Mohun.

The 15th of November, a duel was fought between duke Hamilton and the lord Mohun, principals, and the colonels Hamilton and Maccartney, their ſeconds. The two principals died upon the ſpot, but their ſeconds not receiving much hurt, Maccartney thought fit to fly for it, and afterwards went beyond-ſea, but colonel Hamilton, ſurrendering himſelf to a commitee of council, made a depoſition of the circumſtances of the duel, in which he accus'd Maccartney of foul play with regard to the duke, inſinuating, as if he gave him his death's wound, by making a puſh at him, while the colonel was raiſing him up: tho' he was afterwards acquited of that accuſation. But to return to the treaty at Utrecht.

The Queen's ſpeech communicated to the miniſters at Utrecht.

The 27th of June, the lord biſhop of Briſtol communicated to the miniſters of the allies at Utrecht, the Queen's ſpeech, and conſequently the terms which the French King had been prevail'd upon to make to the allies; to which thoſe miniſters made no other anſwer, than that they would acquaint their reſpective maſters therewith, and wait for new orders. The ſame day, his excellency had a private conference with the plenipotentiaries of the States, and repreſented to them the neceſſity of a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Netherlands,

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therlands, in order to facilitate the concluſion of the treaty.

It was then believed, and commonly reported, that the French plenipotentiaries would make new overtures for a general peace, and for a ſuſpenſion of arms: but the negociations at Utrecht remain'd at a ſtand, and an unlucky difference that happen'd ſome time after, between the ſieur Meſnager, one of the plenipotentiaries of France, and the count de Rechteren, one of thoſe of the States, which for ſome time made no ſmall diſturbance, was the occaſion, or at leaſt pretence, of ſuſpending the general conferences; the French having declar'd, that they could not renew the ſaid conferences, till their King had received ſatisfaction upon that affair, which he preſcrib'd in ſuch terms, as the States did not think fit to ſubmit to.

The French, to color their refuſal of giving their anſwer in writing, which was inſiſted upon by the allies, induſtriouſly kept up this diſpute, the whole remainder of the year.

King Philip renounces his claim to France.

In this interval, the lord Lexington was ſent to Madrid, where he was preſent at the ſolemn renunciation, which King Philip made, of all the claims and pretenſions that he had, or might have for the future, to the crown of France, for himſelf, and his ſucceſſors. This renunciation was made the 5th of October, and confirm'd by the general Cortez (or States) of the kingdom of Spain, which was ſummon'd for that purpoſe. As this is the foundation on which the whole fabric of the peace ſtands, it was made in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible.

This neceſſary preliminary being concluded, in the form and manner as deſired by the Queen of Great-Britain; and King Philip having long before given to the Elector of Bavaria the propriety and ſovereinty of the Netherlands, whereby he, at once extricated himſelf from all the difficulties relating to the barrier of the States-general in thoſe provinces, it was believed, that his miniſters would have been admited into the congreſs; but the allies would not conſent to it: ſo that King Philip had no miniſter at Utrecht, at the time when the negociations for a peace ſeemed to draw towards a concluſion.

A ſuſpenſion of arms concluded between France and Portugal.

The affairs of Portugal, being in the mean time reduced to great extremities, and their forces not being able to make head againſt the Spaniards, as they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh troops; there was a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, for four months, concluded at Utrecht, between the miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King, and thoſe of Portugal, which was ſigned, the 7th of November 1712.

The earl of Strafford returns to Holland.

The earl of Strafford, who had made a tour to England, ſtaid there till the latter end of November, when having obtain'd a new plan, containing her Majeſty's laſt intentions about peace, his excellency imbark'd for Holland, and arrived at the Hague, the 6th of December, N. S. and, the next day, made a viſit to the grand penſionary. Having communicated the new plan for a peace, to the States, he deſir'd a poſitive anſwer to it, as being the utmoſt conceſſions that were to be expected from France, and which her Majeſty had not obtain'd but with great difficulty.

The States conſent to the new plan.

This new plan being communicated to the reſpective provinces of the republic, and the States-general ſhewing an inclination to comply with the Queen's meaſures, ſome explanations and reſtrictions were only inſiſted upon: and, on the 29th of December, the States-general came to a reſolution, to comply with the Queen's meaſures, of which they gave her Majeſty notice in a very ſubmiſſive letter.

An' 1713. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſhew her ſatisfaction, in her anſwer of the 7th of January, O. S. which very much contributed to the ſucceſs of the negociations: and ſeveral conferences were thereupon held, to concert a new treaty for the guaranty of the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Proteſtant line of Hanover, and the barrier to be granted to the States, which was concluded and ſign'd the 30th of January, N. S. and ſent to England for its ratification, and to the reſpective provinces of the republic, for the ſame end. After the ſigning of this treaty, the negociations were carried on with greater expedition than before, and ſeveral important preliminaries ſettled, which had till then obſtructed a general treaty. The miniſters of the Emperor and France, enter'd into a negociation for evacuating Catalonia, and the neutrality of Italy. The States-general were likewiſe prevail'd upon to grant paſſports for the miniſters of Spain; and likewiſe thoſe which the French deſir'd for the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria. The affair of monſieur Meſnager and count Rechteren was alſo adjuſted: and in ſhort, all the difficulties which obſtructed the general conferences were removed.

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A new ſucceſſion and barrier treaty ſign'd.

The plenipotentiaries of Spain, Cologn and Bavaria admited.

Matters having this favorable appearance, in a conference held the 13th of March, the Britiſh miniſters fix'd the 25th of that month, as the laſt day to which they were inſtructed to defer the ſigning of the peace; which however was afterwards poſtponed to the 11th of April, N. S.

Inſtruments for the evacuation of Catalonia, and neutrality of Italy, ſign'd.

In the mean time, the ſeveral inſtruments, relating to the evacuation of Catalonia, and neutrality of Italy (to which the Queen was guaranty) were ſign'd, between her Majeſty's plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of the Emperor, France and Savoy.

The dukes of Berry and Orleans renounce their pretenſions on Spain.

Theſe difficulties being removed, the French court agreed, that the dukes of Berry and Orleans ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris, which was performed accordingly, with great ceremony; being ſo inſiſted upon by the court of Great-Britain, as the moſt effectual means to prevent the union of France and Spain, under one ſoverein.

Count Sinzendorff proteſts againſt the peace.

Count Sinzendorf went in the mean time to the Hague, where he uſed all poſſible means to perſuade the States to put off the ſigning of the peace, till he had received an anſwer to the expreſs he had diſpatch'd to Vienna: and declar'd, that if the States ſign'd before his maſter, his Imperial Majeſty would immediately withdraw his troops out of the Netherlands: but finding his reaſons and repreſentations ineffectual, he proteſted againſt the peace, as he had done before at Utrecht; whither he return'd, the ſame evening, and found that the Dutch plenipotentiaries had adjuſted ſeveral articles, in relation to their commerce with France.

The peace concluded.

The 11th of April, N. S. the miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes met together in the morning, and drew up a repreſentation, in favor of the poor Proteſtants of France, which they deliver'd to the Britiſh miniſters, and deſired them to deliver it to thoſe of France, which was done accordingly. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries went afterwards to count Sinzendorff, told him they were going to ſign the peace, and ſhew'd him the plan they had ſtipulated with the French for the Emperor, and the Empire, till the 1ſt of June. They proceded from thence, to the houſes of the other miniſters of the allies, to whom they made the ſame declaration. At two in the afternoon, the miniſters of France came to the houſe of the lord biſhop of Briſtol, where the treaties of peace and commerce, between her Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King, were ſign'd. The miniſters of the duke of Savoy ſign'd the treaty about four, and about eight, thoſe of Pruſſia did the like. The Portugueſe ſign'd the treaty about twelve at night; and it was paſt one in the morning, when the plenipotentiaries of the States ſign'd their treaties of peace and commerce.

And ſign'd.

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The Germans resolve to continue the war.

The Imperial and German miniſters expreſs'd great reſentment that the allies ſhould conclude a peace without their conſent, and pretend to preſcribe conditions to them: they gave out, that they would ſtill carry on the war, and hazard all rather than ſubmit to ſuch uſage.

The peace being concluded between France and all the allies, except the Emperor and Empire; I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of the moſt material articles in the treaty between Great-Britain and France, ſeting aſide matters of form, and keeping to ſuch particulars as have an immediate relation to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

Abſtract of the treaty between Great-Britain and France.

Abſtract of the treaty of Utrecht.

" By the fourth and fifth articles, the French " King, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, acknowledges " and approves the act of limitation of the ſuc- " ceſſion to the kingdom of Great-Britain: and " whereas the Pretender is lately gone, of his " own accord, out of the kingdom of France; " the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heirs and ſuc- " ceſſors, will take all poſſible care, that he ſhall " not, at any time hereafter, or under any pre- " tence whatſoever, return into the kingdom of " France, or any of the dominions thereof.

" In the ſixth article, the King of Spain's re- " nunciation of the crown of France, and the " dukes of Berry and Orleans of the crown of " Spain, with the French King's letters-patent, " admiting and confirming the ſaid renunciations, " being inſerted, the Queen of Great-Britain, " and the moſt Chriſtian King, ingage to each " other ſolemnly, and on their royal words; that " nothing ever ſhall be done by them, or their " heirs and ſuceſſors, or allowed to be done by " others, whereby the ſaid renunciations, and the " other tranſactions afore-mention'd, may not " have their full effect.

" By the ſeventh, that there ſhall be a free uſe " of all navigation and commerce, as heretofore, " in time of peace, and before the declaration " of the laſt war.

" By the ninth, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall " demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, at his " own expence, within five months after the con- " cluſion of the peace.

" By the tenth, the moſt Chriſtian King o- " bliges himſelf to reſtore to Great-Britain, the " bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, with the lands, " ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places ſituate in " the ſaid bay and ſtreights, with the fortreſſes " there erected, in the condition they now are, " with all the cannon and cannon-ball therein, " with a proportionable quantity of powder, and " other proviſions of war, uſually belonging to " cannon.

" By the eleventh, ſatisfaction ſhall be given to " the Engliſh company, trading to Hudſon's " bay, for all depredations of the French in time " of peace: and ſatisfaction ſhall alſo be given to " the French for any damage done them by the " Britiſh ſubjects in time of peace.

" By the twelfth, the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, " Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, Port Royal, or An- " napolis Royal, with their lands and dependances, " are intirely yielded and made over to Great- " Britain, in ſuch ample manner, that the ſubjects " of France ſhall be hereafter excluded from all " kind of fiſhing in the ſaid ſeas, bays, and other " places, on the coaſts of Nova Scotia.

" By the thirteenth, the iſland of Newfound- " land, with the adjacent iſlands, ſhall belong, of " right, wholly to Great-Britain: but the ſub- " jects of France ſhall be allowed to catch fiſh, " and dry them on the land, in that part only of " the ſaid iſland, and no other, which ſtretches " from the place call'd Cape-Bonaviſta to the " northern point of the ſaid iſland, and from " thence runing down by the weſtern ſide, reaches " as far as the place call'd point Riche. Q. Ann, An' 1713.

" By the fourteenth, the ſubjects of France are " to have the ſpace of a year to remove them- " ſelves, and their effects, from the places and " colonies yielded by France: but thoſe who " chuſe to remain, and be ſubject to Great-Britain, " may injoy the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, " as far as the laws of Great-Britain allow the " ſame.

" By the fifteenth, the French inhabiting Ca- " nada, and other countries in America, ſhall " give no diſturbance to the five nations of Indians, " ſubject to Britain, or to the other natives of " America, their friends: and the Britiſh ſub- " jects ſhall behave themſelves peaceably towards " the Americans, who are ſubjects or friends of " France: and there ſhall be a free intercourſe of " trade between the French and Engliſh, and the " natives of thoſe countries.

" By the twentieth, juſt and reaſonable ſatiſ- " faction ſhall be given to all and ſingular the " allies of Great-Britain, in thoſe matters which " they have a right to demand of France.

" By the twenty-firſt, the French King agrees, " that in the treaty with the Emperor and Empire, " the ſtate of religion ſhall be ſettled, in the " Empire, conformable to the treaty of Weſt- " phalia.

" By the twenty-ſecond, ſatisfaction ſhall be " given to the family of Hamilton, the duke of " Richmond, and Charles Douglas, as to their " ſeveral demands in France.

" By the twenty-fourth, the treaty between " France and Portugal is confirm'd; and her " Britiſh Majeſty takes upon her the guaranty of " the ſame.

" By the twenty-fifth, the ſame is done as to " the treaty between France and the duke of " Savoy.

" By the twenty-ſixth, the King of Sweden, " the duke of Tuſcany, the republic of Genoa, " and the duke of Parma, are included in this " treaty.

" By the twenty-ſeventh, the Hanſe-towns are " alſo comprehended in the treaty, and are to " injoy the ancient advantages they had in point " of trade.

Dated March 31, / April 11, 1713.

Sign'd,
(L. S.) John Briſtol, L. P. S.
(L. S.) Strafford.
(L. S.) Huxelles.
(L. S.) Meſnager.

Treaty between France and Savoy;

The chief articles of the treaty between the French King and the duke of Savoy were the third, by which the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice, with their appurtenances and dependences, and in general all the other dominions taken from him, during this war, were reſtored; the fourth, by which the boundaries between France and Savoy were fix'd; the fifth, by which the ceſſion of Sicily to the duke of Savoy is confirm'd; as is likewiſe the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain and the Indies, upon failure of deſcendants from King Philip; by the ſixth and ſeventh, that the ceſſions made to the duke of Savoy by the late Emperor Leopold ſhould remain in full force.

And between France and the States-general.

By the treaty between France and the States-general, the former delivers up to the latter, in favor of the houſe of Auſtria, the Spaniſh towns in Flanders, to be gariſoned by the Dutch, at the charge of the country, under the reſtrictions, and upon the terms therein mentioned.

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The parliament meets.

The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

The peace being thus concluded, the parliament met at Weſtminſter the 9th of April, O. S. when her Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I ended the laſt ſeſſion with my hearty thanks "for the ſolemn aſſurances you had given me, by "which I have been inabled to overcome the diffi- "culties contrived to obſtruct the general peace.

"I have defer'd opening the ſeſſion till now, "being deſirous to communicate to you, at your "firſt meeting, the ſucceſs of this important af- "fair: it is therefore with great pleaſure I tell "you the treaty is ſign'd, and, in a few days, the "ratifications will be exchanged.

"The negociation has been drawn into ſo great "a length, that all our allies had ſufficient oppor- "tunity to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts, tho' the "public charge has been thereby much increaſed; "yet I hope my people will be eaſy under it, ſince "we have happily obtained the end we propoſed.

"What I have done for ſecuring the Proteſtant "ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip there is "between me and the houſe of Hanover, may "convince ſuch who wiſh well to both, and de- "ſire the quiet and ſafety of their country, how "vain all attempts are to divide us; and thoſe "who will make a merit by ſeparating our in- "tereſts, will never attain their ill ends.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"As great a progreſs has been made, in re- "ducing the public expence, as the circumſtances "of affairs would admit.

"What force may be neceſſary for ſecuring our "commerce by ſea, and for guards and gariſons, "I leave intirely to my parliament.

"Make yourſelves ſafe, and I ſhall be ſatisfied.

"Next to the protection of the Divine Provi- "dence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection "of my people.

"I want no other guarantee.

"I recommend to your care thoſe brave men "who have ſerved well by ſea or land this war, "and cannot be imployed in time of peace.

"I muſt deſire you to provide the ſupplies you "ſhall judge requiſite; and to give ſuch diſpatch "as may be neceſſary for your own eaſe and the "public ſervice.

My lords and gentlemen,

"The many advantages I have obtained for my "own ſubjects, have occaſion'd much oppoſition "and long delay to this peace.

"It affords me great ſatisfaction, that my peo- "ple will have it in their power, by degrees, to "repair what they have ſuffered during ſo long "and burthenſome a war.

"The eaſing our forein trade, as far as is con- "ſiſtent with national credit, will deſerve your "care.

"And to think of proper methods for improving "and incouraging our home trade and manufac- "tures, particularly the fiſhery, which may be "carried on to imploy all our ſpare hands, and "be a mighty benefit even to the remoteſt parts "of this kingdom.

"Several matters were laid before you laſt "ſeſſion, which the weight and multiplicity of "other buſineſs would not permit you to per- "fect: I hope you will take a proper opportunity "to give them due conſideration.

"I cannot however but expreſly mention my "diſpleaſure, at the unparallel'd licentiouſneſs, in "publiſhing ſeditious and ſcandalous libels.

"The impunity ſuch practices have met with "has incouraged the blaſpheming every thing "ſacred, and the propagating opinions tending to "the overthrow of all religion and government.

"Proſecutions have been ordered, but it will Q. Ann, "require ſome new law to put a ſtop to this An' 1713. "growing evil, and your beſt indeavors, in your "reſpective ſtations, to diſcourage it.

"The impious practice of duelling requires ſome "ſpeedy and effectual remedy.

"Now we are entring upon peace abroad, let "me conjure you all to uſe your utmoſt indea- "vors for calming mens minds at home, that the "arts of peace may be cultivated.

"Let not groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by "a faction, and fomented by party rage, effect "that which our forein enemies could not

"I pray God to direct all your conſultations "for his glory and the welfare of my people."

Both houſes congratulate her Majeſty on the peace.

The two following days both houſes waited on her Majeſty with their congratulatory addreſſes; which were ſoon after followed by thoſe of ſeveral corporations.

Sir John Jennings convoys the Empreſs to Italy.

In purſuance of the convention for evacuating Catalonia, ſir John Jennings was commanded to convoy the Empreſs from Barcelona to Italy: accordingly he ſet ſail with her Imperial Majeſty from that place, and arrived at Vado the 28th of March, landed her at Genoa the 3d of April, and the 10th ſhe came to Milan. Thither admiral Jennings likewiſe followed, and having had ſeveral conferences with the miniſters there, about the tranſportation of the German troops from Catalonia, he took his leave, the 19th, of the Empreſs, who continued her journey by land to Vienna.

The peace proclaim'd.

The ratifications of the treaties of peace and commerce, which met with ſome oppoſition at the council board, having been exchang'd at Utrecht, and brought to London, the Queen, on the 4th of May (being the ſame day of the month on which the war was proclaim'd eleven years before) ſign'd a proclamation for publiſhing the peace, which was accordingly perform'd, at London, the next day, with the uſual ceremonies, and ſoon after in all the cities and market-towns of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The treaties communicated to the parliament.

The 9th of May, the Queen communicated the ſeveral treaties of peace and commerce, between Great-Britain and France, to the houſe of commons, which occaſioned another addreſs of thanks from that houſe.

The treaty of commerce was, in a great meaſure, left to be perfected by the parliament of Great-Britain; it being requiſite to repeal and alter ſeveral laws before it could take effect; and the many debates which aroſe hereupon, was the occaſion of that treaty's never being fully ſettled.

The Scots attempt to diſſolve the union.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, the Scots made an attempt in the houſe of lords to diſſolve the union; and the Engliſh peers ſhew'd ſo much indifference in the matter, that they loſt their point but by four votes.

The 25th of June the Queen ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons;

Ann R.

Meſſage for a ſupply for the civil liſt.

"Her Majeſty thinks fit to acquaint her loyal "houſe of commons with the difficulties, which, "in a particular manner, ſhe lies under, by the "debts contracted in her civil government, occa- "ſioned by ſeveral extraordinary expences former- "ly incured; ſo that her Majeſty thinks herſelf "obliged, in juſtice to many creditors, to order "an eſtimate to be laid before this houſe of what "was owing on the civil liſt in 1710.

"Her Majeſty has uſed unexampled parſimony "to remove, if poſſible, this burden from herſelf, "but the granting away, and leſſening ſome part "of her revenue, by parliament, has made that "impracticable; therefore her Majeſty hopes "that this houſe of commons, which on all occa- ſions

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"sions have shewn themselves so well affected to "her, will not be unwilling to impower her to "raise such a sum of mony, on the civil list-funds, "as may inable her to discharge the debts, and "settle the expence, to be regularly paid for the "future."

Resolution of the commons thereupon.

Upon this message the house resolved, that her Majesty be impower'd, by letters patent, to appropriate a sum, not exceeding 35,000 l. per annum, for any term not exceeding thirty-two years, to be made a fund for security of raising, by way of lottery, the said sum.

The treaty of peace between Great-Britain and France, having been, as I have said above, ratified, the duke of Shrewsbury, lord-chamberlain of her Majesty's household, and her embassador extraordinary in France, made his public entry at Paris the 11th of June, N. S. As did the duke d'Aumont, embassador extraordinary from the most Christian King, the 1st of July, in London.

Addresses concerning the Pretender.

The begining of July, the chevalier de St. George having resided some time in Lorrain, the lords and commons severally address'd her Majesty, that she would use the most pressing instances with the duke of Lorrain, and with all Princes and States in amity with Great-Britain, that they would not receive or suffer the Pretender to her crowns to continue in any of their dominions; which, in answer, she promised should be done.

The 16th of July, her Majesty, having given the royal assent to several bills, made the following speech to both houses:

My lords and gentlemen,

The Queen's speech at the rising of the parliament.

"I come now to put an end to this session, "with great satisfaction, and return you all my "hearty thanks for the good service you have "done the public.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I must particularly thank you for the supplies "you have now given: I will take care to apply "them, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the "services you have voted.

"I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of "commerce will be so well understood, that the "advantageous conditions I have obtained from "France will be made effectual for the benefit of "our trade.

"I cannot part with so good and so loyal a "house of commons, without expressing how sen-"sible I am of the affection, zeal and duty, with "which you have behaved yourselves; and I "think myself therefore obliged to take notice of "those remarkable services you have performed.

"At your meeting, you found a method, with-"out farther charge to my people, to ease them "of the heavy load of more than nine millions, "and the way of doing it may bring great ad-"vantage to the nation.

"In this session you have inabled me to be just "in paying the debts to my servants.

"And as you have furnished supplies for carry-"ing on the war, so you have strengthened my "hands in obtaining a peace.

"Thus you have shewed yourselves the true "representatives of my loyal commons, by the "just regard you have paid to the good of your "country, and my honor: these proceedings will, "I doubt not, preserve the memory of this par-"liament to posterity.

My lords and gentlemen,

"At my coming to the crown, I found a war "prepared for me: God has blessed my arms "with many victories, and, at last, has inabled "me to make them useful by a safe and honorable "peace.

"I heartily thank you for the assistance you "have given me therein, and I promise my-"self, that with your concurrence, it will be "lasting.

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"To this end I recommend it to you all, to "make my subjects truly sensible what they gain "by the peace; and that you will indeavor to "dissipate those groundless jealousies which have "been so industriously fomented amongst us, that "our unhappy differences may not weaken, and, "in some sort, indanger the advantages I have "obtained for my kingdoms.

"There are some (very few I hope) will never "be satisfied with any government; it is necessary "therefore that you shew your love to your coun-"try, by exerting yourselves, to obviate the ma-"lice of the evil-minded, and to undeceive the "deluded.

"Nothing can establish peace at home; no-"thing can recover the disorders that have hap-"pened during so long a war, but a steady ad-"hering to the constitution in church and state.

"Such as are true to these principles are only "to be relied on; and as they have the best title "to my favor, so you may depend upon my "having no interest nor aim but your advantage, "and the securing of our religion and liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of these nations, and the "universal good, that I shall, next winter, meet "my parliament, resolved to act upon the same "principles, with the same prudence, and with "such vigor, as may inable me to support the "liberties of Europe abroad, and reduce the spirit "of faction at home.

The parliament prorogued.

And then the lord-chancellor, by her Majesty's command, prorogued the parliament to the 28th of August.

Acts pass'd.

The principal acts which pass'd this session, beside the land and malt taxes, and other acts for raising mony, were: "An act for the better re-"gulating the elections of members to serve in "parliament for that part of Great-Britain call'd "Scotland. 2. An act for the more effectual "preventing and punishing robberies that shall be "commited in houses. 3. An act to inable such "officers and soldiers as have been in her Majesty's "service to exercise trades. 4. An act for raising "the militia for the year 1713. 5. An act for "the better regulating the forces to be continued "in her Majesty's service, and for the payment "of the said forces and of their quarters. 6. An "act for the better incouragement of the making "sail-cloth in Great-Britain, &c."

A new parliament call'd.

The 8th of August a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament, on the 17th another for calling a new parliament, and a third, requiring all the peers of Scotland to meet at Holyrood-house in Edinburg, on the 8th of October, to chuse their representatives to sit in the next parliament.

Promotions.

About the same time there were the following promotions at court; viz. the earl of Dartmouth was constituted lord-privy seal; the bishop of Bristol was nominated bishop of London; the right honorable William Bromley, esq; succeeded the earl of Dartmouth as secretary of state; the right honorable the lord Lansdown was made treasurer of her Majesty's household, and sir John Stonehouse comptroler; sir William Wyndham was made chancellor of the Exchequer, and Francis Gwyn, esq; secretary of war; the earl of Portmore was made governor of Gibraltar; the duke of Shrewsbury was constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the earl of Mar to be a third principal secretary of state in Great-Britain, and the earl of Finlater and Seafield lord chancellor of Scotland.

Her Majesty taken ill.

The 24th of December her Majesty was taken ill of an ague, of which she had two fits, but proper remedies being administer'd, she soon appeared abroad again; but towards the latter end

of

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of the inſuing month, being then at Windſor, her ague return'd, and the people were under great apprehenſions, from ſome reports which had been ſpread, that ſhe was dangerouſly ill. Whereupon her Majeſty ſent a letter to the lord-mayor of London, dated the 1ſt of February, contradicting theſe reports, and intimating that ſhe continued determined to open the parliament, the 16th of that month.

The treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain, being likewiſe ratified, and the ratification brought over to England, an abſtract of it may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Abſtract of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain.

" By this treaty, his Catholic Majeſty acknow-
" ledges the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and declares
" and ingages, on the faith and word of a King,
" and on the pledge of his and his ſucceſſors ho-
" nor, that the ſame is, and ſhall for ever be
" approved, and accepted by him, his heirs and
" ſucceſſors; and does promiſe, that no perſon,
" beſide the Queen of Great-Britain and her ſuc-
" ceſſors, according to the act of ſucceſſion, ſhall
" ever be acknowledg'd or reputed by him, his
" heirs or ſucceſſors, to be King or Queen of
" Great-Britain; nor will he or they, at any
" time give aid, ſuccor, favor or council, direct-
" ly or indirectly, to any perſon or perſons, who,
" on any cauſe or pretence, ſhall hereafter indea-
" vor to oppoſe the ſaid ſucceſſion,

" The ſaid Catholic King does alſo for himſelf,
" his heirs and ſucceſſors, yield to the crown
" of Great-Britain, the full and intire propriety
" of the town, and caſtle of Gibraltar, together
" with the port, fortifications, and forts thereunto
" belonging, to be held and injoyed abſolutely,
" with all manner of right for ever, without any
" exceptions or impediments whatſoever; but
" without any territorial juriſdiction, and without
" any communication by land, with the country
" round about, ſaving the liberty to purchaſe for
" ready mony, in the neighboring territories of
" Spain, proviſions, and other things neceſ-
" ſary for the uſe of the gariſon, the inhabitants,
" and the ſhips which ly in the harbor; and her
" Majeſty on her part, doth promiſe, that the
" free exerciſe of their religion ſhall be indulg'd
" to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the afore-
" ſaid town; and in caſe the crown of Great-
" Britain ſhould think fit to ſell, or alien the ſaid
" town of Gibraltar, it is agreed, that the crown
" of Spain ſhall have the refuſal thereof.

" The Catholic King doth, in like manner, for
" himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, yield to the
" crown of Great-Britain the whole iſland of Mi-
" norca, and doth transfer thereunto for ever all
" right, and the moſt abſolute dominion over the
" ſaid iſland, and in particular over the town,
" caſtle, harbor and fortifications of the bay of
" Minorca, commonly called Port-Mahon; to-
" gether with the other ports, places and towns
" ſituated in the aforeſaid iſland: and it is like-
" wiſe thereby ſtipulated, that if the crown of
" Great-Britain ſhall hereafter think fit to alien
" the ſaid iſland, the preference thereof ſhall be
" given to the crown of Spain; and her Majeſty
" ingages, that all the inhabitants of the ſaid
" iſland, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, ſhall in-
" joy all their eſtates and honors, and that the free
" uſe of the Catholic religion ſhall be permited
" them.

" The King of Spain, by this treaty, alſo
" grants to Great-Britain, the benefit of the Aſ-
" ſiento, or ſupplying his Majeſty's dominions in
" America with negroes, for thirty years, com-
" mencing the 1ſt of May 1713, with the ſame
" conditions on which the French injoyed, or at
" any time might, or ought to injoy the ſame; Q. Ann, An' 1714.
" together with a tract or tracts of land, to be
" aloted by the ſaid Catholic King, and to be
" granted to the Engliſh company, commonly
" call'd, la Compania de el Aſſiento, in ſome
" convenient place on the river of Plata; no du-
" ties or revenues being payable by the ſaid com-
" pany, during the time of the ſaid contract;
" and this ſettlement of the ſaid company, or
" thoſe tracts of land, ſhall be proper and ſuffi-
" cient for planting and ſowing, and for feeding
" of cattle, for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe who are
" in the ſervice of the ſaid company, and of their
" negroes; and that the ſaid negroes may be there
" kept till they are all ſold: but it ſhall be lawful
" for the Catholic King to appoint an officer in
" the ſaid place of ſetlement, who may take
" care that nothing be done or practiſed contrary
" to his intereſt; and the Aſſiento-contract con-
" cluded at Madrid the 26th of March 1713, is
" hereby confirmed.

" After this follows the article for indemnifying
" the Catalans, and ſecuring to them their honors
" and eſtates, together with the privileges of the
" inhabitants of both Caſtiles, whereby they have
" the benefit of trading to the Spaniſh dominions in
" America, from which they were before excluded.

" The treaty with the duke of Savoy, con-
" cerning the ceſſion of Sicily to his Royal High-
" neſs, &c. is hereby confirmed; as alſo the ſe-
" veral renunciations of King Philip to the crown
" of France."

The 16th of February, the new parliament met at Weſtminſter; and the lords-commiſſioners appointed by her Majeſty having directed the commons to proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker, they unanimouſly elected ſir Thomas Hanmer, who was approved by the Queen, and, on the 2d of March, her Majeſty came in perſon to the houſe of lords, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes: The new parliament meets.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I have much ſatisfaction in being able, at the
" opening of this parliament, to tell you, that the
" ratifications of the treaties of peace and of
" commerce with Spain, are exchanged; by which
" my ſubjects will have a greater opportunity than
" ever, to improve and extend their trade. Many
" advantages, formerly injoyed by connivance, and
" procured by ſuch methods, as made a diſtinc-
" tion between one Britiſh merchant and another,
" are now ſetled by treaty, and an equal rule is
" eſtabliſhed. The Queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

" It has pleaſed God to bleſs my indeavors,
" to obtain an honorable and advantageous peace
" for my own people, and for the greateſt part of
" my allies: nothing I can do ſhall be wanting to
" render it univerſal: and I perſuade myſelf, that
" with your hearty concurrence, my interpoſition
" may at laſt prove effectual, to compleat the ſetle-
" ment of Europe. In the mean while, I congra-
" tulate with my own ſubjects, that they are de-
" livered from a conſuming land-war, and enter'd
" on a peace, the good effect whereof nothing
" but inteſtine diviſions can obſtruct.

" It was the glory of the wiſeſt and greateſt of
" my predeceſſors, to hold the balance of Europe,
" and to keep it equal, by caſting in their weight, as
" neceſſity required. By this conduct they inrich'd
" the kingdom, and render'd themſelves dread-
" ful to their enemies, and uſeful to their friends;
" I have proceeded on the ſame principles; and I
" doubt not but my ſucceſſors will follow theſe
" examples.

" Our ſituation points out to us our true intereſt;
" for this country can flouriſh only by trade, and
" will be moſt formidable by the right applica-
" tion of our naval force.

Gentlemen,

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Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered ſuch accounts to be prepared " and laid before you, as will ſhew you, at the " concluſion of the war, the true ſtate of your con- " dition; whereby you will be better able to " judge what aids are neceſſary; and I only aſk of " you ſupplies for the current ſervice of the year, " and for the diſcharging of ſuch debts as you " ſhall find, on examination, to be juſt and rea- " ſonable.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The joy which has been generally expreſs'd " on my recovery from my late indiſpoſition, and " on my coming to this city, I eſteem as a return " to that tender affection which I have always had " for my people.

" I wiſh that effectual care had been taken, as I " have often deſired, to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious " papers, and factious rumors, by which deſigning " men have been able to ſink credit, and the inno- " cent have ſuffered.

" There are ſome who are arrived to that height " of malice, as to inſinuate that the Proteſtant ſuc- " ceſſion in the houſe of Hanover is in danger, " under my government.

" Thoſe who go about thus to diſtract the minds " of men, with imaginary dangers, can only " mean to diſturb the preſent tranquility, and to " bring real miſchiefs upon us.

" After all I have done to ſecure our religion and " your liberties, and to tranſmit both ſafe to po- " ſterity, I cannot mention theſe proceedings with- " out ſome degree of warmth, and I muſt hope " you will agree with me, that attempts to weaken " my authority, or to render the poſſeſſion of the " crown uneaſy to me, can never be proper means " to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

" I have done, and ſhall continue to do, my " beſt, for the good of all my ſubjects: let it be " your indeavors, as it ſhall be mine, to unite our " differences; not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt ad- " herence to our conſtitution, in church and ſtate, " but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and in- " forcing a due obedience to them in others.

" A long war has not only impoveriſhed the " public (however ſome particular men may have " been gainers by it) but has alſo greatly affected " the government itſelf.

" Let it be your care, ſo to improve the preſent " opportunity, as to lay the foundation of re- " covering us from thoſe diſorders.

" I had the concurrence of the laſt parliament, " in making the peace: let it be the honor of this, " to aſſiſt me in obtaining ſuch fruits from it, as " may not only derive bleſſings on the preſent age, " but even down to the lateſt poſterity."

Addreſſes of both houſes.

The lords attended her Majeſty the next day, with an addreſs of " thanks for her ſpeech, con- " gratulating her recovery, aſſuring her of their " utmoſt gratitude; that they were by her Ma- " jeſty's great wiſdom and goodneſs, at laſt de- " liver'd from a conſuming land-war, and that " they would uſe their utmoſt indeavors, to diſcou- " rage and diſcountenance all attempts to weaken " her Majeſty's authority, or to render the poſſeſ- " ſion of the crown uneaſy to her."

That of the commons with which they attended her Majeſty the 5th, ran much upon the ſame topics.

The duke of Argyle, and the earl of Stairs laid aſide.

The begining of April, the duke of Argyle was removed from all his places; and the earl of Stairs was ordered to ſell his regiment, as was ma- jor-general Davenport his poſt of lieutenant of the firſt troop of her Majeſty's life-guard.

About the ſame time, baron Schutz, the Hano- verian miniſter, demanded of the lord-chancellor a writ for calling the Electoral Prince of Hanover to the houſe of lords: this her Majeſty thought fit to comply with; but ſo far reſented it, that baron Schutz was forbid the court, upon which he left the kingdom; and ſeveral other attempts having been made, to bring over the Electoral Prince of Hanover, during the Queen's life; her Majeſty thought fit, the 19th of May, to explain herſelf on that head, in two letters, one to the Princeſs Sophia, and the other to the Electoral Prince, which were accompanied by a third, from the earl of Oxford to the Elector.

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A writ demanded to call the Electoral Prince of Hanover to the houſe of peers.

Addreſſes of both houſes approving the peace.

The 24th of April, the parliament, after many and long debates about the ſtate of the nation, which had laſted in both houſes, near three weeks, at- tended her Majeſty with an addreſs, in which they beg'd leave to expreſs the juſt ſenſe they had of her Majeſty's goodneſs to her people, in " de- " livering them, by a ſafe, honorable and advan- " tageous peace with France and Spain, from the " heavy burden of a conſuming land-war, un- " equally carried on, and become at laſt imprac- " ticable."

The miniſters having gained this point, thought themſelves now ſecured from any farther inquiries concerning the peace.

I might now proceed to ſhew what objections have been laid againſt theſe treaties, and, on the contrary, what has been ſaid in the defenſe of them, but as that has been ſo amply done by ſeveral hiſto- rians, who have gone before me, I ſhall, inſtead thereof, only obſerve; that, notwithſtanding they had the ſanction of being approv'd by both houſes of parliament, in this addreſs to the Queen, which the miniſterial party call'd the united voice of the people, an almoſt general diſguſt and murmuring againſt them appear'd throughout the whole nation.

Death of the Princeſs Sophia.

The 29th of June, baron Bothmar, envoy-ex- traordinary of the Elector of Hanover, arrived at London, and having a private audience of her Ma- jeſty, notified the death of the Princeſs Sophia; who being walking in the gardens of Herrenhau- ſen, near Hanover, the 8th of June, being the late King's birth-day, in the evening, was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died in the arms of the Elec- toral Princeſs (now our moſt gracious Queen Ca- roline) and the counteſs of Pickenburg, before any one could come to her aſſiſtance.

This excellent Princeſs, whom I have frequently had the honor of ſeing, with great ſatisfaction, and who was, to the very day of her death, I think, the fineſt woman I ever ſaw of her age, was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, the un- fortunate King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, his Queen, only daughter of King James I; ſhe was born at the Hague, the 3d of October, 1630, and conſequently liv'd to the age of 84.

The ninth of July, the Queen prorogued the parliament, and, on that occaſion, made her laſt ſpeech to both houſes, in the following remarkable words:

The Queen's laſt ſpeech to the parlia- ment.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The progreſs which has been made in public " buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year, render it " both convenient and neceſſary, that I ſhould put " an end to this ſeſſion.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I return you hearty thanks for all your good " ſervices to me, and to your country, and parti- " cularly for the ſupplies you have given me, as " well to defray the expences of the current year, " as towards the diſcharge of the national debts.

" In our preſent circumſtances, it could not be " expected that a full proviſion ſhould be made on " both theſe heads.

" What you have granted, ſhall be laid out " with the beſt huſbandry, and to the greateſt ad- " vantage.

My

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My lords and gentlemen,

" I hope early in the winter, to meet you again, " and to find you in ſuch a temper, as is neceſſary " for the real improvement of our commerce, and " of all the other advantages of peace.

" My chief concern is, to preſerve to you, " and to your poſterity, our holy religion, and " the liberty of my ſubjects, and to ſecure the pre- " ſent and future tranquility of my kingdoms: " but I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable " ends can never be attain'd; unleſs you bring the " ſame diſpoſitions on your parts, unleſs all ground- " leſs jealouſies, which create and foment divi- " ſions amongſt you, be laid aſide; and unleſs you " ſhew the ſame regard for my juſt prerogative, " and for the honor of my government, as I have " always expreſs'd for the rights of my people.

Acts paſs'd.

The principal acts which paſs'd this ſeſſion, were, " 1. The land-tax act of two ſhillings in the " pound. 2. The malt-act as uſual. 3. An act " for the better regulating the forces to be " continued in her Majeſty's ſervice, and for the " better payment of their quarters. 4. An act " to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the ſe- " curity of the churches of England and Ireland. " 5. An act to prevent the liſting her Majeſty's " ſubjects to ſerve as ſoldiers, without her Majeſty's " licenſe. 6. An act for providing a public re- " ward for ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover the lon- " gitude at ſea. 7. An act to reduce the rate of " intereſt, without prejudice to parliamentary ſe- " curities. 8. An act for the preſervation of " wrecks. 9. An act for reducing the laws re- " lating to rogues, vagabonds, ſturdy beggars and " vagrants, into one act of parliament, &c."

Ill ſucceſs of of the Germans.

Let us now look back, and obſerve what a figure the Germans made, in their oppoſition to the whole power of France, which was anſwerable to the expectations every one muſt neceſſarily have, who had an eye to their former conduct, during this war: they were ſoon obliged to retire into their fortified towns, and behind their lines, while the marſhal de Villars reduced one place after another, and made them begin to think of peace in earneſt. A treaty was accordingly ſet on foot this winter, which was managed ſolely by the two generals, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the marſhal de Villars, at the caſtle of Alt-Raſtadt, and was brought to a concluſion and ſign'd the 16th of March.

Peace between the Emperor and France.

By this treaty, the Emperor was obliged to quit his pretenſions to Landau, which he might have kept, had he ſign'd the peace with the reſt of the allies. The Rhine was agreed to be the barrier, between the Empire and France, and the other articles were conformable to the peace of Ryſwick.

Behavior of the Catalans.

It will be neceſſary now to ſay a word or two with reſpect to the Catalans, and their behavior, on the Emperor's evacuating that country. On the 22d of June, of the foregoing year, every thing was adjuſted for that end, and it was provided, that all perſons who deſired to retire into Italy ſhould be tranſported thither. The ſtates of Catalonia having been ſummoned on this occaſion, cardinal de Sala, biſhop of Barcelona, exhorted them to ſubmit to King Philip, and aſſured them that the Queen of Great-Britain had obtained a general pardon for them, and that they would injoy equal privileges, with the reſt of the ſubjects of Spain: he was back'd by ſeveral other members of that aſſembly; but the majority choſe rather to hazard every thing. Accordingly, they form'd an army, named their generals, and by the connivance of count Stahremberg, ſeized the principal poſts about Barcelona, and gariſon'd fort Montjuy. The count, with the Imperial troops, ſoon after imbark'd, and were convoyed by ſir John Jennings to Genoa, where they arrived about the middle of July.

Upon their departure, the Catalans proclaimed war againſt France and the duke d'Anjou, and refuſed to accept the amneſty he offered them, declaring they would rather die free, than live ſlaves to him. In the mean time, the whole principality of Catalonia was laid waſte, and the duke de Popoli, not having troops enough to lay ſiege to Barcelona, block'd it up the whole winter. The next ſpring, the Catalans received letters from his Imperial Majeſty, that he had been obliged to conclude a peace with France, but that he had preſerved his rights, titles and pretenſions to the crown of Spain, and gave them aſſurance that he would aſſiſt them with all his might, in order to procure them the advantages they deſerved for their fidelity, their conſtancy, and glorious actions. Upon this, they were ſo elate, that tho' King Philip again offered them the confirmation of their ancient privileges, they would hear of no terms, but choſe rather to ſee the beſt part of the city, with ſeveral churches and monaſteries, reduced to a heap of aſhes; and held out till the 11th of September, when they withſtood a general ſtorm, till four the next morning, and being at length compel'd to retire into the new city, notwithſtanding their deſperate condition, they were allow'd to capitulate, and ſurrendered upon terms.

The miniſtry of Great-Britain divided.

During theſe tranſactions, there was a miſunderſtanding among the Britiſh miniſters, which gave occaſion to various conjectures, tho' many of them perhaps groundleſs. All that can be ſaid, with any certainty is, that the Queen's life being thought very precarious, ſome courtiers were diſcovered making their applications privately to the ſucceſſor, and to the duke of Marlborough; among whom, the late earl of Oxford was ſaid to be one, which drew on him the reſentment not only of his brethren, but even of the Queen herſelf; inſomuch that ſhe diſmiſs'd him, the 27th of July, from his poſt of lord-treaſurer.

As the ſtaff was taken from the earl of Oxford, with ſome mortifying circumſtances, he could not forbear ſhewing his reſentment to the authors of it, which he is ſaid to have done in the following, or the like words: " I have been wrong'd and " abuſed, by lies and miſrepreſentations; but I " ſhall be reveng'd, and leave ſome people as low " as I found them."

The removal of the treaſurer was ſo ſudden, and occaſioned ſo much confuſion, that there was great difficulty to determine how to ſupply his place, or to fill up ſuch other vacancies as naturally attended his diſgrace.

The 29th of July, the cabinet-council was to have ſat on this affair: but their meeting was put off to the next day, on account of the Queen's illneſs, which probably if not occaſion'd, was at leaſt increas'd, by theſe uneaſineſſes: and ſhe is ſaid to have intimated to one of her phyſicians: " That ſhe ſhould not outlive it."

The diſpute between the earl of Oxford and his antagoniſts, to which her Majeſty was an ear-witneſs, and the conſultation that was held thereupon, and laſted till near two in the morning, certainly occaſion'd ſo violent an agitation in the Queen's ſpirits, as could not but add to her indiſpoſition: which increas'd ſo much upon her, that, the next morning, ſhe was believ'd to be in great danger.

The Queen's laſt ſickneſs.

The dukes of Sommerſet and Argyle having advice of the deſperate condition of the Queen's life, their graces repair'd with ſpeed to Kenſington, and, without being ſummon'd, went into the council-chamber, where the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Ormond, the three ſecretaries of ſtate, the biſhop of London, and ſome others, were aſſembled in a commitee. The duke

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Q. Ann, of Shrewſbury return'd their graces thanks for their readineſs to give the council their aſſiſtance on ſo critical an occaſion. One of the council then repreſented how neceſſary it was, in caſe of the Queen's demiſe, that the place of lord-treaſurer ſhould be fill'd: the whole board aſſenting to this, the duke of Shrewſbury was propoſed, and unanimouſly approved of, as the moſt proper perſon for ſo high a truſt: and the phyſicians having aſſured the council that the Queen was then ſenſible, and might be ſpoke to, the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewſbury, and ſome others, were appointed to attend her Majeſty, and acquaint her with the unanimous opinion of the council: upon which her Majeſty ſaid, "they could not recommend a "perſon ſhe liked better than the duke of Shrewſ-"bury," and giving him the treaſurer's ſtaff, bid him "uſe it for the good of the people." The duke would thereupon have return'd her Majeſty the lord chamberlain's ſtaff, but it was her deſire he ſhould keep both: ſo that his grace was, at the ſame time, poſſeſs'd of three of the higheſt places of truſt, honor and profit, in the whole kingdom, being lord-treaſurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord treaſurer.

The duke of Shrewſbury's advancement made an immediate and great change in the face of affairs; daſh'd the tow'ring ambition of the lord Bolingbroke, and at the ſame time it baffled whatever undigeſted ſchemes he may have had to the prejudice of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion gave a new life and vigor to all who were well-affected to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover. The coming of the dukes of Sommerſet and Argyle ſo opportunely into the council, had a farther good effect: for, upon their motion, it was reſolved, that all privy-counſellors who were then in and about London, without diſtinction, ſhould be deſired to attend, which the lord Sommers, and ſome other ſtaunch friends of the houſe of Hanover, did the ſame day.

Great prudence of ſome privy-counſellors.

About three in the afternoon, the Queen relapſed into a kind of lethargic or apoplectic fit, and ſoon after the phyſicians acquainted the council, that her Majeſty's life was in extream danger. The council hereupon provided, with wonderful prudence and diſpatch, for the ſecurity of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, of the maritime towns, and of Scotland and Ireland. Orders were immediately diſpatch'd to four regiments of horſe and dragoons, which were quarter'd in remote countries, to march up to the villages near London, to keep the Jacobites and diſaffected in awe, and to ſeven of the ten battalions of Britiſh forces, that were then in Flanders, to imbark at Oſtend, and ſail for England with all imaginable expedition. The lords of the Admiralty, in the mean time, laid an embargo on all ſhiping, and gave orders for fiting out ſuch men of war as could be ſooneſt got ready: ſo that, by theſe excellent orders, the public tranquility remain'd undiſturbed, and no ſign of conſternation appear'd, unleſs in the faces of thoſe who were avowed friends of the Pretender, and who, by the prudence and foreſight of theſe truly noble patriots, found themſelves intirely diſappointed in the hopes the great approaching change might otherwiſe have buoy'd them up with.

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The Queen continued all night in a kind of lethargic doſing (1), which increas'd to ſuch a degree, about ten the next morning, that all her phyſicians deſpair'd of her life. The privy-council ſent hereupon orders to the heralds at arms, and a troop of the life-guards, to be ready to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of Brunſwick, immediately upon the Queen's demiſe. Their lordſhips, at the ſame time, cauſed a letter to be written to his Electoral Highneſs, to acquaint him "with the extream danger the Queen's life was "in, with the meaſures they had taken to ſecure "the crown to him, and to deſire his Electoral "Highneſs to repair with all convenient ſpeed to "Holland, where a Britiſh ſquadron, which was "fiting out with all expedition, would attend "him, and bring him over, in caſe it pleaſed "God to take the Queen to his mercy." This letter was ſent expreſs by James Craggs, eſq; jun. and by him orders were diſpatch'd to the earl of Strafford, to urge the States-general to be in a readineſs to perform the guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, if need ſhould require.

All this being done, the indefatigable lords of the privy-council reſumed the conſideration of the ſtate of the ſea-ports, and order'd a ſtrong re-inforcement to be forthwith ſent down to Portſmouth. At the ſame time, rightly judging, that if the partiſans of the Pretender made any diſturbance in Great-Britain, it would be in Scotland, their lordſhips order'd major-general Whetham thither, to aſſiſt major-general Wightman, and appointed the brave earl of Berkley to command the fleet.

Death of Queen Ann.

Between twelve and one the Queen gave ſome ſigns of life, and took ſome ſpoonfuls of broth; and then continued in a dozing heavy condition till about ſix in the evening. Her pulſe then beat ſomewhat higher, which gave ſome hopes; but it proved but a lightning before death: for the remedies the phyſicians applied, and particularly the bliſters, not having the wiſh'd-for effect, her Majeſty expir'd the next morning, being the 1ſt of Auguſt, a little after ſeven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign (2).

Her general character.

Thus died the great and excellent Princeſs, Ann Stuart, Queen of Great-Britain, who poſſeſs'd as many virtues as ever adorn'd a private life, and who, in her public capacity, tho' ſhe may have been miſled into ſome prejudices and miſtakes in the latter part of her reign, may reaſonably be ſuppos'd to have had an upright intention for the good and happineſs of her people, and therefore may juſtly be pronounced to have been a Great and Excellent Princess: but to be more particular as to her perſon and character.

Her perſon.

This excellent Queen was of a moderate tallneſs, her ſhape and complexion, when in the bloom of youth, admirable; tho' ſhe loſt ſomething of the former after child-bearing, and the latter, as ſhe advanc'd in years, was ſomewhat too ſanguine and ruddy. She had no blemiſh in her face, but a certain contraction in her upper-eye-lids, which gave a cloudy air to her countenance. Her preſence was however, at all times, exceeding graceful: but when ſhe ſpoke, and addreſs'd herſelf to her people, on any public occaſion, ſhe diſplay'd ſuch a mixture of Majeſty, and ſweetneſs of countenance, as

(1) If we will believe the continuator of Rapin in French; "She paſs'd this night in violent agitations of mind, and con-"tinual tears, crying out frequently; O my dear brother, how I lament thy fate!" He ſeems, however, aſham'd of this ridiculous aſſertion (probably a child of his own brains) and throws it off from himſelf, upon the whole body of a party. Book XXVII. p. 627.

(2) I cannot but with abhorrence take notice of a vile and malicious inſinuation or two of the French continuator of Rapin, on this occaſion: "Thus (ſays he) died Ahn Stuart, &c. not without ſome ſuſpicion, which did little honor to the party of her "ſucceſſor;——Her tender affection to her royal conſort, probably drew this Princeſs into a fault, which caſt ſome blemiſh up-"on her excellent qualities. Her compliance with his inclinations gave her a liking to ſtrong waters, to which ſhe accuſtomed "herſelf inſenſibly.——It would be in vain to ſeek for any other cauſe of her death; this was the poiſon which occaſion'd her "premature end." Book XXVII. p. 627, 628.

well

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well as voice, that ſhe commanded the attention of the audience. Her eyes were a light grey, her hair a dark brown, her features ſtrong, but juſt and regular, and in her whole perſon, there appear'd an exact ſymmetry and proportion, till towards the latter end of her life, when ſhe grew ſomething corpulent, and was afflicted with the gout.

She had an excellent ear, which gave her a great reliſh for muſic; ſhe had alſo a good taſte of poetry, painting, and all the liberal arts. Good nature was predominant in her, even to a fault: for it was a compound of benevolence, generoſity, indolence and timidity: and this compound, as it was the ſource of many of her virtues, ſo it was the cauſe of all her uneaſineſſes: and particularly of her giving up her heart, and truſting her ſecrets, without any reſerve, to her favorites, which ſhe had reaſon more than once to repent.

And particular character.

She was fam'd for her oeconomy, and the prudent management of her revenue, as well before as after ſhe came to the crown: before ſhe came to it, ſhe was ſerved by all her officers and dependants with the greateſt alacrity and chearfulneſs, under a ſenſe of being uſed with all the goodneſs and tenderneſs imaginable: and her change of condition afterwards made no alteration, unleſs to increaſe that goodneſs and tenderneſs, in proportion as ſhe had more frequent and greater opportunities of exerciſing it.

She was bred in a court too much abounding in luxury and libertiniſm, and yet never had the leaſt imputation on her virtue: and tho', in her father's palace, ſhe was converſant with thoſe of another communion, and their prieſts could not want frequent opportunities of recommending their religion to her; yet ſhe adhered ſteadily to the religion ſhe was educated in. When her father reſided in Flanders, filial duty prompted her to follow him; and even there, where the Romiſh religion was eſtabliſh'd, ſhe remained firm to her principles, and had the ſervice of the church of England perform'd by her own chaplains, while her father, and the reſt of the family, went conſtantly to maſs.

She was the moſt illuſtrious inſtance of conjugal affection that has appeared in any age. No domeſtic jars or jealouſies ever approach'd the apartments of this Princeſs. The inviolable faith, and mutual love, between her and her royal conſort, were the admiration of the world; and her well-temper'd government of, and affection towards her children, commanded at once their reverence and love.

Her regular and conſtant devotion and attendance at divine ſervice, and diſcountenancing vice and infidelity, are ſufficient teſtimonies of her concern for religion, and if the piety of Princeſſes is to be meaſured by the many religious foundations, in their reſpective reigns, none ever excell'd hers, who not only paſs'd, but recommended an act for the building fifty new churches at once, in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter; add to this the incouragement ſhe gave to the erecting ſuch numbers of charity-ſchools, and thereby reſcuing the common people from atheiſm and ignorance; her countenancing the univerſities, thoſe fountains of learning, and her unparallel'd bounty to her people in general, in annually applying 100,000 l. of her own revenue, and her ſhare of the prizes, to the ſervice of the war, and her generous bounty to the clergy, in aſſigning the firſt fruits and tenths for their ſupport. If we reflect on theſe illuſtrious inſtances of her piety, regard for religion and unbounded liberality, where ſhall we find a Princeſs equal to her in hiſtory?

She has indeed been charged with an unſteadineſs of mind, ſaid to be apparent in the change of her miniſtry; tho' of this we find much frequenter inſtances, in the reigns of ſome of her predeceſſors: this, at leaſt may be ſaid in her juſtification, and is manifeſt to all the world, that whatever counſels ſhe ſeem'd to be inclin'd to, ſhe never alter'd her principles. I believe her enemies muſt do her that juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe was ever a faſt friend to the church of England; and that ſhe had, at the ſame time, a moſt tender compaſſion for all her ſubjects, of whatever perſuaſion. Her aims were always for the advancement of religion, and the happineſs of her people: and if ſhe was ſometimes deceived, in the means of attaining thoſe ends, by the falſe repreſentations of crafty ſtatesmen and treacherous friends (for this is the turn, which both parties give to her conduct at different times) let us lament her falling into ſuch hands, but never reflect upon her memory, when we are well aſſured her heart was always with us. If ſhe ever entered into any meaſures, to the diſadvantage of her people, it was (as lord Clarendon ſays of King Charles I) when they were ſo diſguis'd, that ſhe believed them to be juſt.

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She never exerted her prerogative to the prejudice of her ſubjects, or ſeized any man's eſtate under a color of law, to gratify her creatures with. And as ſhe knew herſelf intirely poſſeſs'd of the affections of her people, ſhe often rejoiced them with her royal preſence: on which occaſions, whatever part of her dominions ſhe was pleaſed to viſit, ſhe never fail'd to meet the loud acclamations, and hearty congratulations of her ſubjects. She was conſcious, that ſhe always made the intereſt of the people her own, and therefore look'd upon their affections to be her ſtrongeſt guard.

She maintained the war, which ſhe found herſelf obliged to enter into at her acceſſion to the throne, with great ſtedfaſtneſs and reſolution, till ſhe was at leaſt perſuaded to believe, not only her own, but the reſt of the kingdoms of Europe were ſecured, and then ſhe as paſſionately labour'd to obtain a general peace, which ſhe was made to think advantageous to herſelf and her allies.

The worſt that could be ſaid of this great Queen, even by thoſe who moſt exclaim againſt her conduct, during the laſt four years of her reign; is, "that "ſhe had doubtleſs many excellent virtues, mix'd "with very few foibles, and theſe owing to her "eaſineſs of temper, which gave her too much up "to thoſe, into whoſe hands ſhe put herſelf. When "they happen'd to be good, as in the period of "her war with France, ſhe was as much beloved, "and even adored, for her piety and conſtancy, "her affection and zeal for the common cauſe, her "regard to her allies, her love and her tenderneſs "to her ſubjects, as ever Prince was. After ſhe "was, by ſeveral indirect ſteps, led into the Utrecht "peace, and reduced to the neceſſity of doing "whatever her new miniſters would have her, to "ſupport that peace, and that againſt the ſenſe of "all nations not in league with the French, ſhe "ſtill had the juſtice done her, that no body im-"puted the miſgovernment that was complained "of, to her Majeſty, whoſe will every body be-"lieved to be good, but to her miniſters." Her intentions were, as ſhe declared them to be, always for the good and happineſs of her people, tho' ſhe may, as I have ſaid above, have been miſguided, and led into ſome prejudices and miſtakes.

To ſum up her character in a few words: ſhe was a moſt affectionate wife, a fond and tender mother; an eaſy and indulgent miſtreſs, and a moſt gracious ſovereign. She retain'd, to the laſt, the principles of true religion, which he had early imbibed; being always devout without affectation, and charitable without oſtentation: and we may ſay of her, what can hardly be ſaid of any of her predeceſſors,

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she was admired and adored by both parties, not only when in their turns, she favor'd their wishes, but even when they most blamed her conduct.

Her marriage and issue.

This Princess was married to his Royal Highness, Prince George, brother to the then King of Denmark, on the 28th of July 1683, by whom she had, 1. A daughter still-born, the 12th of May 1684. 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June 1685, and died in February 1690. 3. Lady Ann Sophia, born the 12th of May 1686, and died the February following. 4. William duke of Glocester, born the 24th of July 1689, and lived to be eleven years of age. 5. Lady Mary, born in October 1690, and lived only long enough to be baptiz'd; and, 6. George, another son, who also died soon after he was born.

Her funeral.

What remains is, that we do the last office to this great Queen, and attend her funeral.

On the 19th of August, the lords-justices having received orders from the late King George, that she should be inter'd in such manner as was consistent with a private funeral; the lord-marshal issued an order for the lords, peeresses, and lords sons, the privy-counsellors and the judges, to meet in the house of peers, the 24th of August, at six in the evening, the maids of honor, and the bed-chamber-women in the robing-room, adjoining to the lobby, next the painted chamber, and all others, whose attendance was required, in the painted chamber, in order to be marshal'd by the officers of arms.

Accordingly, on the 24th of August, the lords, the peeresses, the lords sons, privy-counsellors, judges and others, who were to attend this solemnity, met about seven in the evening, in the house of peers, the painted chamber, and other rooms adjoining; where being call'd out in order, by the officers of arms, they proceeded about ten o'clock, thro' the Prince's chamber, into the Palace-yard, and thence unto the south-east door of the abby, one of the great guns at the Tower firing every minute, until her Majesty was inter'd.

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The royal corps was borne under a canopy of purple-velvet, preceded by a great number of her late Majesty's servants, the judges, privy-counsellors, lords spiritual and temporal, and the great officers. The pall was supported by six dukes, her grace the duchess of Ormond (in the absense of the duchess of Sommerset, who was indispos'd) was chief mourner, supported by the dukes of Sommerset and Richmond, in long cloaks, wearing their collars of the order; her train borne by two duchesses, assisted by the King's vice-chamberlain, and followed by two other duchesses, at the head of fourteen countesses, as assistants, all in long veils of black crape; and after them, the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the maids of honor, in like veils, then the bed-chamber-women, and the gentlemen pensioners closed the procession.

At the entrance into the church, the dean, prebends and choir, received the royal body with an anthem, and marching before Norroy King of arms, who carried the crown and a cushion, they proceeded singing into King Henry VII's chapel, where being arrived, the body was deposited on tressels, while the service of the church was performed by the bishop of Rochester, dean of Westminster; and afterwards inter'd in the same vault, with their late Majesties King Charles II, King William and Queen Mary, and his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark.

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A

SUMMARY or ABRIGEMENT

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The END.